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THE GRAECO-LATIN FABLE

VOLUME TWO

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FRANCISCO RODRÍGUEZ ADRADOS

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VOLUME TWO

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THE FABLE DURING THE ROMAN EMPIRE AND IN THE MIDDLE AGES

BY

FRANCISCO RODRÍGUEZ ADRADOS

TRANSLATED BY

LESLIE A. RAY

This edition has been revised and updated
by the author and Gert-Jan van Dijk

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ABBREVIATIONS

In general terms, they are from the *Diccionario Griego-Español*, Vol. V, Madrid, C.S.I.C., 1997. Apart from these, the main ones are:

Ad.	Codex Ademari.
AnF.	Anonymous Fable.
Av.	Avianus.
B.	Babrius.
Branc.	Codex Brancaccianus.
Dod.	Byzantine *politici* dodecasyllables.
AnF.	Anonymous fables (I: Augustana; II: Vindobonensis; III: Accursiana; the subcollections are designated with Greek and Latin letters).
H. + number	Number of the edition by Hausrath of the AnF.
not-H. + number	Fables that are not in Hausrath (with the numbering from Appendix II).
M.	Medieval fable (with the numbering from Appendix III).
Panch.	*Panchatantra.*
Par.	Bodleian Paraphrase.
PRyl.	Rylands Papyrus 493 and its collection.
Ph.	Phaedrus.
Ps.-Dos.	Pseudo-Dositheus.
Rom.	Romulus (g = recensio gallicana, v = recensio vetus).
Sy.	Fables included in both Synt. and Syr.
Synt.	Syntipas.
Syr.	Syrian fables translated by Sister Lefèvre.
Tantr.	*Tantrākhyāyika.*
T. Assend.	*Assendelft Tablets.*
Tetr.	Tetrastichs of Ignatius the Deacon and others.
W.	Codex Wissenburgensis.

INTRODUCTION TO THE SPANISH EDITION

In the organization of this work, the second volume appearing now is devoted to the history of the Graeco-Latin fable starting from the beginning of our era: in the Roman Imperial Age and in the Latin and Greek or Byzantine Middle Ages.

It has already been indicated in the introduction to Volume I that the division of the fabulistic material to be studied according to the chronological approach that we follow, as is usual in these cases, does nevertheless present certain problems. In fact, we find ourselves faced with a vicious circle: the detail of the collections of Hellenistic fables only starting from the study of the Imperial and Medieval collections could, to a certain point, be worked out; and, in turn, the history of the formation of these late collections can only be made from knowledge of the Hellenistic fable, from which it started. It has been necessary, then, to proceed in phases and by trial and error. In Volume I, I have given a general idea of the collections of late fables—those that have been preserved—and, on discussing the Hellenistic fable, I have used them constantly. I have, then, anticipated elements on the later fable. Conversely, on studying this we will gain new knowledge of the Hellenistic fable, from which it derives. Just as the previous volume anticipated elements of this one (previous elements that needed to be completed and, sometimes, rectified), this completes the former.

We have already seen in Chapter I 2 of the first Volume, entitled General Inventory of the Graeco-Latin Fable, the state of the research into the origin of the various collections stretching from the 1st century AD (Phaedrus) until the end of the Middle Ages. We must include the Anonymous Fables among these collections, both those of the main collections published by Hausrath, and those of the Rylands Papyrus, collections that come from Demetrius Phalereus and absorbed various subsequent contributions, but the phase of which that is accessible to us (through this papyrus in one case, by reconstruction of the ancient Augustana in another) we have located hypothetically as the 1st century BC. It must be said that the reconstruction of those origins today is still rather incomplete and prone

to error. Here we will do no more than take a step further forward along the path of that investigation.

It is the comparison between the different versions of the same fabulistic theme that might uncover the relationships between these: which derive from which or from which approximately reconstructible "missing links". This comparison requires, initially, the assembly of a dossier or a complete inventory of data relating to each fable; in a second phase, the study of the variants of the fable as regards content, structure and metre. The metre, in particular, is the thread capable of taking us through variants inserted into collections with a different chronology until it shows us the relations. This study is not easy. I offered some examples of this in works already cited in the previous volume, in which hypotheses or conclusions were presented, either our own or those of others, on specific fables. Later I published three detailed studies on two fables that are particularly complex on account of the numerous aspects of their transmission: one, that of "The Swallow (or Owl) and the Birds" (H. 39 a and b);[1] the other, that of "The Horse, the Stag (or the Boar) and the Hunter (or the Man)".[2] We must observe that, in this second case, the interest was concentrated on the reconstruction of the original fable by Stesichorus starting from its derivations, although the Hellenistic and Medieval tradition coming from Demetrius was also studied. In the second article there was also an attempt to reconstruct other lost fables.

When working on these reconstructions, it is very soon noted that it is rare to find a fable derived directly from another preserved one: this is the case of fables by Babrius that have given rise to derivatives in the Byzantine paraphrases or dodecasyllables, of the fables of the Pseudo-Dositheus (in their Latin version), practically copied word for word by Romulus, of others by Phaedrus, prosified and more or less altered by the *Codex Ademari*, or by the *Wissenburgensis* or Romulus himself. Even in the case of fables that are very similar, from a detailed study it can be deduced that they do not derive one from the other, but both from a third. This has been recog-

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[1] "La fábulas de la golondrina de Grecia a la India y la Edad Media", *Emerita* 48, 1980, pp. 185–208, and "Más sobre la fábula de la golondrina", *Emerita* 50, 1982, pp. 75–80.

[2] "Neue Jambische Fragmente aus archaischer und klassischer Zeit. Stesichorus, Semonides (?), auctor incertus", *Philologus*, 126, 1982, pp. 157–179.

nized, as we already know, in the case of Phaedrus and the Augustana: Phaedrus generally derives from a lost ancestor of our Augustana. And it has been recognized in other cases; we have collected data and ideas in this area in our "Inventory of the Graeco-Latin Fable" already cited.

Furthermore, even when things seemed clear in the case of the anonymous fables, in which it was supposed that there was a derivation from the Augustana into the Vindobonensis and another (when the latter did not show a given fable) into the Accursiana, as well as one from the Vindobonensis into the latter, we have seen in the chapter cited that the reality was much more complex. Namely, that various manuscripts or groups of them were able to "drink" directly from the ancient semiprosified model, which they contaminated with models of the collections preserved.

We must convince ourselves that we conserve a minimum flow within the vast flourishing of the ancient fabulistic genre, as is demonstrated by the recent appearance of new papyrus versions of fables.[3] The "missing links" are countless, only sometimes can we gain partial access to them. And we sometimes do not even know whether there was a "missing link": whether an author such as Babrius, for example, was responsible for the modifications that appear in a fable of his or whether some of them derive from a lost intermediate source (this is the case when they occur in a second fabulist not dependent on Babrius, but when they do not, the doubt remains). And once we succeed in establishing (with greater or lesser certainty, depending on the case) the history of the fables one by one, there remains the very difficult task of extrapolating conclusions of a general nature that refer to the collections. Both to the ones preserved and to the ones lost that have been hypothetically reconstructed.

Certainly, I have the two advantages over my predecessors, to which I have referred: the complete dossier (as far as is possible) of the ancient fable and the "Ariadne's thread" of the metrics. Since we have about 600 ancient fables (in some cases the decision as to whether you are dealing with a new fable or a variant of a known

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[3] *PColon.* 64, the theme of "The Bitch that gave Birth", Phaedrus I 19 and Justinus 43.4, 3, and another new fable; *PMich.* 457 + *PYale* inv. 1158 v., new version of "The Swallow and the Birds". Note that this is a fable that was believed to be an original of Phaedrus, of another with a new theme (although unrecognizable) and of a new metrical version of an already known fable.

one is very subjective) and the problems of many of them are extremely complex, I have found it more practical to present the dossier and the study of each fable in a series of Appendices that close the work (Volume III). The exposition of this is thus facilitated, as at each moment only the necessary examples are used, possibly with a more detailed study than the summary one in the corresponding Appendix.

The Appendices to which I am referring are I and II, which bring together all the versions of fables that have reached us from Antiquity or that, coming from the Byzantine or Western Middle Ages, may add something to our knowledge of the ancient fable. Present there, of course, are the Vindobonensis and Accursiana collections, the paraphrases and dodecasyllables, Ignatius the Deacon, the so-called Syntipas, which are beautiful witnesses that help to reconstruct versions of lost fables for us. Present, in the West, are the Ademari and Wissenburgensis codices and the so-called Romulus, which, together with derivations of Phaedrus, contains various fabulistic material of ancient origin. On the other hand, I will leave collections that include purely Medieval derivations of known ancient fables (by Avianus, Romulus, etc.) or else new fables created starting both from the ancient ones and from European or Oriental sources, for Appendix III. They are interesting for the study of the Medieval fable, which is also the object of attention in this book, but not for the reconstruction of the ancient fable.

Let us now return to the theme of the reconstruction of the relationships between the preserved collections and, as a consequence, the lost ones. This, and not the literary study or the study of the thought of Phaedrus, Babrius, etc., is the central theme of the book. Although we must draw attention to the fact that only now, when the sources of these authors are uncovered, can their degree of originality be properly appreciated as regards the treatment of the themes, the ideas, the literary form. I have already made some mention of this. I will now add some further elements. However, I repeat, my fundamental task comes before this, the purely philological one of establishing sources, alterations, contaminations, etc.

Consider that we find ourselves faced with a task that is not subsumed in clarifying the history of each fable, as far as this is possible, but in aspiring to arrive at the history of the collections. And consider that a collection may have used various models, sometimes in alternation, sometimes contaminating them. This even when a

collection aspires to achieve a certain formal unity, as in the case of the Rylands Papyrus (only four fables preserved) or that of Aphthonius: in these cases, the diversity of sources is hidden. At other times it is to be expected from the beginning. Consider a work such as that of Babrius, in which we find fables ranging from those of four verses to other very highly developed ones, full of rhetorical *ecphrases*, such as Babrius 95, the fable of the stag, the fox and the lion. These discrepancies of style and content are added to the doubts that I manifested on the Babrian authorship of some choliambic fables in Vol. I, pp. 113 ff.; it could be thought that even in the Athous ms., an alphabetical edition from later than Babrius' original, might have mixed various materials.

Babrius' collection, as I would say of all those known to us, is a mixed collection, which includes traditional fables of various types and his own fables (from Oriental sources or else created by the author). Yet although it is likely, as I hope to demonstrate, in this case, that a part of that mixed character is due to the addition of extraneous fables, at other times it is clear that the author of a collection himself wanted this mixed character that had been inherited.

This is tangible in Phaedrus, who includes fables of very different lengths and types; and I have exemplified this in my "Inventory of the Graeco-Latin Fable" with the cases of the Assendelft Tablets, of Romulus, of the Paraphrases, etc. Yet the fact is that, in short, the Anonymous fables in general and, within them, the Augustana, also have this mixed character, which must already be attributed to the ancient Augustana of the 1st century BC. Of course this character is due partly to the fact that we consider manuscripts or groups of them that add their own fables or versions (cf. Vol. I, pp. 87 ff.) as witnesses of a same collection. Yet the last core, common to the whole tradition, is equally heterogeneous.

In fact, this radical heterogeneity is intrinsic to the whole fable, since from Demetrius (not to mention the earlier times) fables were considered to be fictitious agonal stories with animal protagonists, others of situation, human anecdotes, stories of natural history, simple χρεῖαι, etc. This is already familiar to the readers of this book. It is no less certain that it was possible to deal with all this material with some style or another, extending, reducing, introducing some philosophy or other, preferring certain compositional schemes to others, deriving new fables. The problem is to what extent the collections known to us drank from an equally mixed source, restricting

themselves to choosing and later adding fables that they derived from others or else invented; or to what extent they used more than one of these mixed collections or, possibly, of what we would call specialized collections, for example, those based on the fables of four verses referred to above, sometimes animalistic, sometimes anecdotal.

It is difficult to reconstruct in detail the enormous spider's web of the primary collections and the derived and contaminated collections, sometimes in verse, sometimes in prose, from Antiquity, of which the preserved collections are something like the tip of the iceberg. What we can do is attempt a reconstruction of the history of each fable and, starting from there, attempt to draw conclusions on the preserved collections. As regards the lost ones, the investigation must pass, we believe, through a first phase: that of establishing the inventory of what we will call primary metrical fables.

Indeed, beneath the prosaic or versified attire of most of the fables (the *senarii* of Phaedrus, the choliambs of Babrius, the Byzantine dodecasyllables, etc.) we find an ancient Hellenistic verse of a special type that has been described in the first volume of this work. In the past I have suggested in certain places that there are also fables whose prototype, added secondarily to the collections, was always prosaic; this is something I would not dare to affirm today; the absence of clear remnants of verse in a few fables is a negative and not very convincing argument. There are occasions in which we find not a single metrical version, but two or more: that is to say, of Hellenistic, pre-Babrian verses. For the fable of the swallow, referred to above, there are no less than four primary versions; there are often two, sometimes three.

In cases such as these, we must distinguish between two possibilities: one, that there is a primary verse, from which the others (or the other) derive, generally where there is a profound change of theme or else a summarized or amplified version. The other possibility is that two or more metrical models of a fable come directly and independently from a prior common model, that of Demetrius Phalereus or another: also generally in connection with the existence of two variants of the same fable. It is not always easy to separate one case from the other. We must study this problem in detail.

Yet insofar as the problem is solved, we succeed in establishing an inventory of fables in primary verse, a verse that it is necessary to attempt to reconstruct by comparison of the various derivative versions. Let us be clear here: it is not possible to decide, at this

stage, whether all the fables with primary verse appeared in the same collection or whether—as is much more likely—more and more were gradually added. In the first volume of this work I put forward a series of arguments in favour of this latter proposal: there are a series of reasons, sometimes thematic, sometimes formal, that help us to consider some fables more recent than others.

Bringing together all these criteria, we will succeed in forming an idea of the lost collections of fables, both those of the Hellenistic Age and their continuers of the Imperial Age. Some arrived intact, I believe, in the heart of the Byzantine Age, the 9th century, and others were known to the creators of the Western "Romulus". In all the collections preserved and in the indirect tradition data may be found to reconstruct the lost collections to a certain extent. Thus, at the same time, we gain data on the origin of the preserved collections and their characteristics.

I must emphasize the importance of the "customs" of these collections, in studying them one by one to see how their authors or writers work: what materials they have before them, which they choose, which not, how they contaminate or modify, how they create or even invent. This is the basis, as I said, for opening up the path to a literary and ideological study of the collections. I will also contribute to opening it, looking in detail at the new fables, those that were created without being based on a primary or secondary metrical version or else modifying it significantly.

At this point it is appropriate to say a little more on the organization of the book. The first part refers to the general problems of the relationships between fables: it studies the types of relationship that are repeated and correspond, therefore, to characteristic *stemmata*. This part offers some initial considerations on the relationship between the collections, since these frequently occupy the same places in the *stemmata*; and it takes on some of the work of analysis of the individual fables that is performed in the other two parts of the book.

These two parts refer, respectively, to the ancient and the Medieval collections, both Greek and Latin. We already know that the Medieval collections contribute data of interest to the reconstruction of the lost ones from the Hellenistic and Roman Ages. Yet we cannot avoid tracing the history of the preserved collections, following their chronological order. In tracing it, the threads of the fabric of lost collections from which they derive are progressively revealed. Only at the end of the book will they remain clear—as far as is possible—to be briefly

summarized in the Conclusion. However, at the same time, the preserved collections are studied on the basis of the sources they use and of the treatment that is applied to them: I think that, particularly in the case of the collections by individual authors, we may thus advance in our knowledge of their literary and ideological characteristics.

Part II then deals with Phaedrus, Babrius, the Pseudo-Dositheus, Aphthonius, Avianus, the Augustana Collection and the lesser collections and the exemplum-fable. The reason for leaving the study of the Augustana for the end, in spite of the fact that it subsequently developed an ancient core derived from Demetrius, is that in the analysis of the fables of other authors and in the study of their sources, support is gained for a better knowledge of precisely this evolution of the Augustana. The study of the exemplum-fables is performed once the canvas on which we must locate them is traced in general terms.

In any case (in spite of the elements that we must inevitably offer in advance), the study of the fable of the Imperial Age remains incomplete until, in Part III, that on the Byzantine Fable, derived from the fables of the Imperial and the Hellenistic Age, is carried out. Fundamentally the source is the Greek fable of the ancient tradition: the fables of the Codex Brancaccianus, the Syriac fables (of Greek tradition and precisely from the line of the Augustana), the Vindobonensis and Accursiana collections (the study of which is also very helpful in completing our knowledge of the central tradition of the Greek fable, that of the Augustana), the Paraphrases and Dodecasyllables (which form a unitary tradition, closely related to Babrius, but not always derived from him, as I have already said), the Tetrastichs of Ignatius the Deacon (derived from the two main lines of tradition).

Nevertheless, within this part of the book, there remains a vast field to consider: that of the Medieval Latin fable and of certain particular aspects of the Greek one. Thus a new analysis was necessary of the so-called "Romulus", to clarify his origins and stages of formation; and an analysis of the Medieval Latin fable in general, both that of this origin and that from other sources. Among these, the Oriental ones are particularly significant; I propose that they came to be known to Latin Europe through Byzantium, where they left their traces, which I study.

In short, sometimes through Phaedrus and Avianus, sometimes through influences that came from Byzantium and sometimes from

the East, the ancient fable and even the Oriental one met with a new, very creative opportunity to flourish in the West. In Byzantium the tradition of the Greek fable was, of course, stronger: but it was less original, the Byzantine fable is, for us, more than anything, a source for the knowledge of the ancient one. Literally speaking, Byzantium contributed very little in this field. Yet during the course of the Middle Ages, from the 9th century, and later already in the 15th, it transmitted the Greek fable to the West, facilitating the reconstruction of the ancient unitary tradition of the fable.

Fundamentally, in Byzantium this study reaches the new collections of the 9th century (although I present later material, when it is interesting). In the West it reaches the middle of the 13th century, approximately, when the Romance and Germanic literatures assumed prominence in terms of creativity and Oriental fables were now already known through translations into modern languages. The moment of synthesis to which I have referred was drawing near. And the moment of the flourishing of modern genres was approaching, such as the Romance, the Tale and the Picaresque novel, strongly influenced in their origin by the fable.

This completes the intentions of this book: to study the bridge that the Graeco-Latin fable represents between the Mesopotamian fable and the Renaissance and modern fables, including derived genres such as those mentioned. Of course, it is a vast and little explored field, as we have seen: one could aspire to do no more than trace some general lines that explain the life of the fable through various cultures and at the service of these, within some relatively constant features.

It only remains to be added that in various places in this volume, as in Volume I, certain previous publications by the author have been used, and these are cited in the appropriate places.

The work will be completed with a third volume, which will contain the three Appendices to which I have referred, which I mention constantly and which the reader must always take into account. The first two contain, as I have said, the ancient fables that we know and the Medieval ones that are the source for reconstructing other lost ones. Each fable is accompanied by a brief summary, a structural scheme, a presentation of the most reliable metrical remnants, an indication of its relationship with other fables (derivatives or sources) and at least a tentative *stemma*. For the purposes of making it easier to handle, this group is divided into two parts: Appendix

I brings together the fables that are represented in the Anonymous Fables (ed. Hausrath) and in II are the fables that are not in them. Respectively, they are numbered as H. 1, 2, 3 . . . (Hausrath's numbering) and as not-H: 1, 2, 3 . . . (in alphabetical order). As has been said, Appendix III brings together the Medieval fables that do not have the previous characteristics, also with an indication of their relationship with the ancient fables, with others, and with each other. I refer to these with the prefix M. (M. 1, 2, 3 . . ., in alphabetical order). In each entry the reference is given to the models H. or not-H., as well as the indication of the existence of M. derivatives in these.

As in the previous volume, I must thank Dr. Emilia Martínez-Fresneda for her invaluable help in the work prior to the composition of the work: specifically, in the organization of the materials in my files, which bring together all the fables that I know and a set of data on these. She also assisted me in the correction of the proofs.

INTRODUCTION TO THE ENGLISH EDITION

As in the case of the English edition of Volume I, this edition has been meticulously revised, with the addition of supplements to bring it up-to-date. In both editions, the assistance of Dr. Van Dijk has been invaluable. The Index added at the end of this volume is by him.

This volume continues Volume I; it is appropriate to study the remarks on the relationship between the two in the Introduction that precedes this one. There will follow a Volume III, which will include a considerably extended report on all the fables studied.

I must offer my thanks to the Spanish Ministry for Education and Culture, for its economic assistance with the translation of the whole work.

PART ONE

THE HELLENISTIC COLLECTIONS AS THE BASIS FOR THE SUBSEQUENT ONES: RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THESE

CHAPTER ONE

THE HELLENISTIC FABLES WITH A SINGLE PRIMARY METRICAL VERSION

I. *General Ideas and Preliminary Problems*

On the basis of the data in our Appendices, which will be referred to regularly in the form indicated in the introduction, we will establish a study of the primary metrical versions of the Hellenistic Age, beginning with those of which there is only a single specimen for each fable.

Of course, the fact that we only know one primary metrical version does not mean that others could not also have existed, and have been lost to us. Let us look, for example, at what happens with H. 32 "The Murderer". Important metrical remnants exist of this fable, with an Egyptian environment and concerning the punishment of evil, probably from the late Hellenistic period, after Cynicism (cf. Vol. 1, pp. 635 ff.); these remnants sometimes appear in AnF. I, sometimes in AnF. II (that is to say, the Augustana and Vindobonensis collections, respectively),[1] sometimes in both; this can be proven in Appendix I, as it can in all the other cases from now on in which we make affirmations of this kind. If we only had the versions of this fable from the manuscript tradition, we might think that we were dealing with a unique primary version: Antiphanes, in *AP* XI 348, also makes reference to this fable, precisely in the form in which it appears in AnF.; since we are dealing with elegiac distichs, it is not surprising that no trace remains of the original verse. The Grenfell-Hunt Papyrus II 84 preserves the fable, in somewhat mutilated form and with a slightly different version, but, particularly, also with a different metre. There are two well preserved initial iambic trimetres and two final ones and remnants of verse in the central prose. Neither the trimetres nor these remnants agree with the verse of AnF., the closest is II]ἀνέβη εἰς δένδρον, Grenfell-Hunt Papyrus]ἀνῆλθεν εἰς δένδρον. There were, then, at least two metrical versions.

[1] AnF. = Anonymous Fables.

Furthermore, it is clear that they date back to a common original. In this I think the male victim of divine justice was a parricide (II, *AP*, Grenfell-Hunt Papyrus); that the action took place near the Nile (I, II, it is deduced from *AP*, the Grenfell-Hunt Papyrus is inconclusive as it is fragmentary); that the first animal that attacked to the murderer was a lion (II λέοντ' ἰδών with metre, Grenfell-Hunt Papyrus; the wolf of I and *AP* must be an innovation), the second a δράκων (Grenfell-Hunt Papyrus εὑρών, metrical, cf. II εὗρε δὲ δράκοντα; ἔχις I, ἀσπίς *AP* are innovations). *AP* probably derives from an original closely related to 1, which has gone further away from the original text than II. This model of I and II had to preserve the identification of the punished criminal as a parricide and, probably, located the action close to the Nile. As we see, we suppose two metrical versions and an original text of one of them, which later underwent alterations in various stages. However, we repeat, none of this would be evident to us if we did not preserve, purely by chance, the semiprosified metrical version on the Grenfell-Hunt Papyrus.

The fables of Classical Age that do not appear in our collections are a different case. Consulting our inventory of the Classical fable in Vol. I, pp. 396 ff., we may find fables that we indicated as not existing in the collections. This is no more than a fact: they are not in our collections, they may have been lost in them or have been lost in others. The same applies to fables of Hellenistic authors that do not appear in our collections, referred to in Vol. I, pp. 534 ff.

That is to say, the inventories of fables that are properly Hellenistic and, within them, that of the primary metrical variants (for the moment we only consider them in the case in which there is only one per fable) cannot be complete. Added to the reasons indicated are others that can easily be discerned from our exposition in Vol. I, pp. 503 ff., which is the point of departure of a more detailed study than we make here. We may recall, for example, the case of the "unique" fables of authors such as Phaedrus or Babrius, which could sometimes, certainly, be creations of theirs (starting from known fables or from various anecdotes or from Oriental fables), but which are also on occasions the only surviving witness of a tradition that for the most part has been lost.

We have already cited (and we refer to it in Vol. I, p. 135) the case of "The Bitch that gave Birth" from Phaedrus, which has stopped being a *unicum* (the version by Justinus is not sufficient to establish

a pre-Phaedrian tradition) thanks to a Greek papyrus version published in 1978. We also refer to fables from Babrius which find no parallels in the collections, but which find their remote source in Classical fables: it is logical to propose the existence of intermediate Hellenistic models, knowing our poet's way of working as we do. It is the same in other cases, in which the existence is added of Hellenistic metrical remnants. This would only be sufficient to attribute the fable "The Snake and the Eagle" to a primary metrical version (not-H. 86 = Aphth. 28); but we may add that we know partially, through Aelian (*NA* XVII 37, from Crates of Pergamon), the remnants of the model of Stesichorus, with very different metrical fragments.[2]

In short, in any collection and, outside of them, in any isolated citing of a fable, traces may be found of a primary metrical version from the Hellenistic Age, although this may be in an isolated fable. Although there is no harm in advising that when we have a single metrical Hellenistic version (remnants of it, rather) it cannot be excluded that it is a secondary metrical version derived from a lost primary one. This is a simple hypothesis, which, on the other hand, it is impossible to demonstrate. The truth is that the examination of the material that is held in our Appendices makes us arrive at a conclusion that we will now put forward: the most frequently occurring case is that of a single primary metrical version, as that of two is rare, that of more than two even rarer; and as the fables of which a secondary metrical version was created (that is to say, with different verse) are relatively frequent, they are, however, much less so than those that had only one (and therefore a primary) metrical version. There are, on the other hand, countless intermediate versions (primary metrical or secondary semiprosified or completely prosified) that were used as bridges between the more ancient Hellenistic versions and those of the collections of the Imperial and Middle Ages that have reached us.

We will present, then, to begin with, a series of fables with a single transmission, either in collections, or as exemplum-fables in various authors, which offer traces of Hellenistic verse and must therefore be considered as being derived from primary metrical versions. The sole fact of this transmission of a single channel, in short, dependent on chance, is sufficient proof that many other primary metrical versions must have been lost, as we have indicated.

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[2] Cf. my article already cited "Neue Fragmente...", p. 173.

On this subject, I must emphasize that the authors who offer us the fables in the language of translation (Latin in the case of Phaedrus, Avianus, etc., Syriac in the case of the collection translated into French by Sister Lefèvre and in that of the so-called Syntipas, translated back into Greek, cf. Vol. I, pp. 132 ff.) are in a particularly difficult situation. A metrical study is not possible here, although Phaedrus possesses formulas translated from Greek metrical formulas (cf. Vol. I, pp. 454 ff.) and on occasions Greek formulas also appear in Syriac fables (see below, pp. 414, 423): indeed, the formulas were kept alive in the language of the fabulists even when prose was prevalent, as we have seen in our study on the prosifications (Vol. I, pages 549 ff.).

In these cases, the attribution of a Hellenistic fable or date is pure conjecture, as it is based on reasons of structure and content that are not usually decisive, since the new fables—or some of them—were created imitating the same models. Some cases are more favourable: for example, not-H. 273 "The Frog that Burst and the Ox" in Phaedrus I 24 (from which Romulus 50 is derived). Since this fable is the model for not-H. 308 "The Toad that Swelled" (Babrius 28) and this theme is already in Horace, *Sat.* II 3, 314–320, we may deduce that it existed prior to Phaedrus.

However, for prudence's sake, in our study of the primary metrical versions we do not have recourse to the *unica* of translated collections. We will make the considerations that must be made on them when dealing with the respective collections.

On the other hand, of course, we will use these versions together with the other materials where they provide complementary data: when, for example, a fable is in AnF., showing Hellenistic metrical remnants, and Phaedrus. The comparison may show the ancient presence of these remnants, since they appear translated into Latin; on the other hand, the comparison may help to reconstruct the lost version and to show which the modifications introduced by AnF. (or one or more of its versions) or by Phaedrus are. We mention Phaedrus only as an example. the more the existing versions are, the more feasible will it be to unravel the plot of the modifications. Note, on the other hand (and we will return to this), that when there are one or more secondary versions together with the primary version or when there is more than one primary version, that is when it is easiest to establish the different lines and, therefore, also the primary metrical version or versions and the derivations of this.

Similar things must be said of the fables transmitted in verse other than the Hellenistic iambic. Of course, of those transmitted in elegiac distichs, already a traditional form in fables of the Classical Age (before this there was the hexametrical fable of Hesiod), which later occur relatively often, particularly in the epigrams of the *Anthologia Palatina*; we will dedicate a special section to this theme. Yet we must say something similar on the fables (whether by Babrius or not) in Babrian choliambs. We have studied that Babrius and his imitators consciously dedicated themselves to destroying Hellenistic verse, despite which metrical formulas of the traditional type and even relatively extensive agreements survived (cf. Vol. I, pp. 594 ff.). It is clear that when a fable is only found in Babrian verse (although derivations may be added in the paraphrases and dodecasyllables), an original Hellenistic verse cannot be investigated starting from here. This can only be done when there is a second appearance with remnants of verse. The same must be said of the iambic trimetres of Ignatius the Deacon.

A good example of this is not-H. 59 "The Oxherd and Heracles". Here all the rest of the tradition (Dod., Avianus, Photius) derives from Babrius 20. His is a situation fable: the oxherd asks Heracles to pull his cart out of the ravine where it has fallen and the god replies that the former must work first. The fable, with 8 verses, has a typically Cynic theme (praise of effort, mockery of lazy superstition, intervention by Heracles), and is very comparable to H. 30 "The Shipwrecked Man" (from which it perhaps comes). It could quite easily be a Hellenistic fable that, if anything, Babrius expanded. Yet this is not strictly demonstrable, as Babrius might have created it from a Hellenistic model.

Therefore—as in the case of Phaedrus and the translated fables—we will not base any statement on the existence of primary metrical versions on single fables of these types of verse, although when studying these collections we must consider the problem of the origin and age of the fables. However, as in the previous case, this material is used alongside that offering direct Hellenistic metrical remnants to attempt to reconstruct the original fables, at least in content and structure.

The case of the Byzantine dodecasyllables (Dod.) is slightly different; it is in fact comparable to that of the paraphrases (Par.). As we have already said (Vol. I, p. 114), these dodecasyllables are a derivation of the choliambs of the Babrian type. And they contain fragments

of ancient iambic verse, whether Babrian or not: of course, provided they fit the new conditions of this type of metre as regards the number of syllables, accentuation and caesura. The best proof is that fables in dodecasyllables that are derivations of Babrius or of Babrian fables preserve literal fragments. It so happens that the fragments that have survived in these fables are not only Babrian metrical ones, but also other non-Babrian ones (sometimes coinciding with those in the AnF. or other corresponding ones). In a similar manner, in the paraphrases we sometimes find fragments coming from Babrian fables, sometimes others with Hellenistic metre; though the distinction between one and the other is not always easy or possible to make.

The problem of the origins of paraphrases and dodecasyllables is indeed complex. Already in our Vol. I, pp. 109 ff., we indicated that in these Byzantine fables there are other different elements, together with metrical elements coming from Babrius (or from the Babrian fables). We have sometimes discussed the closeness to the Anonymous Fables and the contamination of these with Babrius. We must study this problem in more detail: we can say at this point that, indeed, in paraphrases and dodecasyllables there is sometimes a pure derivation from Babrius, but at others a derivation from Hellenistic metrical prototypes (primary or secondary) and at others still a contamination of one by the other. For the moment we are only interested in what follows: the fact that, on occasions, the paraphrases (Par.) and the dodecasyllables (Dod.) derive from the single primary metrical version of certain fables. Their metrical remnants are, therefore, complementary to those of AnF. (and, possibly, to those of other branches of the tradition).[3]

Therefore, in our exposition of the material derived from the primary metrical versions of the Hellenistic Age we must include those fables only appearing in Par. and/or Dod. which show that type of verse, no more and no less than fables of other collections that are in the same circumstances. And we must add those fables in which there are elements appearing from various origins, including the versions of Par. and Dod., which present what we refer to as complementary metre: remnants of a primary version which sometimes

[3] On this, see particularly "La tradición fabulística griega y sus modelos métricos", cit., *Emerita* 38, 1970, pp. 1 ff. As regards the detail, sometimes we follow the conclusions of this article, sometimes we modify them tacitly.

agree, are the same, sometimes appear here or there but without contradicting each other.

In any case, it is appropriate to repeat that we must not treat all the versions of Par. and Dod. derived from the same fable as a unit. Since just as there may be a single Par. version or a single Dod. version or two versions, one Par. and the other Dod., the case may also occur of various Par. versions and various Dod. versions. And there may be many differences between the two. The Hellenistic verse may be found in some, alone or else contaminated with Babrian verse, it may also be entirely absent from some. We will give details of this when we discuss paraphrases and dodecasyllables in particular. Here it is sufficient to give a warning of this, so that it is not considered strange that the versions of Par. and Dod. are or are not taken into account, depending on the case, in reconstructing the Hellenistic metrical versions (for the moment, the primary ones).

On occasions, within the versions of Par. and Dod., there are some that are aligned with different prototypes (primary or not). Just as neither is it rare for this to occur within the anonymous tradition (see, to give just a single example, the case of H. 184, where I "The Walker and Fortune" maintains the primary verse, whereas there is secondary verse in II, Par./Dod. and Babrius, in which sometimes it is a "boy" who intervenes, sometimes a "farmer", sometimes "somebody"). Cf. p. 446.

The same thing happens with the versions of Par. and Dod. as with those of AnF., where it may also happen that one of them has destroyed the original verse or has restricted itself to maintaining that of its model within the AnF.s (I in some cases, II in others, not to mention Ia, Ib, III and isolated mss.). Another agreement also lies in the fact that—for the moment we would not be sure if this is always the case, but it is on many occasions—the ancient verse has reached these collections (AnF., Par., Dod.) through semiprosifications. We already discussed this in Vol. I, pp. 99 and 109, and we will discuss it further when dealing with the collections in question. It is clear that in the case of AnF. the ancient semiprosified version is sometimes contaminated with the models preserved within the anonymous tradition.

Returning to the theme of fables with a single primary metrical version, which we will consider below, we will briefly summarize what has previously been stated. Firstly we make reference to those

of which only a derivative remains, precisely in the collections susceptible to showing metrical remnants that are easy to detect. We will add the reference to those fables that present derivatives of this derivative that we have described as unique: for example, a fable only transmitted by Babrius and by *Tetr.* as the latter version is derived from the former, is, for our purposes, a fable with a single derivative. The procedure is similar to that of the *eliminatio codicum descriptorum* in textual criticism; although, certainly, the doubt could sometimes remain as to whether it is a simple derivation in a direct line or whether both derivative versions come from a common, lost one. May I recall that in this list I do not include the case of fables appearing only in translation or in metrical versions that are hard to reduce to the Hellenistic metre: they may be old or newly created, but this is a complex theme that would divert us from our objective and which we reserve, when it is possible to approach it (which it often is not), to the chapters dedicated to the various fabulists and collections.

A second list refers to fables that we suppose to have a single primary metrical version, but which have produced various subsequent witnesses. The most simple cases are those in which these witnesses are found within the AnF., there being complementary verse in various of its collections or manuscripts, which, moreover, usually cover not the primary metrical version, but a semiprosification of this. Here we will give some examples of the verse, for the rest the reader is referred, once and for all, to Vol. III, Appendix I. Parallel to this case is that other in which the complementary verse is in various versions of Par. and/or Dod. And a degree of greater complexity is obtained when it is necessary to work on AnF., Par. and/or Dod. and, possibly, other witnesses (Aphthonius, the Pseudo-Dositheus, the Codex Brancaccianus, the indirect tradition).

In this case, it has already been stated that we have included the evidence of fables in translation and the metrical ones that are not easily reducible to the Hellenistic model: Phaedrus, Babrius, the *AP*, etc. Their appearance does not serve, generally, to demonstrate the verse, although it may sometimes confirm it; but it is very useful, as has already been said, to establish the history of the fables in question, since it most often shows that between the primary metrical version and the various collections there are various lost steps, that is to say, that the semiprosified fable that is at the basis of AnF. (or of Par., Dod., or both lines) is not the oldest, but one inheriting

from previous semiprosifications known by Phaedrus, Babrius, Aphthonius, etc., as the case may be. And altered by one or the other in different ways. We will look at the details in the chapters on the collections.

This second list by us of fables with a single primary version and various derivatives refers to the case in which, hypothetically, these lost steps that we have just discussed do not exist: the case in which the various versions preserved derive directly and independently from the original Hellenistic verse Xv. When there is an intermediate step or various intermediate steps (derivation in cascade or in steps, as we say) this is a separate case, which is contained in our third list. Although for the purposes of reconstructing the *corpus* of the primary versions this is immaterial, it is not, by any means, for the study of the history of the fable.

We must observe in advance, although we will return to this later, that the different cases are not at all easy to distinguish. For example, in H. 45 "The Oxen and the Axle" it is easy to see that AnF. I and II come from an original in four Hellenistic verses, large fragments of which remain (there is a complete verse). In this fable, the oxen complain that the axle on the cart screeches, when it is they that are bearing all the weight: this is a typical situation fable, with a final lament by the protagonist. Babrius (on whom Par. and Dod. depend) has extended the fable to six verses, plus two for the epimythium, and has made the oxherd, not the oxen, reprimand the axle. He preserves some traces of the verse of AnF., which he has evidently altered, just as no less evidently he has introduced a much more recent scheme, as the traditional one is that a character in the fable "closes", not a "survenant" C. Who introduced the modifications? Babrius or an intermediate source? It is impossible to say from conclusions drawn from the fable itself; we must wait to see if the study of the poet as a whole sheds any light.

Of course, the problem is solved when certain peculiarities of Babrius' fable (to continue with this example) also appear in another fabulist. Such as in H. 198 "The Ass and the Wolf", in which Babrius agrees with Aphthonius as compared with the principal line, derived from the primary fable, which is in AnF. and elsewhere.

In any case, throughout this study we will be seeing the customs of the various fabulists or collections, which will help us to establish likely hypotheses on the history of certain fables. Although we must observe that the widespread fact of ambiguity when choosing sources

means that these customs find their contradictions here and there. This even in the case of fabulists who tend towards regularity, such as Phaedrus, who, when he does not contaminate or invent, usually follows models related to those of AnF.; or in that of the Syriac fabulists (whom we call Syr. and Synt.), almost always (although not always) very close to AnF., but also derived from a model prior to the fables as they have been transmitted it us.

We must say something about the verse of the primary versions and on the non-primary character of certain fables. In our Vol. I we have already studied the characteristics of the Hellenistic verse used by the fabulists in terms of metrical feet (including the alternation of iambic trimetres and choliambs), without the accent on the penultimate syllable, pauses, diaeresis, abbreviations, etc. We also showed that, although they went further than any other poets, the fabulists of the Cynic school did no more than develop tendencies of the contemporary metrics of the didactic type. The qualification as "Byzantine", given sometimes by certain authors to the rare verses that they detected in the Augustana (cf. Vol. I, pp. 74 ff.) does not stand up for this reason among many others, including the appearance of verse of this type in the fables of Plutarch, Appian, etc. (see in this same chapter) and in semiprosified papyrus fables of the Hellenistic and Roman Ages; the continuation, although rarely, of the iambic verse of the Classical fable in its Hellenistic derivatives;[4] and, generally, our whole argument in this book and in the articles that have preceded it.

However, this does not prevent some late, non-Hellenistic fables possibly being introduced into the collections of fables. For example, it is very certain that fables of the Babrian tradition were introduced into the manuscripts of the AnF. (choliambics, paraphrases, dodecasyllables): we have already discussed this. We will go further: some of the fables cited as being from the Augustana or from the other collections derive, in fact, from this Babrian tradition. To give

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[4] For example, in the fable of the horse, the stag and the hunter, see my art. cit. on p. x, n. 2; in that of the fox and the monkey, H. 83, cf. its ὦ πίθηκε, σὺ δὲ τοιαύτην ψυχὴν ἔχων and the τοιήνδε δ', ὦ πίθηκε, τὴν πυγὴν ἔχων by Archilochus, *Epode* VI, fr. 76 (cited by my edition *Líricos griegos elegíacos y yambógrafos arcaicos* I, Madrid, 3rd ed., 1990); in that of the camel, the elephant and the monkey, H. 246, derived from the same Epode by Archilochus, cf. his διότι χολὴν οὐκ ἔχει (cf. also H. 210) and the χολὴν γὰρ οὐκ ἔχεις ἐφ' ἤπατι of Archilochus, fr. 67. Cf. also my study on the formulas of the Classical fable inasmuch as inherited by the subsequent one, above, Vol. I, pp. 5 ff., 369 ff., 443 ff., 594 ff.

an especially noteworthy example, we will refer to various ones (cf. pp. 433 ff.), in which what Hausrath published as the Accursiana collection is none other than the transcription of a version in Byzantine dodecasyllables; another may be H. 234, in which AnF. I, II and III derive from Dod. We add, however, that at the end of the edition by Hausrath various prosaic fables (novelettes, rather), undoubtedly Byzantine, for example H. 300 and 301, as well as various fables, are published as being from AnF. III (which is not always true).

Under these circumstances, it would not be at all strange for some fables to have Byzantine verse, since Classical verses continued to be cultivated in Byzantium; consider, for example, the fables of Ignatius the Deacon. It would be not at all strange for this to be the case, for example, of H. 278 "The Wife and the Drunken Husband", a long and chaotic novelette, of very far from classical school and content. This does not seem likely for the great mass of the fables, particularly those that have produced derivatives known by us from the Imperial Age. In any event, the *onus probandi* remains with those who possibly want to formulate this hypothesis for such and such a fable.

A more serious problem, already mentioned elsewhere, is that of those fables for which the metrical documentation is limited and ambiguous: it is not easy to see if there is metre and, if there is, if it is Hellenistic or not. In fact, if we did not have a great number of fables with Hellenistic metrical remnants, we would not dare to form the hypothesis that these fables are based on metrical originals. We formed it because they are fables of the type of the metrical ones and they are in the same collections as these; the more the fables are studied the less easy it is to find some in which there is no possibility of metrical remnants. By themselves, clearly, some limited remnants do not prove much, although we give them in our Appendices: it remains clear what the origin of the likelihood of the hypothesis that we have indicated is. We refer to fables of the type of H. 56, in which what we find (in AnF. I, εἰς δίκην ὑπήγαγον or δαιμόνων ὀργάς) are possible verse endings or H. 42, in which the verse is relatively well established, but does not reveal Hellenistic features (which does not mean that it does not have them). In any event, in our Appendices we indicate a few fables for which we do not find verse, apart from those in which we find little or do not find Hellenistic features.

Even so, and though they may seem rare, we think that, given the situation, it is on those that possibly reject the existence of verse in fables or in such and such a fable that the *onus probandi* of their absence here or there lies. Although I do not rule out, I repeat, the idea that fables without verse or fables so prosified that they do not preserve traces of the verse may have been introduced; as a general tonic, we must continue to affirm that all fables of the ancient tradition that have been transmitted to us depend, ultimately, on a model with primary verse, either derived from Demetrius' collection or from later. It is these primary models that we will present in this chapter: specifically, those that are unique in each fable. Within these we subsequently study the different cases, which refer purely to the state of our tradition: when there is a single specimen of a fable (or a single one and its derivatives); when there are various specimens with complementary verse; the same case, when fables in translation or with modern verse are added; this latter, even when there is a "cascade", that is, derivations with verse or secondary prose.

As regards the Anonymous Fables, we must offer yet another warning: in the different recensions or subrecensions or groups of manuscripts, they may offer more than one metrical version of the same fable. These different versions are accompanied by a modification of the structure or the theme, an expansion or abbreviation, etc. In Vol. I of this work, pp. 84 ff. and 591 ff., we have offered quite a number of examples of these facts. And we will see during the course of this study that it is occasionally the case that one of the metrical versions is derived from the other (occasionally through an intermediate version), and that AnF. I does not always preserve the most ancient recension. Sometimes it presents another or, simply, it does not present the fable, which is in AnF. Ib, III, etc. That is to say, that it is difficult to separate *a priori* the primary metrical versions from the secondary; when there is only one version it is practically impossible because it may be the case that others have been lost.

Note also that on occasions the fables transmitted by the manuscripts of the Anonymous Fables are from the tradition of the paraphrases: this we indicate on each appropriate occasion in our Appendix I. And it also happens that the Anonymous Fables (or such and such a recension of them) present a secondary verse, where the primary has left a trace in other branches of the fabulistic tradition.

For practical purposes, I enclose a list of fables of the AnF. collections that are absent from I, indicating the recensions or mss. in which they appear.

The indication (Ia) means that these are fables only in Ia or in Ia and in mss. of I that we suppose have taken the text of this version; (Ia?) means that they are fables only in mss. of I, with a text that supposedly comes from Ia. With one or two exceptions, these are fables with clear verse, in principle primary.[5]

H. 15b (Ib), 39b (Ia), 60 (Ib), 65 (Ia?), 65a (Ib), 91 (Ia), 106 (Ib), 114 I (Ia?), 141 (Ia?), 151a (Ib), 159 (Ia), 165 (Ia), 169 (Ia?), 171 (Ia?), 174 (Ib), 190 (Ia), 200 (Ia), 204 (Ia?), 205 (Ia?), 209 (Ia), 214 (Ia), 227 (Ia), 228 (Ia), 229 (Ia?), 231 (Ia), 238 (Ia?), 240 (Ia), 241 (Ia), 245 (Ia), 247 (Ia), 249 (Ia?), 261 (Ia), 262–267 (Ib), 268 (II–III δ), 269 (III α β γ Ia), 270 (II, III γ δ), H. 271 (III α β γ δ Ia Ib), 272 (III α β γ), 273 (III α γ), 274 (III α β γ), 275 (III α β γ), 276 (III α β γ), 277 (III α β γ), 278 (III α β γ Ia), 279 (III γ δ), 280 (III γ δ), 281 (III γ δ), 282 (III γ δ F), 283 (III γ δ Ia Ib), 284 (III γ δ Ib), 285 (II, III γ δ F), 286 (III α β γ δ Ia), 287 (III α γ δ F), 288 (III α F), 289 (III α δ), 290 (F), 291 (F), 292 (F), 293 (F), 294 (F), 295 (F), 296 (F), 297 (F), 298 (M), 299 (III γ δ), 300 (M), 301 (M), 302 (MF), 303 (MF), 304 (MF), 305 (MFP), 306 (M), 307 (Marc.).

We must note that absent from this list are the fables that have different metre in two collections or subcollections and those that come from the paraphrases.

The chapter that follows this studies the cases in which there exist two or more primary versions of the same fable.

II. *Remnants of the Primary Metrical Version in Fables with a Single Original*

Occasionally, the primary metrical version is only known to us through a derivative: one of the versions from the AnF. or from Par. or Dod. or some other collection. This is the most simple case: when we have them with various derivatives from AnF. or from the other collections or from both at the same time, we have possibilities of finding complementary verse in them and arriving at a more complete

[5] See the detailed study of these fables on pp. 281 ff. (Ia), pp. 293 ff. (Ib) (II–III). Also pp. 443 ff., with fables of II and III with versions different from those of the anonymous tradition, preserved in I.

restoration. For the moment we will only deal with the case of a single derivative or derivatives within the same series (AnF., Par. or Dod.), which we consider, a little improperly, as a single original.

To begin with, we will indicate a series of primary metrical fables of which we only have a derivation in the Augustana preserved: in I (occasionally also in Ia, we do not indicate this) or Ia (solitary) or Ib (also solitary). It is significant that this case does not occur for II, which demonstrates that this collection starts from I, although it occasionally contaminates with the original model. The same occurs with the different subcollections of III, although we must say something on special cases in some of these.

Referring the reader to Appendix I for the details of the verse, the structure and the content, as always, we give a list of these fables; unless informed otherwise, these are the versions from I (to which possibly the mss. of Ia and/or Ib are added) and from other solitary ones from Ia or Ib:

H. 5, 6, 8, 14, 15, 31, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 46, 63, 65 (Ia?), 71, 72, 73, 80, 86, 88, 92, 98, 101, 104, 106, 107, 109, 110, 112, 113, 119, 121, 125, 128, 132, 138, 139, 140, 141 (Ia?), 144, 149, 150, 151, 153, 155, 156, 157, 158. 159 (Ia), 161, 162, 164, 165 (Ia), 167, 168, 170, 171 (Ia?), 172, 173, 174, 178, 191, 192, 193, 195, 200 (Ia), 204 (Ia?), 205 (Ia?), 208, 209 (Ia), 212, 214 (Ia), 220, 222, 227, 228 (Ia), 229 (Ia?), 230, 231 (Ia), 232, 237, 238 (Ia?), 240 (Ia), 241 (Ia), 242, 245 (Ia), 246, 247 (Ia), 249 (Ia?), 257, 261 (Ia), 262 (Ib), 263 (Ib), 264 (Ib), 265 (Ib), 266 (Ib), 267 (Ib).

Of course, the verse and the other data are not equally clear in all these fables. In some of them, leaving aside the verse for the moment, we know the precedents from the Classical Age, that is to say, the model of Demetrius Phalereus, later versified to arrive later, through successive prosifications, at our Augustana. Thus, we know the model of H. 8 "Aesop in the Shipyard", Aristotle, *Mete.* 356 b 11; that of H. 214 "The Man that Received a Deposit and the Oath", Herodotus VI 86; that of H. 246 "The Camel, the Elephant and the Monkey", Archilochus, *Ep.* VI. At other times, the guarantee of antiquity lies in the fact that derivatives from these fables are known: as in the case of H. 204 "The Ass and the Mule", undoubtedly derived from H. 192, of the same title. I will not dwell on reasons of structure and content, which can be seen in the place indicated. On the other hand, as the metrics, I will say something.

Some of the fables mentioned have important traces of Hellenistic verse, sometimes choliambs and complete trimetres. Here is an example:

H. 209 "The Wild Pigeons and the Tame Ones" contains many complete verses:

ὀρνιθοθήρας ἡμέρων περιστερῶν	(a suppression)
προσέδησε τὰ λίνα· εἶτ' ἀποστὰς αὐτός	(a change of order and a suppression)
ἐκαραδόκει τὸ μέλλον. Ἀγρίων ταύταις	(mss. ἀπεκαραδόκει; I suppress δέ)
....	
⏓ – ⏑ –] συλλαμβάνειν ἐπειρᾶτο	(I suppress ταύτας)
τῶν δ' αἰτιωμένων [⏑ –] τὰς ἡμέρους	
....	
ἡμῖν γ' ἄμεινον δεσπότας φυλάττεσθαι	
⏓ – ⏑ – ⏓ – ⏑ – ⏑] χαρίζεσθαι	

These remnants of verse (and other less significant ones) are unquestionable.

Of course, at other times the preserved verse is less extensive. In a fable such as H. 92 "The Serpent and the Water Snake" the main remnants are the choliamb endings, defined by the metre, the pause and, sometimes, the formula:]ἀφικνεῖται,]καταστῶσι,]ᾐτιᾶτ' αὐτούς,]συνέστηκεν,]ἀλλὰ καὶ ᾖδον; there is also a beginning ἐνστάσης δὲ τῆς μάχης[and a beginning and ending]οἱ δὲ βάτραχοι | μηδὲν περαιτέρω δρᾶν[. There are intermediate cases such as that of H. 153 "The Lion and the Hare", with more than two complete verses:

λέων λαγωῷ περιτυχὼν κοιμωμένῳ	(an inversion)
δίκαια πάσχω, ὅτι ἀφεὶς τὴν ἐν χερσὶ βοράν	(πάσχω for πέπονθα)

and many others besides. Nor is there any lack of fables with limited remnants of verse, sometimes with doubt as to whether they are Hellenistic or not (although they must be, as there are no objections to this). Such as H. 37, H. 38, H. 63, etc.; see Appendix I.

The fact that a fable does not appear in more than one collection does not affect, then, in principle, its antiquity. In many other cases, as we have already indicated, that collection is in principle

the group of Anonymous fables: that is to say, the primary verse has left traces in AnF. I, traces that are sometimes supplemented with those from other collections that have had direct access to the verse, that is to say, to a prior phase of AnF. I (the "pre-Augustana"); on other occasions, some collections have had direct access, others (which we give in brackets) seem not to have had. On the existence of intermediate semiprosifications, the contamination of the "ancient Augustana" with the preserved collections, etc., we refer the reader to what has already been stated and to what we will say when discussing the Anonymous Fables more specifically. In short, on the most favourable occasions, we are dealing with "complementary verse" in more than one collection; in Vol. I, pp. 94 ff., examples have already been given of how the original verse is reconstructed in these cases.

Here is a list of fables with a primary metrical original that have left traces in more than one collection of the AnF.; when a collection is given in brackets, this means that it does not seem to present original verse remnants:

H. 17 I, II, III, 20 I, II, III, 21 I, II, III, 23 I, II, III, 26 I, III, 28 I, II, III, 29 I, II, III, 36 I, II, III, 42 I, II, III, 48 I, III, 52 I (II, III), 55 I (III), 56 I, III, 57 I, II, III, 67 I (II, III), 68 I, II, 69 I, II, III, 74 I, III, 82 I (III), 84 I, III, 85 I, III, 90 I, III, 91 I (III), 94 I, II, 96 I, III, 97 I, III, 105 I (III), 108 I, III, 111 I, III, 115 I, II, III, 122 I, III, 123 I (III), 124 I (III), 127 I, III, 129 I (III), 130 I, III, 131 I, III, 133 I, III, 175 I, III, 202 I (III), 203 I (III), 210 I, III, 218 I, III, 221 I, III, 223 I, II (III), 225 I, II, 233 I, II, III, 235 I, II, III, 248 I (II), 251 I, III, 252 I, II, 253 I, III (II).

As can be seen, this is a long series of fables. As in the previous case, some are documented as coming from the Classical or early Hellenistic Age; data on this can be seen in Appendix I (see also Vol. I, pp. 398 ff., 483 ff.): H. 17 "The Tailless Fox" comes from Timocreon, 23 "The Cocks and the Partridge" perhaps from Aeschylus, 26 "The Fishermen" from Aristophanes, 85 "The Monkey and the Camel" from Archilochus, 96 "The Father and the Daughters" perhaps from Theognis, 108 "Zeus and the Turtle" from Cercidas, 122 "The Gardener and the Dog" from Menander, 225 "The Shepherd and the Wolves" from Aeschylus, 255 "The Wasps, the Partridges and the Farmer" from Archilochus. Also, as in the previous case,

we find fables derived from others, such as H. 210 "The Camel", derived from H. 10 and 85; H. 223 "The Shepherd and the Sea", from H. 178; and fables that give derivatives, such as H. 225, from which H. 222 probably comes.

As for the verse, we will add some further data to that to be found in the place cited of our Vol. I.

As in H. 82, where AnF. III adds nothing to the verse of I, in this, apart from some choliambic endings, we have the complete ending of the fable:

> ⏒ – ⏑ – ⏒]οὐκ ἠδύναντ' ἀναπτῆναι,
> ἀποπνιγόμεναι ἔφασαν· ἄθλιαι ἡμεῖς,
> αἵ διὰ βραχεῖαν ἡδονὴν ἀπολλύμεθα.

Note that, surprisingly, there is abbreviation before the vowel in ἀναπνιγόμεναι, but not in ἄθλιαι.

The same applies to H. 91, discussed in Vol. I, p. 81. And there are more examples. To add some further ones to those in which there is complementary verse, we may cite H. 130 "The Crow and the Serpent". Here both versions agree in the beginning κόραξ τροφῆς[, in the complete verse κοιμώμενον τοῦτον καταπτὰς ἥρπασε and in other elements. Yet we must consider that AnF. ὡς ἐθεάσατο ὄφιν and ὡς κατεῖδεν . . . ὄφιν derive from an original ὡς εἶδ' ὄφιν[(it is customary to substitute εἶδε with ἐθεάσατο, cf. Vol. I, p. 556) and that III δείλαιος ἔγωγε[is an ancient beginning of verse (the anapest occurs in the second foot, although it is rare), while I ἀλλ' ἔγωγε δείλαιος is already a prosaic, ametrical formula. Or else we may cite H. 253 "The Miser", in which the abundant remnants of verse in AnF I (including a complete trimetre: ἔφη πρὸς αὐτόν· μὴ λυποῦ· λαβὼν λίθον) are completed in some points by II (choliamb ending]παρατηρήσας τοῦτον).

Yet there is no need to bore the reader with more data, which could be repeated ad infinitum. However, we must indicate, as always, that at times the metrical remnants are less important and even dubious, as in H. 68, for example.

For this whole question, I refer the reader to Chapter IV 3, dedicated to the study of the Vindobonensis and Accursiana collections.

Stepping back, it is appropriate to complete this panorama of the fables only preserved in one or various of the versions of the AnF. with some examples in which the presence is added of what we

could consider, as the case may be, derivations or allusions: they do not add anything to the metre, but show that the versions that have reached us were also known in antiquity; or rather, their predecessors were in the "ancient Augustana", but in which phase it is difficult to discern.

Firstly, there is a series of fables that are in the Augustana (I) and in a derivative or an allusion. We cite H. 65 "Diogenes Going for a Walk", whose final proverb is also in the *Gnomologium Vaticanum* (it could come from the fable or vice versa); H. 72 "The Coward who Found a Golden Lion", mentioned in the *Anthologia Palatina*; H. 125 "The Rook and the Crows", a fable mentioned by the Suda and Eustathius; H. 150 "The Lion and the Dolphin", mentioned in Aelian; H. 165 "The Wolf and the Shepherd", a fable to which there are references in Plautus and Terence; H. 189 "The Piglet and the Fox", also referred to by Clement of Alexandria. In these cases, certainly, nothing new is contributed by the derivatives or the allusions, relating sometimes, as we have said, to ancient stages of our fables. Yet they offer evidence of their validity in the ancient tradition, in different periods of this.

The same must be said of the similar case regarding the fables that are in more than one version of the AnF. The list consists of the following fables: H. 10 "The Fox and the Lion", where the fable of the Codex Brancaccianus repeats the version of II (a great deal verse emerges when one combines I and II–III, practically identical); H. 33 I, II, III "The Boastful Winner in the Pentathlon", whose final χρεία is in Apostolius; H. 75 I, III "The Dolphin and the Monkey", from which the version by Tzetzes seems to have derived; H. 83 1, II, III The fox and the monkey, also in Tzetzes (the versions by Lucian seem independent, perhaps from an Egyptian original); H. 182 (III) "The Bat and the Weasel", referred to by Varro; H. 185 I, III "The Walker and the Plane Tree", with references in Plutarch and Aelian.

The above does no more than present those cases in which the primary metrical versions have been collected in AnF. or else in AnF. and in some allusion prior to our draft of these or subsequent to them. Together with this case, there is a series of those that we will study: those in which the version in AnF. is accompanied by others that substantially contain the same model, in one phase or another of its evolution. We have already said that these are either versions in translation or in "modern verse", or in prose. There are,

for example, fables only in AnF. and Phaedrus or in AnF. and Babrius or AnF. and *Tetr.* or AnF. and the Syriac versions, etc. Just as there are some only in one of these sources (in Syntipas or the Pseudo-Dositheus or Avianus, for example). When studying the different collections we will re-examine this material.

Here we will only deal, as we have said, with the cases in which there is, apart from AnF., other access route to the primary verse. Numerically lower than those of AnF. are the versions of Par. and Dod., which are in this case: these, far from deriving from Babrius, contain a Hellenistic verse, prior to him. Certainly, the theme is complex, because, on one hand, it may be the case that Babrius or a Babrian version derive from that same Hellenistic verse, having left a trace in one or the other; and, on the other hand, it could also be the case that the version of Par. or Dod. (or one of them) contaminates the Hellenistic verse with that of Babrius. Yet, when we do not preserve a version in Babrian verse alongside Par. or Dod., it is sometimes doubtful whether the metrical remnants, when they are ambiguous, are Hellenistic or whether they come from a lost Babrius.

However, there is no doubt that cases exist of Hellenistic verse preserved in Par. and/or Dod. Sometimes, in fables appearing in AnF. and in these other sources at the same time, we see that the Hellenistic verse in question is the same, the metrical remnants are complementary: we will look at this later. This is a significant proof that fables appearing only in Par. and/or Dod. which present Hellenistic verse are witnesses of ancient fables with primary verse that did not reach the AnF. or were lost in the collections that have reached us.

The examples of verse only preserved in Par. or Dod. that may be offered are not many, but they are significant. We offer a metrical analysis of the clearest:

Not-H. 9 "The Goat and the Ass". The version in Dod. and the two in Par. come from a semiprosification better preserved in Dod.; Par. summarizes. However, in some cases (mentioned explicitly) it retains the verse better:

ἀνήρ τις ἔτρεφ᾽ αἶγα ἅμα ⟨τε⟩ καὶ ὄνον (mss. ἔτρεφεν)
ἡ δ᾽ αἴξ ⟨ποτ᾽⟩ ἐφθόνησε πολλὰ τῷ ὄνῳ (ἡ δ᾽ αἴξ Par.)
ποτὲ μὲν ἀλήθων, ποτὲ δὲ πάλιν ἀχθηφορῶν (PBc, πάλιν δὲ Dod.)
πρὸς ταῦτα πάσχεις [– ⏑ – ⏒ – ⏒ ⏒

ὁ δὲ πρὸς αὐτήν· [– ⏑ – ⏓ – ⏓ ⏓
⏓ – ⏑ – ⏓ – ⏑] καὶ τί ποιήσω; (Par. Bc)
⏓ – ⏑ – ⏓] τῷ βόθρῳ κρημνίσθητι
πεσοῦσα πρὸς γῆν εὐθέως συνετρίβη
ὥσπερ νόσημα δεινόν [– ⏓ - ⏓ ⏓
Ὁ δεσπότης δέ [– ⏑ – ⏓ – ⏓ ⏓ (Par. with inversion)
⏓ – ⏑ – ⏓ – ⏑ ⏑] βοηθεῖν ᾔτει (Par. BaBb id.)
τὴν δ' αἶγα θύσαντες τὸν ὄνον ἰάτρευον (P. BaBb, cf. Bc)
Αὐτὸς καθ' αὐτοῦ λανθάνει [⏓ – ⏓ ⏓

Not-H. 65 "The Farmer and the Eagle", in Par. and Dod., refers to the gratefulness of the eagle and is probably derived from the fable by Aphthonius on the same theme (not-H. 86), derived from Stesichorus and itself with Hellenistic verse. This makes the Hellenistic verse on which we comment here more significant:

γεωργὸς ἀετὸν [⏑ –] ἠγρευμένον
τὸ κάλλος αὐτοῦ [– ⏑ –] ἐλεύθερον.
Ὁ δ' οὐκ ἄμοιρος [– ⏑ – ⏓ – ⏓ ⏓
⏓ – ⏑ – ⏓ –] σαθρὸν καθήμενον
ἰδών [⏑ – ⏓ – ⏑ – ⏓ – ⏓ ⏓
ὁ δ' ἐξαναστάς [– ⏑ – ⏓ – ⏓ ⏓
⏓ – ⏑ – ⏓ – ⏑ –] ὑποστρέψας
ἐπεὶ τὸ τεῖχος εὗρε – ⏓ – ⏓ ⏓ (an inversion)

This verse comes initially from the version in Ba Mg and sometimes also, at the same time, from that of Bc and Bd; but the final, complete choliamb comes from only the latter.

Not-H. 68 "The Farmer and the Plant". The verse is obtained by combining the versions of Par. and Dod.; the text we give is from the latter, unless indicated otherwise:

Φυτὸν δέ ποτε [⏓ – ⏑ – ⏓ – ⏓ ⏓[6]
⏓ – ⏑ – ⏓ – ⏑ – ⏓ –] στρουθῶν
καὶ τεττίγων [⏓ – ⏑ – ⏓ – ⏓ ⏓

[6] Dod. γεωργοῦ ἦν εἰς χώραν, Par. ἦν εἰς γεωργοῦ χώραν. Of these two texts, from a late prosification, we could obtain: γεωργὸς εἶχ' ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ.

Ὁ δ' οὖν γεωργὸς ὡς ἄχρηστον [– ⏓ ⏓
καὶ δὴ λαβὼν πέλεκυν [⏑ – ⏓ – ⏓ ⏓ (Par. with inversion)
ἐπέφερε τὴν πληγήν [⏑ – ⏓ – ⏓ ⏓ (Par.)
στρουθοὶ ἅπαντες [– ⏑ – ⏓ – ⏓ ⏓
Ἄκουσον ἡμῖν [– ⏑ – ⏓] τοῦ δένδρου
τί σοι τὸ κέρδος ἐκγενήσεται τούτου;
⏓ – ⏑ – ⏓ – ⏑] ὡς δ' ἐκοίλανε (Par.)
σμῆνος μελισσῶν [– ⏑ – ⏓ – ⏓ ⏓
⏓ – ⏑ – ⏓ –] τὸν πέλεκυν ἔρριψε (Par.)

Not-H. 126 "The Kite and the Snake". Here there is a version from Dod. and two from Par.:

ἰκτῖνος ὄφιν ἥρπασε [– ⏓ – ⏓ ⏓ (mss. ἁρπάσας)
Ὁ δ' ὄφις ἐπιστραφείς ⟨τε⟩ καὶ δακὼν τοῦτον
εὐθὺς τέθνηκε· ὁ δ' ὄφις [– ⏓ – ⏓ ⏓
⏓ – ⏑ – ⏓ – ⏑] βλάπτειν ἠβούλου; (Par.)
τῆς ἁρπαγῆς ἔδωκας ἀξίαν δίκην (on Par.)

Consider now a case in which only in Par. are there are remnants of a Hellenistic verse:

In not-H. 116 "Zeus the Judge", Babrius shows a quite extensive version, of which that of Par. 1 (ms. Mb) clearly seems to be a summary; on the other hand, in Par. 2 (ms. Ba) there is a clear Babrian remnant but also another Hellenistic one:

⏓ – ⏑ – ⏓] ἀνθρώπων ἁμαρτίας
ἐν ὀστράκοις τὸν Ἑρμῆν ὥρισε γράφειν
⏓ – ⏑ – ⏓ – ⏑ –] πλησίον αὐτοῦ.

It may certainly be thought that these are derivatives from Babrius, in which pure chance made these metrical groups arise. Yet, given the existence of fables of Par. and Dod. with Hellenistic verse coming from Babrius, which was later contaminated with this, it could very well be thought that we are dealing with another example of the same.

So as not to tire readers further, we refer them to Appendix II, where they will find similar cases in numbers not-H. 139 "The Crow and Hermes", not-H. 155 "The Dog and the Blacksmiths",

not-H. 184 “The Dogs and the Wolves Reconciled”, not-H. 191 “The Wolf and the Lion”, not-H. 195 “The Wolf General and the Ass”, not-H. 272 “The Rose and the Amaranth”. There are also doubtful cases, perhaps with Babrian verse. In some of these cases there is also a Syriac version: that is to say, these are not versions proper to Par. and Dod., but rather, they come from sources accessible to other collections, no more and no less than in the case of the fables of AnF. It could also happen that the complementary verse is in two different versions of Par. As in the case of not-H. 65.

We have already observed that things are not always so clear: just as in our previous examples the verse that we uncovered is clearly Hellenistic, there may be doubts in cases such as not-H. 5, 75, 84, 119, 166, 186, 249, 311. In some of these cases, the verse could be Babrian or contaminated.

A further proof of the arrival of verse, sometimes old, sometimes Babrian, to the writers of Dod. lies in the presence of this verse in some of its mss., specifically in Mb; cf. Vol. I, p. 104. Thus, the fable that Chambry publishes as a version in Mb of “The Wolf and the Lion” (not-H. 192) is, as he himself says in the *Apparatus*, a fable in Hellenistic verse, cf., for example, the caesura in 1, the resolution [⏑ ⏑ ⏑] in the 5th foot. There is another iambic fable in Mb (= H. 296).

Yet the AnF. and the paraphrases and dodecasyllables are not the only collections that preserve remnants of Hellenistic verse. There is also some in other collections, that is, in those of Aphthonius and the Pseudo-Dositheus, as well as in fables cited as exempla in Plutarch and other authors. We must place on record, in any event, that it is not absolutely clear whether this verse is primary or secondary with respect to a lost primary verse (a reservation which, furthermore, also needs to be made in the cases so far studied). When we study the habits of the collections referred to (since for the isolated fables general principles cannot be established), we will see if this is to any degree likely.

Regarding the collection of Aphthonius, there are some fables that only appear in him (or only in him and fables in translation) and that show traces of Hellenistic verse: it seems clear that he uses as sources collections that, for whatever reason, have not left trace in the AnF. or in Par. or Dod. Cf. our chapter on Aphthonius, IV 4, pp. 236 ff.

Thus in not-H. 94 "The Olive and the Fig" (to be found, furthermore, in the Syriac versions, with substantial differences). This is the typical debate between trees. There seems to be verse in Aphthonius:

συκῆς ἐλαία κατεγέλα [⏓ – ⏓ ⏓	(an inversion)
⏓ – ⏑ –] ἅπασαν ὥραν [– ⏓ ⏓	
⏓ – ⏑ –] ἄνθος μετέβαλλε ταῖς ὥραις	(mss. συμμεταβαλούσης, also metrical)
ταύτην διέφθειρ' [– ⏑ – ⏓ – ⏓ ⏓	
εὑροῦσα γυμνὴν οὐδὲν ἠδίκει [⏓ ⏓	

A similar case is not-H. 127 "The Bird-catcher":

μετρεῖ δὲ τὴν θήραν [⏑ – ⏓ – ⏓ ⏓
κατῃτιᾶτο [– ⏑ – ⏓ – ⏓ ⏓

Not-H. 86 "The Snake and the Eagle". The significant aspect of this fable by Aphthonius is that its iambic remnants do not agree with those of the original fable by Stesichorus, partially transmitted through Aelian, *NA* XVII 37, whose source is Crates of Pergamon. The verses of Stesichorus may be seen in our work already cited.[7] As regards those of Aphthonius, we indicate:

⏓ – ⏑ – ⏓] συμπλακέντες ἀλλήλοις	
ἐμάχοντο. Καὶ ὁ μὲν δράκων τὸν ἀετόν	(with a suppression)
εἶχε [⏑ ⏑ – ⏓ – ⏑ ⏑] γεωργὸν δ' ἰδών	
ὁ ἀετὸς καταπτάς [– ⏓ – ⏓ ⏓	
⏓ – ⏑ – ⏓ –] τὴν κύλικ' ἐξαιρεῖται	(an inversion)

Not-H. 140 "The Crow and the Swan" (probably derived from the fable of the Ethiopian, H. 274):

τὸν κύκνον ὁ κόραξ [– ⏑ – ⏓ – ⏓ ⏓
⏓ – ⏑ – ⏓ – ⏑] οἰηθεὶς δ' εἶναι

[7] "Neue Fragmente . . .", cit. p. 173.

τοιοῦτον [– ⏒ – ⏒] βωμοὺς ἐκλιπὼν
⏒ –] λίμναις καὶ ποταμοῖς ἐνδιέτριβε.
⏒ – ⏑ – ⏒] φαιδρύνων οὐκ ἤμειβε
⏒ – ⏑ – ⏒ – ⏑ ⏑] διεφθείρετο.

Not-H. 207 "The Bees and the Shepherd" (referred to in the χρεία of Diogenes Laertius μηδὲ μέλι μηδὲ μελίσσας:

⏒ – ⏑ – ⏒ –] μέλι κατειργάζοντο.
Ποιμὴν δέ τις [⏒ – ⏑ – ⏒ – ⏒ ⏒
Αἱ δ' ἄλλοθεν ἄλλαι αὐτὸν ὤθουν τοῖς κέντροις.
Ἄπειμ', ἔφη, μηδὲν δεόμενος [– ⏒ ⏒

Certainly, the verse is not as clear as in the previous cases; this is common to all of Aphthonius, who works on a summarized version of the fables that is only very partially metrical. Something similar occurs with the Pseudo-Dositheus (see Chap. II, 3, pp. 221 ff.):

In not-H. 7 "The Weasel and the Birds", a fable only in Pseudo-Dositheus and in a derivation from it in Romulus, we are dealing with a fable originally in four verses, of which some remnants can be restored:

ἄγειν γενέθλια προσεποιεῖτ' αἴλουρος (inversion)
⏒ – ⏑ –] ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ὄρνε' ἐκάλεσεν
ἔπειτα παρατετηρηκὼς εἰσελθόντα
θύρας ἔκλεισε καὶ καθ' ἕν' ἤρξατ' ἐσθίειν.

Not-H. 226 "The Houseowner and the Sailors":

ὁ ἄνθρωπος εἶπεν· [– ⏑ – ⏒ – ⏒ ⏒
⏒ – ⏑ ⏑] ταχύτερον ἄγετε, λίθοις ὑμᾶς
⏒ – ⏑ – ⏒ – ⏑] τῷ τόπῳ ἦμεν,
ὅπου λίθοι [⏒ – ⏑ – ⏒ – ⏒ ⏒

Not-H. 232 "The Sick Ass and the Wolf":

ὄνον ⟨ποτ'⟩ ἄρρωστον λύκος ἀπεσκέπτετο
καὶ ἤρξατο τὸ σῶμ' ἐξετάζειν ψηλαφῶν (mss. ψηλαφᾶν καὶ ἐξετάζειν)
⏒ – ⏑ – ⏒ – ⏑ –] ἃ σὺ θιγγάνεις

Together with these fables from the collections, there are those referred to preserved in various authors with remnants of metre Hellenistic. A list of these, as well as of those in which there do not seem to be remnants of metre, can be seen in our Chapter II, 7.

It is interesting, we believe, to show how the verse has reached the versions of some of these fables by Plutarch and other authors: it is clear that they use as a source verse or semiprosified collections, collections which were not totally despoiled by those that have reached us. And we will see that there are occasionally up to two primary metrical versions, which have only has reached us through the indirect tradition, as in the case of not-H. 28 (two different versions in Himerius and Pseudo-Plutarch).

For the fables with verse referred to, I refer the reader, in general, to the corresponding chapter, as well as to Appendices I and II, but I do not wish to neglect to indicate here the presence in them of complete verses and even more extensive fragments; such as, in not-H. 105 (Himerius) the beginning Ἄκουε δὲ τὸν μῦθον. Ὅτε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους | ὁ Ζεὺς ἐγέννησε[and then ποιημάτων τὸ κάλλιστον | Ἔρωτα πέμπει. In not-H. 235 (Plutarch) ἑκάτερος αὐτῶν ὑποδύσεθαι ἐβούλετο (inversion) | ὑπὸ τὴν σκιάν[and the ending εἶθ' ὑπὲρ ὄνου σκιᾶς ἀκούειν βούλεσθε; (inversion). In not-H. 248]αὐτά, τὴν ἀμφοῖν τέχνην, | φέρων ἑαυτὸν ἐπιτρέπει· | σὺ μὲν γὰρ εἶ τις δήμιος[(inversion). In not-H. 307: φθεῖρες γεωργὸν ἀροτριῶντα ποτ' ἔδακνον (mss. ὑπέδακνον).

Finally, it is not at all strange that on other occasions metrical remnants are found in fables only transmitted by a Greek source: by Par. in the case of not-H. 75 (also in Av.), 249, 272, and by Dod. in that of not-H. 311. I will restrict myself to mentioning some fragments of verse in the second of these fables, "The Shepherd and the Wolf Cub" (in Ba Mb):

Μικρὸν λύκον ποιμὴν εὑρὼν ἐθρέψατο (an inversion)
εἶτα [⏑ ⏑ – ⏓ –] ἐδίδαξεν ἁρπάζειν
ἐκ τῶν σύνεγγυς ποιμνίων [⏓ – ⏓ ⏓
....
⟨καὶ⟩ πολλὰ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ προβάτων ζητήσεις

The beginning and ending of the fable are, as we see, almost complete.

III. *Remnants of the Single Primary Version in Fables with Specimens with Complementary Verse*

I am now referring not to the complementary verse within the different versions of AnF. or of Par. and/or Dod., but to that which is to be found in the versions of different collections, which have therefore used as a source, conclusively, the same original fable, although sometimes through various semiprosifications. The most conspicuous case is that in which the original verse is reconstructed by comparison of the versions of AnF. and Par. and/or Dod. Yet at other times a fable from one of these lines finds a complement in another by Aphthonius, the Pseudo-Dositheus, the Codex Brancaccianus or the direct tradition. We will not enter, for the moment, into the existence of versions that have excessively altered the verse (translations, versions with "modern verse", total prosifications).

A first example could be provided for us by H. 116 "The Doctor and the Sick Person". Here AnF. I, II and III come from a semiprosified model; see, for example, the ending before the epimythium. The common verse is best preserved in I, particularly

ὦ οὗτος, ἀλλ' οὐ νῦν σ' ἔδει λέγειν ταῦτα (mss. τ.λ.)
ὅτ' οὐδὲν ὄφελός ἐστι [– ⏓ – ⏓ ⏓

but sometimes outside of there, cf., for example, II,]ἄρρωστον | συνέβη ἀποθανεῖν [– ⏑ – ⏓ – ⏓ ⏓ (probably δ' ἀποθανεῖν, δὲ is lost when changing the main verb to a participle). Dod., which has significant agreements with II (ἄρρωστον θανεῖν συνέβη) shows metrical improvements to the whole: οὐκ ἄν γ' ἀπέθανε (I, II οὐκ ἂν ἀπέθανε, III οὐκ ἂν ἐτεθνήκει), as well as new metre: endings]τοῦ κειμένου and]τότε χρῆν διαιτᾶσθαι, which demonstrate that it depends on an older model than the semiprosification used by AnF.[8]

Similar things could be said of H. 117 "The Bird-catcher and the Snake". The verse in Dod. is sometimes less complete than that in AnF. This is:

[8] See some further details in "La tradición . . .", *Emerita* 37, 1969, pp. 300 ff., and 38, 1970, p. 21. Yet we consider it pointless to make systematic reference to our treatment of the theme in this article, here revised and improved, although we sometimes abbreviate. If we need to mention the article, we do so as "La tradición . . .", I and II, with reference to its two parts.

⏒ – ⏑ – ⏒ –]ἐξῆλθεν εἰς ἄγραν	(I)
ἰδὼν δὲ κίχλαν [– ⏑ –] ἐφ' ὑψηλοῦ	(III)
δένδρου καθημένην λαβεῖν ἠβουλήθη	
καὶ δὴ συνάψας [– ⏑ – ⏒ – ⏒ ⏒	(I with a suppression)
ἡ δὲ στραφεῖσ' ἔδακε [⏑ – ⏒ – ⏒ ⏒	(II)
⏒ – ⏑ –] τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἄνω νεύων	(I)
λειποψυχῶν ⟨δ'⟩ ἔφη μετὰ στεναγμάτων	(II, mss. στεναγμοῦ)
⏒ – ⏑ – ⏒] ἄλλων αὐτὸς ἠγρεύθην	(I, an inversion)

This verse, which we give in each case according to the best source (in the others there are usually minor variations), is sometimes more complete than that of Dod., likewise with minor distortions (κίχλαν τε εἶδε, καὶ λιποψυχῶν ἐν στεναγμῷ ἐβόα, etc.); sometimes there is/are agreement. But also Dod. may be more complete. The fable begins with a ἰξὸν λαβών[, which could be metrical, concludes with a]αὐτὸς ἠγρεύθην, which links with the final verse, transcribed above, better than the correspondences in AnF. and in the centre presents almost a verse ἀλλ' ⟨ἄρ'⟩ ἐπὶ ποδῶν ἀσπὶς ἦν κοιμωμένη, deformed in AnF.

It is appropriate to note that if the version in Dod. lacks certain prosifications of AnF., it is no less certain that it follows the latter step by step and that underlying both is a prior version with certain suppressions. Then, for example, between an initial verse

ἰξὸν λαβὼν καὶ τοὺς καλάμους ⟨τις⟩ ἰξευτὴς (Dod., with an inversion)

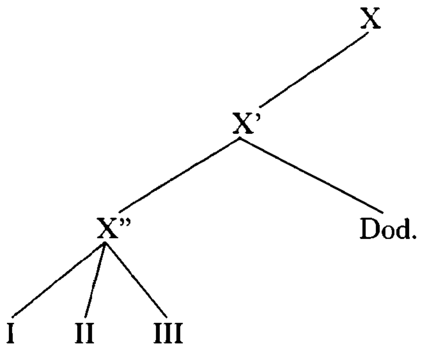
and a formula ending (see Vol. I, p. 566)

⏒ – ⏑ – ⏒ –] ἐξῆλθεν εἰς ἄγραν

in AnF., is evidently missing something and likewise in the final

ἄθλιος ἐγώ, ὃς ἄλλον βουλόμενος θηρεῦσαι (I, an inversion)
⏒ – ⏑ – ⏒ – ⏑] αὐτὸς ἠγρεύθην

That is, that if we symbolize with X the primary metrical version and with X', X" its derivatives, we must propose:



The existence of more than one semiprosified intermediate version is also proven in other fables. Such as in H. 181 "The Bat, the Bramble and the Gull", a fable in which the three versions H. I, II and III show complementary verse and Dod. also shows verse complementary with that deduced from AnF. The versions of AnF. reverse the order of the animals in the second mention that is made of these; it is preserved, on the other hand, both in Dod. and in the Syriac versions. These, in turn, come from a model in which the three animals "borrow", which is in contradiction with the rest of the tradition and with the ending of the fable. There are, then, at least two intermediates steps.

In H. 134 the combination of I, II and III almost completely restores the verse, except for that of the initial lines, evidently spoiled by the semiprosification. What comes out is:

ὁ δ' ἐπιστραφείς, ὡς εἶδεν αὐτὸν φεύγοντα	(III, a suppression and an inversion)
ὦ οὗτος, εἶπεν, ἴσθι ὡς ὅπου ἂν ᾖς	(II+ I, III)
φυλάξομαί σε. Οὐ γὰρ ἀπ' ἐμοῦ καρδίαν	(III, cf. II)
εἴληφας, ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ δέδωκας καρδίαν	(III with inversion, cf. II)

In Dod. we find the first two verses that are missing here almost whole:

Εὑρὼν κύων μάγειρον ἐν μαγειρείῳ
⏓ – ⏑ – ⏓] εἰς τὸ ποιῆσαι ὄψα

Only an intermediate verse is missing, the one that told of the robbery.

In H. 152, of similar type, moreover, a simple error of transmission that was introduced from olden times in some manuscripts enables us to see the diffusion of the collections: it is the fable "The Lion and the Bear". Here, as usual, there are both metrical and ametrical fragments common to I–II–III and not in Dod., which, on the other hand, presents new metrical elements ( ]ἐπετείνετο δεινῶς ἡ μάχη, παριοῦσα δ' ἀλώπηξ[,]ἐκ μέσου τούτων and we will now mention the main ones). I think that the animal that the lion and the bear fight over (only to lose it to the fox at the end) was a stag in the original prototype, which is only preserved in I: a simple inversion restores the initial verse in this version:

Λέων καὶ ἄρκτος νεβρὸν ἐλάφου εὑρόντες

Specifically, if into the centre of an incomplete verse of Dod. we introduce ἔλαφον where it says βοῦν, it proves perfect:

δάκνουσ' ἔσυρε τὸν ἔλαφον ἐκ μέσου τούτων

Nevertheless, instead of the fawn (νεβρὸν ἐλάφου) of I, II says σέλαν βούνευρον, undoubtedly through a corruption, which III attempts to fix by saying βούνευρον and Dod. by saying βοῦν. It does not seem doubtful that some manuscripts have from ancient times offered a corrupt text instead of νεβρὸν ἐλάφου and that this corruption penetrated both versions of AnF. and of Dod., which attempts to save it in various ways.

At other times the new complementary verse contributed by Dod. is not much, but it does exist. Thus in H. 170 "The Fortune-teller", with some new endings with respect to I, II, III; in H. 176, in which both the three versions of AnF. and Dod. date back to a semiprosified version (μύρμηξ διψήσας instead of μύρμηξ ἐδίψει[, καὶ καθεσθεὶς ὁ μύρμηξ . . ., etc.), but Dod. contributes some small metrical remnants to the verse of AnF. (a few choliamb or trimetre endings); in H. 180 "The Doctor and the Sick Person", in which Dod. must come from a version prior to the common one of AnF., with direct style at the beginning of the dialogue between the doctor and the sick person (πῶς ἔχεις, ἔφη; | φρίκη σφοδρά με); in H. 271 "The Lark", in which Dod. extends an original of 4 verses, helping in some way to complete it:

Κορυδαλὸς εἰς πάγην ἁλοὺς θρηνῶν ἔλεγε· (I)
οἴμοι [⏑ – ⏓] καὶ ξένῳ καὶ δυστήνῳ (Dod., cf. I)
οὐ χρυσόν, οὐκ ἄργυρον [– ⏓ – ⏓ ⏓ (Dod., cf. I)
κόκκος δὲ μικρὸς προὐξένησε τὸν θάνατον. (Dod., I)

The latter verse (on its metre and that of the first verse, cf. Vol. I, p. 583) is a combination of that of Dod. (which has not introduced σίτου as I has) and I (προὐξένησεν, instead of προσῆξε in Dod.).

Of course, it may be the case that in Dod. we do not find new verse: such as in H. 135 "The Dog and the Fox", in which Dod. offers a summary with remnants of verse, but the same as in AnF. I will leave aside other cases in which Dod. presents a Hellenistic verse different from that of AnF., or else presents a verse derived from Babrius, or else a contaminated one: they will be studied in the appropriate places.

On other occasions, as we know, it is a matter not only of Dod., but of Dod. and Par. or only Par.

In H. 272 "The Ass and the Horse" there are various versions of AnF. III, just as there are of Par. and Dod. These versions follow one another step by step, and in III the verse is more abundant. Yet only with the help of Par. can we restore the beginning of the first verse: ὄνος τὸν ἵππον ἐμακάριζεν[(in III τὸν is missing, in Dod. there is an alteration); only in Dod. is there the ending of the last verse (τὸν ἵππον ἠλέει[, cf. Par. τὸν ἵππον ἐλέησεν, III τὸν ἵππον . . . ἐταλάνιζεν). The primary version has left more complete traces in the Syriac fables, which preserve an initial description that is certainly ancient. In H. 302 "The Mouse and the Frog", the version of AnF. III (close, moreover, to that of the *Life of Aesop*, on the fables of this see later on) shows a lot of verse, for the most part also preserved in Par. (two versions) and Dod. In these versions, in the central part of the fable, the theme of the swollen mouse that floats appears, with complementary verse (which is partly also at the basis of the Pseudo-Dositheus): Ba Bd φυσηθεὶς ἐτεθνήκει,]βρεκεκὲξ ἀνακράζων,]τοῖς ὄνυξιν ἥρπασεν and derivatives in the other versions mentioned. In turn, the Pseudo-Dositheus shows a verse καὶ τῷ λίνῳ ὁ βάτραχος ἠκολούθησε of which there are more or less close derivations in the other collections. Also, in Dod. there is a final verse (altered in Ma, suppressed outside of there) παθὼν ὅμοια οἷς ἐδεδράκει αὐτός (with inversion). I may add that Par. and Dod. have common prose.

In a similar way, in H. 98 "The Snake and the Fox", the fable of AnF. I seems to be a summary of a metrical fable at the basis of Par. and Dod.: the verse of the former and the latter are complementary.

These new examples have just showed us how complicated the situation is. Whereas on other occasions Dod. (or Par.) summarize, or expand with prose, sometimes without verse and without altering the substance of the fable, here it is III (and, partly, the Pseudo-Dositheus) that alter. The ancient model is best preserved in Par. and Dod., although it is through an intermediate prose.

An even more complex case is that of the contaminations. Although we will study this separately, as has been said, when we consider the version of Babrius, we will say something on some fables for which Babrius has been lost, but is certainly the source of paraphrases and dodecasyllables. I believe that this is the case of H. 215 "The Boy who Hunted Grasshoppers", in which the version of AnF. I is quite different from that of Par. and Dod. A lot of verse remains from I, partly incompatible with that of Par. and Dod.: cf., for example, the close of I]εἴθε τοῦτο ποιήσαις and that of Par., closely related to Dod.,]ἄπελθε καὶ σώζου. The new verse of Par., Dod. could be Babrian; common elements with I are also preserved, which may complete it or vice versa. Specifically, a τις of Par., Dod. (and *Tetr.*) helps to reconstruct the initial verse of I: παῖς τις πρὸ τοῦ τείχους ἀκρίδας ἐθήρευε. The]τὸ κέντρον ὀξύνας εἶπε of Par. is better than the τὸ κέντρον ἀπάρας εἶπε of I. Sometimes one route, sometimes another, make us gain a deeper understanding of the history of the fable.

It may be the case on other occasions that of two versions from the same origin (primary verse), in one of them this has practically disappeared. I believe this is the case of H. 243 "The Children of the Monkey". Both the three versions of Par. and the two of AnF. (I and II) undoubtedly derive from a metrical fable in four verses. Of these there are clearer remnants in Par. (in one of its versions καὶ τὸ μὲν ἓν ἀγαπᾷ, τὸ δ' ἕτερον μισεῖ,]καταφιλοῦσ' ἀποπνίγει), much less in AnF., where in any event there are clear agreements. On the other hand, AnF. I and II suppose one intermediate semiprosification and another the versions of Par.; from this second comes Babrius, expanded.

We must nevertheless say that it is not strange that, starting from other versions with metrical remnants, a trace may be found of a primary metrical version. This is possible in the two versions, from

Aphthonius and Julianus, of not-H. 125 "The Kites and the Swans". The truth is that the metrical remnants of both sources do not agree, but neither do they contradict each other: they could be complementary. There is also a derivative in Babrius. The same, but with more certainty, can be said of the versions of H. 267 and by Achilles Tatius of the fable "The Mosquito and the Lion". In contrast with what Hausrath says in his note, following Crusius, Achilles Tatius is not the source of the more summarized version of AnF., which adds its own ending (the mosquito, defeating the lion, is devoured by the spider). Both versions derive from a prior one, whose verse is better preserved by Achilles Tatius, including one complete one:

κώνωψ ἀλαζών ποτε [⏑ – ⏘ – ⏘ ⏘
ἀλκή; Ἀμύσσεις τοῖς ὄνυξι καὶ δάκνεις
ποῖον δὲ μέγεθος [– ⏑ – ⏘ – ⏘ ⏘
αἳ μὲν γάρ εἰσι ὥσπερ [– ⏘ – ⏘ ⏘

Yet in AnF. (Ib) there are other verses that are not incompatible:

⏘ – ⏑ – ⏘ – ⏑] μαχομένη ποιεῖ
⏘ – ⏑] ἐπινίκειον ᾄσας ἔπτατο
⏘ – ⏑ – ⏘ ⏑] ἀράχνης ἀπώλετο

Of course, conclusions cannot be drawn when in the indirect tradition we have mere allusions, or else summaries in prose.

And there exists the mixed case, in which a version of AnF. and another from the indirect tradition have complementary verse: this is the case of AnF. III and Aphthonius in H. 277 "The Swan".

IV. *Remnants of the Primary Metrical Version in Fables with Originals that include Versions in Translation or in Primary Verse*

We have seen that when there is complementary verse within the different fables of each of the three collections that we have been studying until now—the anonymous fables, the paraphrases and the dodecasyllables—we suppose that they have access not only to the same verse, but to the same semiprosified version. And that when it is a fable that is in two or three of the collections referred to, the cases are various. They have access, as we have said, to the same verse. Yet through semiprosifications that are not always the same,

sometimes a collection has access to one and the other has access to another older or more recent one. And it is not always easy to discern the history of the transmission: when in addition to the collections mentioned there are others that have the same fable, there are sometimes possibilities of specifying the details further.

We have already said that these other collections present, in turn, their own problems. We have distinguished those that are collections in translation (Syriac or Latin; in the first case there is, also, sometimes a Syriac version, sometimes a second Syriac version translated into Greek) and those others that, even if they are in Greek, their metre has undergone profound modification (there has been a change to elegiac distichs, to the new iambic trimetre, to Babrian choliambs, to Byzantine *politici* dodecasyllables). In all these cases the "thread" of the Hellenistic metre is missing, although there are sometimes minor traces of it, as we have said. It is by combining the form and content with the corresponding versions that preserve Hellenistic verse that we can, to some extent, contribute, with the help of these other versions, to better tracing the evolutionary *stemma* of the fables.

In fact, it is in the study that we will perform subsequently on the different collections that we will be able to better study their sources, which we will locate within the aforementioned *stemma* of each fable, then drawing general conclusions. However, we must first establish some principles.

Let us begin by discussing the fables in translation: the Syriac fables (Syr., fables translated by Sister Lefèvre; and Synt., fables by the so-called Syntipas, retranslated into Greek); those of Phaedrus, the Medieval Latin fables from ancient sources (from the *Ademari* and *Wissenburgensis* codices and Romulus) and those of Avianus.

Beginning with the Syriac fables, we must say that Syr. presents up to three different versions, generally closely related to each other and, commonly, also close to Synt. It is no less certain, as we will see, that Syr. and Synt. have some fables that are absent from AnF., as well as some unique ones: in both cases it may sometimes be both collections, sometimes only one of them that presents these fables. Let us leave this theme for the moment. The most common thing is that both collections (sometimes only one of them) are closely related to AnF., both when this collection is the only testimony and when there are other branches of the tradition.

It might be expected, in these cases, that if we had the original Greek text later translated into Syriac, we might find metrical remnants in it that are complementary to AnF. But we do not, we must

keep to a translated text. Occasionally its closeness to AnF. is so great that we could propose the hypothesis that Syr. and Synt. come from a Greek model derived from the model for AnF. Even, on occasions when the whole tradition of a fable is reduced to AnF. I and Syr. and/or Synt. (for example, in H. 88, H. 121, etc.), a derivation could be proposed starting from our Augustana (I).

Yet there are fables that belie this hypothesis and not only those that are absent, as we have just said, from the Augustana or the group of AnF. For example, in H. 213 "The Snake Trodden on", in AnF. Zeus intervenes, in Sy. (the acronym within which we incorporate Syr. and Synt.), it is Apollo. Even without arriving at this, there are usually differences, as the fable of Sy. (or Syr. or Synt.) is either longer or more reduced than that of AnF. We could postulate, in cases such as this, that Sy. comes from the same model as AnF., in short, but through an intermediate version; although it is also possible that it is AnF. that depends on an intermediate version. However, conclusively, in cases such as these, it is more likely that we are dealing with derivatives of a single fable with primary metre. However, the idea cannot be ruled out that sometimes the model of Syr. and Synt. is a lost fable with a second primary verse, cf., below, p. 101.

Yet the problems do not finish here. We must investigate the position of Sy. where there are differences within AnF., whether different branches derive from the same primary verse (H. 59, H. 60, etc.), or they derive from more than one primary verse: it is a question of seeing the situation of Sy. in this *stemma*. Then cases exist in which the closeness of Phaedrus, Babrius or other collections of AnF. make one think that they derive from the same model, in short, then, from the same primary verse; and we have already discussed the same case with reference to Par. and Dod. In these cases there is sometimes a possibility of postulating intermediate semiprosifications starting from the primary metre: we must investigate the position of Sy.

Another case is that in which Sy. shows fables that are not in AnF.: apart from those of which it is the only witness, there are others in which it appears together with Phaedrus (for example, not-H. 164) or together with Babrius (not-H. 96, 191, etc.) or together with Par. and/or Dod. (not-H. 155) or together with Aphthonius (not-H. 94) or together with *Tetr.* (not-H. 122).

In fables such as these, there are occasions in which Sy. follows the same line as the rest of the tradition, probably an ancient pri-

mary version; in others, as in the case referred to above, Sy. diverges, offers its own variations (from an intermediate model, given the practical agreement of Syr. and Synt.).

There are also cases like these, but in which only Syr. or Synt. appear, other complex ones with various versions of these collections, others in which Syr. and Synt. are even opposed.

Without looking at the problem in depth here, we may say as of now that the position of Sy. in the *stemmata* is very complex: it usually goes with the branch of AnF., but entering it at various levels in which there may have been modifications (others must be attributed to the last specimens, for example some Christianizations). Thus, when in a fable not transmitted by AnF., Sy. is set in opposition to other versions (to Babrius and derivatives, for example, in not-H. 96; to Aphthonius in not-H. 94), we could think that we are dealing with the version of the collection preferably followed by AnF. (the Ancient Augustana). Yet the fact is that, I emphasize, within that branch there may have been differences, and so it happens that Syr. and Synt. differ from Phaedrus (cf. H. 182), who in general lines agrees with AnF., but sometimes follows another line within the derivation of the same primary verse. Indeed, Sy. may differ from the group of AnF., Par. and Dod., such as in H. 272 (certainly, through an innovation of its own). Yet the customary thing is that when AnF. I differs from other collections (whether they come from the same primary verse, with derivation "in cascade", or they come from another), Sy. allies with them, as, for example, in the case of H. 132 (compared with Phaedrus), in that of H. 215 (compared with the Pseudo-Dositheus and *Tetr.*), in that of H. 219 (it presents certain archaisms compared with AnF., but not the innovations of Par.).

We are helped, conclusively, by the Syriac versions to form an idea of the complexity of the derivations of the fables in primary metre, including those most closely related to AnF., as well as of the secondary losses of this branch and the alterations of this on various levels. See more details in III, 2.

The study of Phaedrus is also clearly important. His closeness, in general, to AnF. has already been indicated, as we stated in our Vol. I, pp. 72 ff.[9] Clearly, the theme remains pending the more

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[9] Cf. more details in our article "Fedro y sus fuentes", in *Bivium. Homenaje a Manuel Cecilio Díaz y Díaz*, Madrid, 1983, pp. 251–274.

detailed study that we will conduct later on with the help of a complete dossier of the ancient fable. However, for the time being, we must say something about his testimony as a derivation from fables with primary metre.

Phaedrus, as we have already said, is a very original author, who revives the ancient spirit of the fable and tinges it with Cynic and Stoic spirit, attempting to be at his most "acute" against the corrupt powerful, the rich, the foolish. In cases in which a fable has only reached us through AnF. and Phaedrus, the differences that there may be in this give the impression of being a simple derivative from the version preserved more faithfully in AnF.: such as in H. 1, H. 80, H. 95, H. 156. Or of that preserved in AnF. and Babrius, cf. H. 229. At other times he introduces contaminations of two known fables, cf., below, p. 126. This does not prevent a trace sometimes being preserved of an older version than that of AnF. Although this can only be proven when we have a very ramified tradition that allows the stemma to be well reconstructed.

This is the case, for example, if my analysis of H. 76 "The Stag and the Lion" in Appendix I is correct; this is a very complex fable into which AnF. introduces alterations, which Babrius expands considerably and Aphthonius and Pseudo-Dositheus summarise in the ending; the metrical original is practically preserved in the two versions of Par.; it therefore arrived in the Byzantine Age.

It must be said, on the other hand, that Phaedrus does not always depend on the line that most exactly preserves the ancient text derived from the primary verse.

In a fable such as H. 143 "The Hares and the Frogs", AnF. III practically preserves the primary original, with few alterations to the verse, and from there derives Babrius, with a few alterations; but both I and Phaedrus agree in the reduction of the lament of the frogs; they undoubtedly come from a secondary derivative, without new verse. On other occasions in which the fable does not appear in AnF., we have arguments to establish that certain alterations of Phaedrus are not originals of his, but from a secondary model: such as in not-H. 8 "The Goat and the Goatherd", in which Phaedrus and *Tetr.* come from a summarized version with certain alterations, a version derived from the primary verse, which has passed more directly to other collections (Dod., Par., Aphthonius).

At other times we must simply restrict ourselves to establishing

that Phaedrus comes from a line not in AnF., which is the only one that has left traces in our tradition: in not-H. 114 (in Par., Phaedrus and Seneca) and in some fables that we will mention on the subject of Babrius.

In short, Phaedrus is further evidence to show us the complexity of the derivations of the principal line of the tradition, which comes from the primary versions. And which helps us to reconstruct them. Sometimes he follows different branches or follows the same as AnF., but alters it in a very personal manner. All this must be studied in II, 1.

What we must study is the frequency with which Phaedrus follows the different models within the derivatives of the primary metrical fables, his constants in the modifications of this. And, also to what extent, when there are two (or more) primary metrical versions, Phaedrus follows that of AnF. (such as in H. 9 "The Fox and the He-goat") or, possibly, follows another. Starting from here, one could attempt to reconstruct his model collections and his sources in general.

Avianus too, finally, contributes other evidence of fables in translation that must be properly evaluated. To derive him from Babrius clearly proves inadequate. We must see that he also sometimes helps to reconstruct the fables with primary verse insofar as they do not go too far away from the principal line. Although Avianus is occasionally very original and in some cases clearly follows a different line from that of AnF., this is sometimes not the case. The fact is that we must take into account something that is not usually noticed; the ramification of some fables was much less than that of others, there was practically nowhere to choose, so to speak. The collections that wished to introduce one of these fables had no other recourse than to follow the only existing model. For further details, I refer the reader to II 5.

Now we will move on to discuss the fables with "modern verse": initially those of Babrius and Babrian ones generally, since we have already observed that the choliambic fables not in the Athous are not necessarily from Babrius and there may even be doubts about those of the Athous. We have also already indicated that the metrical alterations introduced by Babrius and followed by his imitators, as well as his desire to alter his models, have not been sufficient to prevent small remnants of the ancient metre from penetrating him.

Yet these are helps that can only be taken into account secondarily (only after the fact of some passage of his belonging to ancient verse has been demonstrated independently).

We must blend a great deal the ideas sustained so far, certain, moreover, in general terms, regarding the difference of Babrius (we use the name, from now on, to cover the set of "modern" choliambic fables) with respect to the line constituted by the Augustana (by its model, or the "ancient Augustana", rather) and Phaedrus. We have even stated above that the unity of the Augustana and Phaedrus is occasionally problematic. It is clear that Babrius frequently shows serious modifications with respect to this line: sometimes by following another primary verse, sometimes by following a secondary verse derived from it or by following, simply, a derivation without a change of verse. Furthermore, of course, on account of his own innovations, although it is difficult to detect them definitely except for when they agree with other versions: that is to say, when an intermediate step can be reconstructed, at least partially.

We will consider this problem of "steps" or "cascades" derived from primary verse in the section that follows this; it affects Babrius very directly. Here it behoves us to say, however, something similar to what we have just established in the case of Avianus: there are occasions in which the model of Babrius is the same as that of AnF. or is closely related to it; the same, occasionally, as that of other collections. This either because there are fables with few ramifications, of which no more than a single model circulated in Antiquity, or because AnF. and Babrius come from that more common model and not from derivations or secondary "cascades" (possibly, they may also come from a same cascade or derived step).

The belonging of Babrius to a single model, derived in the final analysis from a primary metrical fable, could be postulated with greater or lesser likelihood in the case of fables that are absent from AnF. and are in Babrius and other collections or in Babrius alone (possibly, with derivatives in Par., Dod. and others): I have given a list in Volume I, pp. 532 ff. Previously I referred to fables only in Phaedrus and Babrius or only in Babrius and the Syriac collections: if these are closely related versions, there is no problem in attributing them to a primary fable not included in AnF.; and neither is there for the fables only in Babrius, provided reasons of content or form do not oppose this.

More frequently, however, these fables from a single model appear

in Babrius and various collections, including AnF.; or else only in Babrius and AnF. (possibly also in Phaedrus, Sy. and *Tetr.*).

Below we give a list of fables in which, in general terms, Babrius is in the line of AnF., with major or minor modifications: H. 47, 50, 53, 76, 89, 93, 112, 139, 151, 229, 255, 262, 263, 285, 291. The scope of the lists shows to what extent the proposal that Babrius represents a line of tradition different from that of AnF. is an excessive simplification. On many occasions the difference consists simply in its introduction of modifications to a common model. Although we must emphasize that many elements remain pending the following section.

The ambiguous situation, which we already know, of Par. and Dod., means that at other times things are different. In H. 232 "The Shorn Sheep", there are significant agreements (lexical, not metrical) between AnF. I and Babrius: either the latter expands or the former is a summary. Par. and Dod. are derived from Babrius. Both in H. 191 "The Ass that Carried Salt" (an expansion by Babrius of a model that also reached AnF. I and Syr.) and in H. 107 "The Horse, the Ox, the Dog and the Man" (Babrius makes certain eliminations, followed by Par., the original is preserved in AnF. I). Things are somewhat different in H. 102 "Zeus, Prometheus, Athena and Momus". Here the two versions of Par. arrive at the verse independent of AnF., preserving archaic elements, as can be seen in our Appendix I; Babrius shows elements of both lines, although it is closely related to that of Par. This means, we believe, that, starting from the version with primary verse, two semiprosified lines arose, the one that ended up in AnF. and the one that produced a Par. model from which our two versions of Par. later came (between which there are prosaic agreements), as well as Babrius. The two versions introduced differences in theme. Something similar happens in H. 151 "The Lion that was Scared of the Mouse", in which we must postulate complementary verse in AnF. I and in Par., this being the version from which P, Ib and Babrius derive. I refer the reader, in any event, to Chapter II 2.

Finally, the fables of the epigrams of the *Anthologia Palatina* and those of the iambic tetrastichs of Ignatius the Deacon can also help indirectly to reconstruct the primary version or its derivatives. To refer first to the *Anthologia*, it may be recalled what we said above (p. 3) about the fable of the murderer; some others could be added, for example, H. 72 "The Coward who Found a Golden Lion". There

not being any other appearances of this fable than that of AnF. I and that of *AP*, not too much needs to be said on the *stemma*: but the fables are similar, except that the *Anthologia* introduces a sword instead of a lion. There is a derivation, in short, from the same source. For other cases, I refer the reader to II 7.

As regards the *Tetrastichs*, they help more to specify inasmuch as they appear (sometimes in two versions) in fables with an abundant transmission. Their inconvenience is the brevity, which makes it difficult to align them within the different versions. A case such as that of H. 106 "Zeus and Apollo" puts us on our guard against an excessive assimilation with our versions of AnF. In fact, it is often the case that a fable is only transmitted by AnF. and *Tetr.* (possibly, also S.) and, as *Tetr.* is an abbreviated version, it gives the impression of deriving from AnF. As in cases such as H. 19 "The Fox and the Bramble", H. 54 "The Snails", H. 77 "The Stag", H. 78 "The Stag", H. 79 "The Stag and the Vine", H. 144 "The Gull and the Kite", H. 162 "The Wolf and the Goat", H. 166 "The Wolf and the Sheep". Yet it seems that it must be thought of as depending on a common model, as in previous cases. Likewise when Phaedrus intervenes, such as in H. 156 "The Lion and the Ass", or Babrius, such as in H. 294 "The Wolf and the Dog". It is clear that this requires further study in connection with the closeness of other fables of the *Tetrastichs* to other branches of the tradition, specifically to Babrius (we have seen examples) or to AnF. (H. 118), or Par. (not-H. 182, etc.). And the theme of the fables only transmitted by the *Tetrastichs* remains pending.

V. *Remnants of the Primary Metrical Version in Fables Showing Secondary Derivation*

General

We have already seen to what extent it is difficult to distinguish between innovations of the fabulists preserved and innovations of their sources, whether these are the primary verse or some secondary derivation. Yet this problem—and others—must be studied in a wider context: that of the derivations of primary verse in general. We will close this chapter with these, leaving for the following one the case in which there is evidence of at least two primary verses: two independent versions from the Hellenistic Age.

Also dating back to the Hellenistic Age are the collections on which ours depend and which later altered them. This is what we can think, basing ourselves on facts such as the relative chronology (knowledge of a certain model by the Rylands Papyrus, the Augustana, Phaedrus, Horace, etc.) and the Hellenistic metre. It cannot be ruled out, certainly, that the type in which in the derived version we are not able to find verse or, if we find it, it consists of remnants of primary verse, dates back to the first centuries of our era. This refers particularly to certain summarized versions that have left traces in the Pseudo-Dositheus, Aphthonius and the Codex Brancaccianus.

Within the derivations starting from a single primary metre, we may distinguish six sub-types, among which there exist links and, sometimes, difficulties for us in distinguishing them:

Sub-type I. From the primary verse there derives a secondary verse, which in turn produces various versions that have reached us. The type not is always easy to distinguish from the one that follows: usually the secondary verse shows remnants of the primary where the alteration of the fable has not been too strong; or, due to some other data relative to the content or the form of the fable, the derivation may be established.

Sub-type II. From the primary verse there arise two secondary verses, normally linked to modifications in subject and form. As there sometimes remains a trace of verse 1 in verses 2 and 3, it is not always easy to distinguish this type from the previous one; there may also be doubts with the derivation in double cascade (sub-type V) and even with the existence of various primary verses.

Sub-type III. From the primary verse there arises a new version, which is at the basis of a series of collections, without our being able to establish clearly the existence in this of a new metre. It could be the case that it presents remnants of the primary metre or that the metre has simply disappeared. It is clear that it is not always easy to distinguish this type from I.

Sub-type IV. Here we have a situation whereby Babrius or another fabulist presents a very independent version with respect to the rest of the tradition. As we have already observed, two hypothesis may be presented: that the alterations are by this fabulist (that is to say, that it is the case already studied) or that there is an intermediate

step. In the latter case the type corresponds either to 1 or to 3: the difference lies simply in the loss of evidence that directly demonstrates the existence of this link.

Sub-type V. From the primary verse there arise two different models without new verse: or they have remnants of the primary or we already do not see the verse. There may be problems in the delimitation of the type with respect to II.

Sub-type VI. Finally, there may be the double cascade or step, with derivation of the second step starting from the first. The steps may, similarly to what has been seen above, have their own verse or remnants of the verse of the previous step or already lack recognizable verse.

These are the six types that we will exemplify one by one on the basis of certain particularly significant cases, to which we will add a list of others. As always, our Appendix will complete the data that we give here.

Sub-type I: Double Model, with Primary and Secondary Verse

Scheme: X verse 1 → Y verse 2

In all the examples we encounter a partial change of theme and structure when the primary verse passes over to the secondary. In many there is also a reduction in the length of the fable. We may add that only sometimes are remnants of the primary verse preserved in the secondary verse; on other occasions, the derivation of the second starting from the first could only be established directly, as the latter has been too deformed. This mainly occurs where the change of theme or structure is very drastic.

We will begin with examples in which there is a change of theme and reduction and those in which there are traces of the primary verse in the secondary verse.

Let us begin with H. 9 "The Fox and the He-goat". In this fable there is a descending line of the primary verse, that constituted by AnF. I, II, III, by Phaedrus (a summary) and *Tetr.* II 15: the verse of AnF. is shown in Vol. I, pp. 77 f., but could still be completed, as with the help of *Tetr.* the initial line could be reconstructed as πεσοῦσ' ἀλώπηξ εἰς βαθύκρημνον φρέαρ. Par., *Tetr.* II 31a, b, Dod. and Synt.

represent a second line, which is a summary. This second line preserves part of the verse of the first: thus the ending]τὴν ἄνοδον ἐσκέψω (in Par.: furthermore, Par. presents a complete verse οὐκ ἂν κατέβης, εἰ μὴ τὴν ἄνοδον ἐσκέψω, which is undoubtedly the basis of the ending of AnF. and others); and the beginning of the "closing statement" by the fox, which is reconstructed better or worst with the help of the two lines ("if you had as much intelligence as hairs in a beard"). Elsewhere the model of the "second line" shows metrical remnants incompatible with those of the first, that is to say, there is in it a verse 2 that is a "remodelled" verse. This second line begins with the mention of the he-goat, or τράγος (Par., Dod., *Tetr.*) and not of the fox, and offers metrical passages such as]βοηθὸν ἐζήτει (Par., Dod.) and ἰδοῦσ' ἀλώπηξ τοῦτον[(easy to reconstruct from Par., Dod., *Tetr.*). Furthermore, by combining the evidence with Synt. it is easy to reconstruct the beginning of the fable, which would be:

τράγος πάλαι σφοδρῶς ἐδίψει ἐν θήρει
⏓ –] κατῆλθεν εἰς βαθύκρημνον φρέαρ
ὕδωρ πιεῖν [⏓ – ⏑ – ⏓ – ⏓ ⏓

This fable allows us to see how the ancient verse is used and completed in a summarized version: the additions are clearly Hellenistic verse.

A good example that shows how the summaries and successive expansions come about is H. 184 "The Walker and Fortune", which in the derived line becomes "The Boy (in Babrius, the worker) and Fortune". From the primary line, of which remnants of seven verses remain in AnF. I, there is a passage to the derived one, in which AnF. II, Dod. and Par. show traces of four; Babrius returns to seven, but still belongs to this line, on account not only of his whole development of the fable, but also of an agreement such as φρέατος ἐγγύς[(in AnF. II, Dod. ἐγγὺς φρέατος[: either could be older, the metre is the same and Par. is divided) and because in verse 1, which is reconstructed starting from AnF. II, Par. and Dod., if we replace the ametrical παῖς τις, τις or ἄνθρωπός τις of these versions with the ἐργάτης of Babrius, which, moreover, alters the verse considerably, a perfect choliamb results:

Ἐγγὺς φρέατος ἐργάτης ἐκοιμᾶτο

Other remnants of the derivative version:

⏓ – ⏑ – ⏓ – ⏑ ⏑]ἄπηλθ' ἐντεῦθεν
μήπως κάτωθεν τοῦ φρέατος [– ⏓ ⏓
ἐμὲ τὴν Τύχην πάντες [⏑ ⏑ ⏑] καταμέμψωνται (an inversion)

It seems clear that both versions have common elements, phraseological and even metrical (ἐκοιμᾶτο); furthermore, the]τῆς Τύχης δ' ἐπιστάσης of Babrius seems to preserve a metrical fragment that is paraphrased in the other versions. In these circumstances, everything leads us to the conclusion that the version of AnF. I is the original, which is summarized in the other. From this there is, on one hand, the expansion by Babrius; on the other, a semiprosification that introduces the παῖς τις and other ametrical elements, and which derives into Par. (three versions) and Dod.

The traces of the primary verse, however, are even to be found where the version is not a summary: we present an example in which it had the same length as the primary, 4 verses.

In H. 177 "The Fly" we have a curious example indeed: there is not a summary, but a change of animal (the fly that drowns in the soup becomes a mouse): the primary verse of AnF. leaves remnants in a secondary version, from which come Dod. and Babrius and which also adds new verse. The verse of AnF. it is clear:

μυῖ' ἐμπεσοῦσα ⟨τίς ποτ'⟩ εἰς χύτραν κρέως
βέβρωκα καὶ πέπωκα καὶ λέλουμαι ⟨δή⟩
⏓ – ⏑ – ⏓ – ⏑] οὐδέν μοι μέλει.

In Par. and Dod. there is a change of animal: the mouse enters (μῦς), perhaps initially due to a simple error, but the fact is that the change of species makes it necessary to repair the verse. Comparing Par. and Bab. we see that sometimes one, sometimes the other is closely related to the primary verse. For example, I think that

Μῦς εἰς χύτραν ζέουσαν ⟨ἐμπεσὼν⟩ κρεῶν
changed to
Μῦς εἰς χύτραν ζέουσαν κρεῶν τε ⟨πλήρη⟩
ἐνέπεσε [– ⏓ – ⏑ – ⏓ – ⏓ ⏓ (Par.)
and to ζωμοῦ χύτρῃ μῦς ἐμπεσὼν ἀπωμάστῳ (B.)

Babrius remains, in this case, further from the original, although he preserves the ἐμπεσών; later he is closer in βέβρωκα . . . καὶ πέπωκα, altered by Par., which, on the other hand, maintains a λελουμένῳ dependent on λέλουμαι.

Likewise in H. 260 "The Flea and the Athlete" the length of the versions of AnF., I, II, III and of Dod., with partially different verse, differs on account of the subject (the end of the fable). The significant aspect is that in the beginning the common parts of verse are preserved: ψύλλα δέ ποτε[.

In other fables, on the other hand, there are no direct traces of the primary verse within the secondary. In some cases, the secondary goes together with a summary.

We can perhaps see this technique of the summary better in the case of AnF. 239, also in Babrius and Par. particularly, whose summarized version is AnF. 71, also in Aphthonius: here the summary is accompanied by a slight change of theme, it is no longer "The Trees and the Reed" but "The Oak and the Reed"; and also a fundamental change of structure, instead of a situation fable with a dialogue, we find one of dispute (ἔρις) with a result of action, the oak is uprooted by the wind.

In this fable there are no exact metrical agreements between AnF. and the three versions of Par., but there is complementary verse of the type AnF. I]οὕτως κατακλᾶται,]ὄντες οὐδὲν πάσχουσι. | Κἀκεῖνοι ἔφασαν·]κατεάσσεσθε, Par. Οἱ δὲ εἶπον· Ὑμεῖς τοῖς ἀνέμοις ἀντίστασθε. The beginning of the abbreviated branch is different, there is no description of a situation, but a dispute:

Δρῦς καὶ κάλαμος περὶ ἰσχύος ⟨ποτ'⟩ ἤριζον (AnF., with inversion)
ἡ μὲν γὰρ αὐτὴν τῆς ἰσχύος ἐθαύμαζε (Aphth.).

As we see, the new version follows a traditional formula, cf. Vol. I, p. 558. And there are no remnants of common verse.

Let us study further H. 163 "The Wolf and the Old Woman". Here the fable of AnF. and Dod., which is opened by the wolf, who is hopeful upon hearing the threats of the old woman against the boy and is later deceived, and which finishes with a sceptical "closing statement" by the wolf himself on the truthfulness of men, is altered in a more reduced model that is at the basis of the fable of Babrius and that of Aphthonius. Lacking the beginning, the fable begins with the threats of the old woman against the weeping boy;

the ending is missing (eliminated definitively in Aphthonius, substituted by an anti-female tirade by the wolf in Babrius). And the development of the fable is identical, even with lexical agreements (Babrius τίτθη, Aphthonius τήθη instead of γραῦς. Clear traces of the new verse of this reduced version remain in Aphthonius: τήθην ἐλύπει παιδίον[,]οὐκ ἐπαύετο,]λύκῳ παραβαλεῖν ἠπείλει (with inversion), Κενὸς δ' ὁ λύκος[,]ἐλπιζομένης γενησέσθαι. And since both he and Babrius show certain individual agreements with AnF., we may deduce that the model for both, as is natural, was more closely related to the original of the primary metre than the fables derived from it.

There are some similar cases in which alteration of the theme and the verse and reduction of the fable are linked. Such as H. 192 "The Ass and the Mule", in AnF. I, which becomes "The Horse and the Ass" in shorter versions in Par., Dod. and III (it is H. 286), which Babrius again expands.

At other times, however, the alteration of the subject or structure is not linked to the existence of a summary. We will give some examples in which the secondary verse does not preserve a trace of the primary.

There is a thematic adjustment, accompanied by one of the verse, in the passage from AnF. 87 "The Piglet and the Sheep" to AnF. 189 "The Piglet and the Fox": in the first case it is AnF. I, in the second also I, together with which are also Aphthonius and Syr. In 87 the piglet complains, certain that he is going to the slaughterhouse, and the dialogue continues between him and the sheep; in 189 the peasant takes the piglet, the sheep and the goat on his ass and the fabulist must introduce another character (the fox, a "survenant") to make the closing comment in view of the different behaviour of the three animals, since only the piglet complains. There is, as we see, a reworking of the theme to make it more expressive, not a summary, in this case. And it is difficult, in these circumstances, for there to be remnants of common metre. Yet there are indeed in both models:

AnF. 87
ἐκεκράγει [⏓ – ⏑ – ⏓ – ⏓ ⏓
⏓ – ⏑ –] συλλαμβάνει κοὺ κράζομεν; (cf. Ia)
Ἔφη πρὸς αὐτά [– ⏑ – ⏓ – ⏓ ⏓

AnF. 189

ὄνῳ τις ἐπιθεὶς δέλφακα [⏑ ⏓ – ⏓ ⏓	(Aphth.)
⏓ – ⏑ – ⏓ – ⏑] ἦγεν εἰς ἄστυ	
τοῦ δέλφακος παρ' ὁδὸν ὅλην [⏓ – ⏓ ⏓	(δὲ and τὴν mss.)
ἤκουσ' ἀλώπηξ [– ⏑ – ⏓ – ⏓ ⏓	(ἀκούσασα mss.)
ἔγωγε [– ⏓] οὐ μάτην ὀδύρομαι	
⏓ – ⏑ – ⏓] λαμβάνων ἀφέξεται	

Cf. in Aphth. ἡ δ' ὗς μόνη μεγέθει βοῆς παρηνώχλει (μόνη δὲ ἡ ὗς mss.), remodelled.

Another example in which the change of verse agrees with alterations in the subject is H. 174 "The Mice and the Weasels": the Egyptian theme of the fight between cats and mice, which reached the Hellenistic Age through Archilochus (cf. Vol. I, p. 331; Vol. II, p. 476). In the principal line the generals of the weasels perish because they have put on horns; this is in AnF., Phaedrus, the Pseudo-Dositheus and Sy. Yet there is another line in which it is not horns, but weapons that the generals put on: this is the fable in Par. (three versions), Dod. and Babrius. It seems clear that the second line—the Cynic theme of the one who is naked and without wealth is saved—is the secondary one; on the horns of the weasels, we may recall the general with his hair in the form of a horn by Archilochus (fr. 165 Adr.), as well as the helmets of this type in various towns.

The verse of the primary version is transparent; we have cited a part in Vol. I, p. 83. As regards the secondary version, it is clear that Babrius represents an expansion of a model that has left traces of its verse in Par., Dod.:

⏓ – ⏑ – ⏓ – ⏑ – ⏓] ἄσπονδον	
εἶχον μάχην, ἀεὶ δὲ ἐνίκων αἱ γαλαῖ	(Par. Ba Mg, an inversion)
οὐδὲ στρατηγούς [– ⏑ – ⏓ – ⏓ ⏓	(Dod.)
⏓ – ⏑ – ⏓] στρατηγοὺς τῶν ἄλλων	(Dod.)
⏓ – ⏑ – ⏓] τῶν μυῶν πεφευγότων	(Dod.)
⏓ – ⏑ – ⏓ –] τοὺς τάλανας ἐν τρόμῳ	(Dod.)
ὑπὸ τῶν γαλῶν διεφθάρησαν [– ⏓ ⏓	(Par., Bd).

As can be observed, neither in this case do we find remnants of the primary verse in the derivative version.

The fable H. 266 is complicated. This is "The Two Cocks and the Eagle": the winning cock utters his cock-a-doodle-doo, which makes the eagle notice him and devour him, while the other covers the hens. This is a Cynic invective against τῦφος.

The version AnF. Ib is quite complete; it has metrical remnants, although not extensive ones (εἰς ὕψος ἀρθείς[and perhaps καὶ ἀετὸς καταπτὰς αὐτὸν ἥρπασε, with an inversion, are the most important). From this derives a version that eliminates the ending, when the defeated cock mounts the hens: it is in Aphthonius and the two Syriac versions. In Aphthonius there is verse that could be complementary to that of Ib ([συμπεσόντες ἀλλήλοις,]ἐπὶ στέγους ἀρθείς), also prosifications (καὶ καταπτὰς ἀετὸς τοῦτον ἁρπάζει). On the other hand, its beginning ἀλεκτρυόνες συμπεσόντες ἀλλήλοις is undoubtedly older than the ἀλεκτόρων δύο μαχομένων περὶ θηλειῶν of Ib, which has also left a trace in Par., Dod.: I propose as the ancient verse ἀλέκτορες δύο συμπεσόντες ἀλλήλοις, cf. Ia, Synt. and Aphthonius.

Yet there is also another second line, which is in Par. (two versions), Dod. and Babrius. Par. and Dod. preserve elements that agree with Ib, such as the beginning ὁ μὲν ἡττηθείς . . . ἐκρύβη (with variants), ἀετὸς καταπτὰς ἥρπασε (also with variants). It is clear that Par. and Dod., as well as Babrius, come from the same semiprosification as Ib. Yet there are also metrical and phraseological innovations (the defeated cock hides in a corner, γωνία, the winner goes onto the roof, δῶμα) which do not agree exactly with Babrius. Cf., for example,]ἐκρύπτετ' ἐν γωνίᾳ Dod., cf. Par. ἐν γωνίᾳ . . . ἐκρύβη. I consider it clear that Par., Dod. and Babrius come from a semiprosified model partly agreeing with that of Ib, partly not: it preserves things lost by that one and has other new ones. Babrius, of course, advances in his own right, talking about cocks of Tanagra, etc., and eliminating things from Ib, Par. and Dod. (such as the ἀδεῶς καταπτάς); but he is sometimes closer to Ib than to Par., Dod., cf. ὁ δ' ἀδεῶς ἀμφέβαινε θηλείαις Babrius | ὁ δ' ἀδεῶς ταῖς θηλείαις ἐπέβαινε.

As we have been able to see, in the cases cited the primary version is that of the Augustana (sometimes all the AnF.s), occasionally accompanied by Phaedrus and other witnesses; the secondary version, generally with reduction and with a change of theme or structure, is in Par., Dod. and Babrius (who sometimes expands again) and occasionally also in AnF. (as a second version of I or as a new version in II or III). Yet it is not the only case.

In not-H. 295 "The He-goat and the Vine", that is to say, a fable

that is not in AnF., we find a verse in Aphthonius that, as long as we do not have more data, we must consider primary: τράγος δέ τις ὕβρει[,]τῆς ἀμπέλου παρέτρωγε[, ἡ δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν εἶπε[,]τῆς ὕβρεως δίκη I μέν ει σε[(with inversion). The antiquity of this version is confirmed by its thematic agreements with the Hellenistic epigrammatists Leonidas and Evenus and because what the other, abbreviated version often does is to look for synonymous expressions. Yet in them there is new verse: τράγος δέ ποτε τῆς ἀμπέλου βλάστην τρώγων I τούτῳ προσεῖπε[(Dod. with inv., cf. Par.),]τί μ' ἀδίκως βλάπτεις; (Dod. with inv., cf. *Tetr.*), μὴ γὰρ οὐκ ἔστι χλόη; (Par., *Tetr.*, cf. Dod.), Ὅμως, πάναφρον[, ἐγὼ τὸν ὄνον [– ⏑ –] τῷ σῷ φόνῳ. It is worthy of note that if in the latter verse we eliminate (as we have done) an ametrical παρέξω and we introduce a σπείσομαι taken from the primary verse, we obtain a complete trimetre; it is clear that there is a semiprosification between the primary version and the secondary. Note that, although we cannot date the secondary version exactly (Ovid is not conclusive in favour of one or the other), the verse of the second is Hellenistic. As for the primary, it would not be strange for it to have been summarized by Aphthonius, as at other times, leaving the same verse. Yet it is clear that not only in AnF., but also, when its version is missing, there could also be traces of the primary versions outside of there.

The examples studied are not unique; see, for example, not-H. 128 "The Old Horse" (only in Aphthonius are there traces of the original; from there derives a model that produces Babrius and Phaedrus); H. 167 "The Lioness" (verse 1 in a version of Dod. and in AnF. I, verse 2 in another version of Dod. and the two of Par.); H. 179 "The Libertine and the Swallow" (verse 1 in I, Dod., verse 2 in *Tetr.*, Babrius, who expands); H. 208 "The Bird-catcher and the Stork" (Aphthonius is a summary of the model of AnF., Par., Dod., expanded in Babrius: it has another verse); H. 220 "The Rich Man and the Tanner" (verse 1 in AnF. I, 2 in Par. and Dod., although there are doubts as to whether they derive from Babrius); H. 264 "The Man and the Lion who Walked Together" (verse 1 in Ib, Par., Dod., *Tetr.*, Syr.; verse 2 from Aphthonius, Avianus, Pseudo-Dositheus). As we see, the distribution of the collections may vary, note the different position of *Tetr.* and Dod., but I and variants usually have primary verse and Babrius usually derives from the secondary verse. There may of course be doubts between this sub-type and that of two primary verses, as in the case of H. 222 "The

Shepherd and the Dog", where the verse of Par. perhaps comes from that of AnF. I.

Sub-type II: Triple Model, Two Secondary Verses Derived from One Primary, Sometimes Preserved

Scheme: X verse 1 → Y verse 2, Z verse 3

The sub-type differs from the previous one in that the verses derived from the primary verse are two and not one. We emphasize that there may be doubts with the sub-type of two derivatives not demonstrably in verse (sub-type V) and that of two verses derived directly from the prosaic source (in the next chapter). Let us show two examples.

In H. 7 "The Cat and the Hens" we encounter two lines of verse, one in AnF. I, *Tetr.* 2, and the other in Dod., *Tetr.* 1, Babrius and Cod. Branc. The two branches come from a common verse: cf.]πῶς ἔχοιεν/Babrius, etc.]πῶς ἔχεις;[and]ἐὰν . . . ἀπαλλαγῇς/Babr.]ἣν ἀπέλθῃς[, cf. the others. In I there is a reasonably complete verse that has transposed the direct style of the other line into the indirect style (as is usual in this collection):

⏓ – ⏑ –]καὶ στὰς πρὸ τῆς ἐπαύλεως
ἐπύνθανετ' αὐτῶν, πῶς ἔχοιεν [– ⏓ ⏓

and which includes other remnants that are incompatible with those of the other branch. In this Babrius appears to come from an independent verse, partly preserved in Dod. (Par. = III γ comes from Babrius himself): in fact, Dod. presents precise agreements with Babrius (πῶς ἔχεις; οὐκ ἀποθνῄσκω), but also other verse: Ὅμως ἔγειρε[,]πρὸς τὸν αἴλουρον ταῦτα,]τί δέ σοι; ἄν τι χρῄζῃς; (Babrius:]τίνων χρῄζεις).

Of course, here we can see the relationship between sub-type I and the verse of the second branch derived from that of the first. Yet the situation is rather special. Babrius (and *Tetr.* 1) summarize a version of Dod. that is as extensive as that of I and which cannot be seen to come from this; on the contrary, it preserves, as we have said, the direct original verse, which I alters and Babrius trims. As our current knowledge stands, we see no reason to reject the

hypothesis that both branches derive from a common metrical model, of which they retain remnants.

Somewhat different is the case of H. 161 "The Wolf and the Heron", in which we have three lines:

a) AnF. I and Phaedrus, with the former involving metrical fragments such as ὦ οὗτος, οὐκ ἀγαπᾷς [ἐκ] λύκου στόματος σῷαν and]ἀλλὰ καὶ μισθὸν ἀπαιτεῖς. Phaedrus belongs to this line, but sometimes (and specifically in the beginning) goes with the second; there is undoubtedly a modification in the recent stages of AnF.

b) Par., Dod, Babrius. As at other times, this author seems to modify a previous version, of which remnants can be seen in the other collections: λύκου δὲ λαιμῷ[Dod., cf. Par. (Babrius alters),]μισθὸν παρέξειν εἶπε all, Dod. 2, οὗτος γελάσας[Dod. 1, ἀρκεῖ σοι, εἶπε, μισθός[Dod. 2, ὅτι ἐκ λύκου στόματος[all (inversion in Par.). The comparison with Babrius shows that he often alters this text, closer to that of II, but sometimes with different verse.

c) Aphthonius presents an abbreviated version with some remnants of verse which, at least partly, seem complementary to F., An. I, such as]καθεῖσα τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐξαιρεῖται, cf. I καθεὶς τὴν . . . κεφαλὴν . . . ἐξέσπασε.

In this fable it is a better or worst verse preserved in AnF. I that is "fixed" in various ways in the other two versions; Babrius in turn modifies one of them.

This type of relationship is neither frequent nor completely reliable, as has been said. Yet its likelihood in examples such as these cannot be rejected.

Sub-type III: Double Model, Semiprosification derived from a Primary Verse

Scheme: X verse → Y semiprosification

As we have been able to see, this sub-type is difficult to distinguish from I: if we propose it, it is not to establish the excessively shaky hypothesis that all secondary models are metrical and, specifically, with new verse (sometimes with remnants of the primary). The key generally lies in the interpretation of the position of Par. and Dod.: if they retain remnants of the secondary model, if they derive from

Babrius or if they are both contaminated, which is to be expected *a priori* as a possibility, given that, evidently, they knew them. This contamination was proposed by us some time ago.[10]

In short, what separates this sub-type from I may partly be our ignorance of the facts, when the testimonies are not very illustrative (Babrius or Phaedrus, for example). Yet it is also possible that we are faced with a reduction or modification of the fable in primary verse, which respects remnants of this without adding anything or else practically eliminates it: that is to say, semiprosifications or prosifications, in short.

A first example could be not-H. 8 "The Goat and the Goatherd", in which we must distinguish a model 1, extensive, and a model 2, reduced: in the first there is a beginning (the goatherd attempts to herd the goats and breaks one's horn with a stone) which is missing in the second, which only mentions the breaking of the horn (with a shepherd's crook) and the words of the goat when the goatherd asks for silence: "though I am silent, the horn will shout". This ending is common to both versions. 1 is reflected in Par., Dod., Aphthonius (with his own reduction) and Babrius (with variations, he contaminates Par.); the 2 is in *Tetr.* (two versions) and Phaedrus. Since these sources are one with modern verses, the other with a translation, one cannot gain a full understanding of their original verse; however, the agreement of the phraseology is so great that we must think that the verse is the same. It is significant that the "silent" ῥάβδος of the 2 is in Dod., which is from 1: it could be a contamination or from the rest of an intermediate version between 1 and 2.

Of course, it is equally impossible to draw conclusions as to the presence or absence of verse in line 2 when this is represented by the two Syriac versions, as is the case of not-H. 183 "The Lion and the Three Bulls". Curiously, in this reduced version the original number has been preserved of two bulls, between whom the lion sows discord, while in line 1 the number two only remains in Themistius (who, on the other hand, innovates by introducing the fox, perhaps starting from some intermediate model), whereas Aphthonius and Babrius (undoubtedly on an intermediate model) raise the number to three (Avianus to four, undoubtedly reworking Babrius). Indeed, a reduced version could preserve elements lost in part of the exten-

[10] "La tradición fabulística griega y sus modelos métricos", art. cit. Cf. *Emerita* 48, 1970, pp. 27 ff.

sive line, which sometimes offers both variations. In spite of these, in this case there can be no doubt as to its existence, due to a series of metrical, lexical and thematic agreements.

The third example, the well-known fable H. 147 "The Old Lion and the Fox" offers two versions also with reduction and with certain thematic differences: 1 is in AnF. I, II, III, in Aphthonius and the Pseudo-Dositheus (which are summaries) and 2 is in Lucilius, Babrius and Par., Dod. (which contaminate Babrius with the previous one). It is significant that in version 2 there are clear agreements between Babrius (and Par., Dod.) and Lucilius, cf. Babrius φωνὴν βαρεῖαν προσποιητὰ λεπτύνων = Lucil. *deducta tunc voce leo*, Babrius τί δ' οὐ προσέρχῃ = Lucilius *cur tu ipsa venire non vis huc*. The nature of our sources does not allow us to uncover the verse of 2, but it is to be supposed that if there had been one independent of 1, there would be remnants in Par., Dod.

Of these two versions, 2, appearing in Lucilius in the 2nd century BC, seems the older: the age of the lion is older and not the fiction (undoubtedly deduced from the προσποιητὰ λεπτύνων cited), the direct speech of the lion is older than the indirect (in 1), the absence of the weak voice of the lion in 1 seems an elimination. Here, so it seems, is a version 1 that in a certain way reduces and alters, although it preserves these merits that undoubtedly come from the original (it is summarized in turn by another line from which come Ps-Dos. and Aphth.).

Let us now look at two cases also with reduction, in which line 2 could, in itself, preserve remnants of the ancient verse. If there are practically none, it is because they have been eliminated, although phraseological agreements remain.

The reduction of model 2 is slight in H. 2 "The Eagle, the Rook and the Shepherd". Here the ancient model is revealed through AnF., and Babrius, who present lexical and metrical agreements that have sometimes also survived in the other branch; the reduced version finds descendants in Aphthonius, the Codex Brancaccianus and, surprisingly, in Sy.: they eliminate the final closing statement.

One case that is not very different is H. 273 "The Eagle", which has the curious element that the two versions III and Ib of AnF. belong, respectively, to line 1 and line 2; or else it is true that, in fact, they are two versions of the paraphrase (Par.) that have been introduced into the manuscripts of the Anonymous Fables. Here in III there is very clear and abundant Hellenistic verse; specifically, from a fable originally in six verses, of which two are complete and

others in a fragmentary state, cf. Appendix I. Indeed, Ib, Aphthonius and *Tetr.* depend on an abbreviated version in the middle, without varying the subject (the eagle wounded "by his own feathers", a fable descending from Aeschylus); verse and certain agreements remain (III ὁ δὲ ἰδὼν ἔφη/Ib στραφεὶς δὲ ἰδὼν . . . ἔφη and there are certain modifications which destroy the verse (III]τις ἔβαλε τοξεύσας/Ib ἔβαλε εὐστοχήσας).

A reduction of the fable such as in the previous cases, plus one thematic change, are in H. 154 "The Lion, the Ass and the Fox", which develops the well-known theme of "the lion's share". I think that version 1, from AnF. I, II, III, *Tetr.* (two versions) and Dod., which presents the three animals, the misfortune of the ass, who attempts to make three parts and the cunning of the fox, who gives almost all to the lion, is the oldest. Indeed, Babrius only introduces two animals (the wild ass and the lion), but continues the division into three parts, which is done by the lion himself, who justifies eating all three. The satirical idea has been taken further and the fable abbreviated, but the three parts, a trace of version 1, remain. Yet it is not an innovation by Babrius, but rather it depends on a common model with Phaedrus: also here it is the lion who distributes and justifies keeping all three, only Phaedrus goes further on still and shows four animals and four parts. What we cannot see, given the characteristics of our sources, is whether this new version did or did not introduce a new verse with respect to that of 1, partially preserved in AnF. and Dod.

H. 164 "The Wolf and the Sheep" passes from version 1 (in AnF.) to 2 (in Par., Dod.) by means of a change of animal (it is the fox and not the sheep that says the three "true words" to the wolf in order to survive) and a reduction at the beginning and the end (it is not said whether the fox survives or not, just as the sheep, although this could be an addition from version 1, does not have verse). The fact is that 1 presents quite a lot of verse, including a complete trimetre κακοὶ κακῶς ἀπόλοισθε πάντες οἱ λύκοι in AnF. I. The significant thing is that in 2 Par. (three versions) and Dod. represent a kind of intermediate stage between 1 and Babrius. They have complementary verse from I (sometimes, verse in direct style spoiled in I by putting it into indirect speech) and some Babrian elements that may come either from a partially new verse (subtype 1), or a contamination.

Another good example is H. 302 "The Mouse and the Frog". Leaving aside the version in the *Life of Aesop*—we will discuss this

theme in the next chapter—we will say that most of the versions present a common model with certain abbreviations in AnF., M, F (the theme of the swollen mouse that floats is missing) and complementary verse in Par., Dod. In the Pseudo-Dositheus and in the *Codex Ademari* (probably derived from Phaedrus) there is a summarized version that eliminates the beginning of the story. Simply, the frog invites the mouse to swim and the latter drowns, the kite then kills the frog: there is not the introduction with the reciprocal banquets between the two animals, nor the exchange of speeches between them. In the Pseudo-Dositheus there are very precise correspondences with the other line: it either prosifies its metre (πετόμενος ἥρπασε, cf. Par.]τοῖς ὄνυξι ἥρπασε) or preserve what was prosified in it (ὁ βάτραχος ἠκολούθησε, cf. Par. βάτραχος δὲ δεσμώτης ἐπηκολούθει), or both lines prosify what we believe was an ancient verse. That is, in short: the summarized version partially preserved the verse of the long one.

See other summaries with the same metre, such as H. 98 "The Snake and the Fox", H. 62 = H. 186 "The Farmer and the Serpent" (H. 62 and Phaedrus are two independent summaries).

There follows an example in which there is practically no reduction of one of the versions, nor hardly a change of theme, but there is a different treatment. It is H. 160 "The Wolf and the Lamb", a very well-known fable. Line 1 is, as usual, that of AnF. I, where remnants of verse remain, although not numerous ones; also belonging to it are Phaedrus (with certain innovations) and *Tetr.* Line 2 is that of Par., Dod., Babrius, taking the partly independent first verses as well as the other contaminated with Babrius himself. I think that there are elements in both lines that come from the primary metrical original: I believe that the λύκος ποτ' ἄρνα . . . ἰδών of Babrius (older, I think, than the versions of Par., Dod.) is the ancient original, modified in I, as usual, by λύκος θεασάμενος ἄρνα. Cf. also Par.]εὐλόγως φαγεῖν θέλων (metrical, cf. Dod. ἐπεζήτει . . . φαγεῖν εὐλόγως) and I ἠβουλήθη μετ' εὐλόγου αἰτίας καταθοινήσασθαι (altered); there are other agreements. As line 2 expands the wolf/lamb dialogue introducing elements that are absent from 1 (the lamb does not eat grass nor drink anything but his mother's milk), it is clear that the original verse necessarily must have been modified. Apart from the remnants that there may be of this new verse in Babrius, there are very clear ones in Par. and Dod.: ὁ δὲ πρὸς αὐτόν· τὴν ἄρουράν μου νέμεις (an iambic trimetre altered by Babrius), ὁ δ'· οὐ πέπωκα[(also altered outside of here).

Finally, it may occur that the derived fable is practically already different from the previous one. This is the case of a fable that underlies not-H. 308 "The Swollen Frog", in Babrius, Horace and *Tetr.* The frog asks his sisters what the quadruped was like that stepped on his son, that is, the ox: by swelling each time more to see if the size of that quadruped was "so big", he bursts. I think it comes from another line, only preserved in Phaedrus (not-H. 273 *Rana rupta et bos*) in which the frog swells until it bursts out of envy for the ox, a Cynic theme.

These examples present us with an interesting and in a certain sense unsuspected panorama. We see once again that reduced versions existed, generally with certain thematic changes or a reinforcement of the satirical intent. That these reduced versions, which at other times add new verse, may be simply a prosification that preserved ancient verse.

More significant than this is the distribution of the authors between the two lines or models. The AnF.s (leaving aside III γ) are usually on stage 1 and Babrius usually depends on 2: yet in H. 147 and H. 242 it is the other way round. This is not at all strange, since Par., Dod., with whose line Babrius is usually linked, are sometimes in 1 and sometimes in 2, and also Aphthonius. We have mentioned a fable, not-H. 8, in which the AnF.s are neither in one line nor the other: in this Phaedrus is in 2; in not-H. 308, on the other hand, the same happens and Phaedrus is in 1. More conspicuous is the fact that in H. 154 Phaedrus, also in 2, is very clearly alongside Babrius. All this will force us to revise the traditional ideas on the relations between the collections: data that we have already seen and other data that we will see will also contribute to this.

Sub-type IV: Cases of Doubt between the Double and the Single Model

We have already seen that by this we are referring to cases in which a fable from Babrius, Aphthonius, the Pseudo-Dositheus, etc., separates itself from the general line sufficiently to make us think that it depends on a model of its own, derived from the former: just as we have seen that this sometimes happens. We have also seen with what characteristics. However, since the fables to which we are now referring are isolated, the hypothesis may not be totally ruled out that the fabulists in question are the authors of the version that for us is unique, its creators. The truth is that this is rather unlikely when in

this version we find independent verse: what we have seen so far makes us think that Aphthonius, the Pseudo-Dositheus, etc., do not create independent verses, but, at most, accept them and prosify them. It is also rather unlikely in other cases, within the general panorama of the history of the fable. Although, we repeat, it cannot be ruled out that a fabulist who works on pre-existing versions, adapting them to his style, in some case may have gone further than in others. That, simply, when he has not found versions of a fable to his taste, he has innovated in his own right more than usual.

What usually happens is that Babrius is the fabulist who appears as in certain way independent, either on the basis of an intermediate model, or in a completely original form.

The idea that there is an intermediate model, not only lost, but also one that has not left another descendant, seems all the more likely where Babrius presents a reduced fable, generally of the type of those with 4 verses. This by analogy with cases in which we can more or less restore the intermediate model (sub-types 1 and 3).

This is the case of H. 73 "The Dolphins and the Gudgeon", in which Babrius replaces the gudgeon with the crab as the mediator between dolphins and whales, reducing the fable to 4 verses. Aelian alludes to the version by Babrius or to its source. In H. 81 there is also a reduction (in this case to only 6 verses) and a change of animals; now it is not the mice that uncover the trick of the weasel who is playing dead, but the hens, and it is the cock and not "a mouse" that closes. It is clear that the version by Babrius is secondary, the traditional theme is that of the mice. Probably even the first version is secondary and the older theme is in Phaedrus, who makes the weasel cover himself with flour (the theme of disguise, certainly of Indian origin). We must also mention H. 149 "The Lion and the Farmer", with a Babrian summary in 4 verses and alteration of the theme: now it is not that the farmer releases the lion, whom he has imprudently locked in his stable, with the closing statement by the wife, but that he was simply about to do it when the dog "closes" indicating his imprudence. More clearly summarized is H. 237 "The Worm and the Snake", whose model (followed by AnF., as in all the above cases) was already of 4 verses: Babrius also presents four verses, but including the epimythium in them.

Thus, as in these cases, in Babrius no trace remains of the primary verse, if any lexical echo at all, but in H. 249 "The Peacock and the Crane" if it does exist: cf. σὺ δ' ὡς ἀλέκτωρ[in AnF. and

Dod. (line 1) and also in Babrius (Par. is derived from this). Here the length of the two fables is similar, in Babrius there appears the explicit theme of the ἔρις.

At other times Babrius paraphrases or expands. A very curious case is that of H. 155 "The Lion and the Mouse", the theme of the grateful mouse. Here, although there are individual differences, the primary model and part of its verse can be restored quite well: it leaves traces in AnF., Romulus, the Pseudo-Dositheus, the Codex Brancaccianus. Babrius presents a double and curious characteristic: the absence both of the initial presentation of the situation and of the final closing statement (eliminated also in Pseudo-Dositheus, Romulus and the Codex Brancaccianus, but here it is assimilated indirectly); on the other hand, its middle is very much expanded. It is most likely that we are dealing with a summary of the fable in an intermediate version (of which perhaps there are remnants in Par., very contaminated ones, moreover), a summary later expanded by Babrius. Surprisingly, in this certain agreements with AnF. have survived, that is, with the primary verse: cf. AnF. I γελάσας/Babrius (γελάσας δ' ὁ θὴρ[, I λύσας αὐτόν/Babrius ἔλυσε τὸν λέοντα[.

It seems clear that Babrius sometimes follows a reduced version, at others the long model. A clear, case although one limited to a minimal expansion (a fable of 4 verses becomes 5), is that of H. 288 "The Sick Crow". For this fable it is possible to restore practically completely a version different from Babrius (although with certain agreements that come from the ancient original) whose remnants are found in Dod., III and Par. (here there is contamination from Babrius):

κόραξ νοσήσας [τῇ] μητρὶ κλαιούσῃ εἶπε·	(Par., cf. Dod., III)
ὦ μῆτερ, εὔχου τῷ θεῷ καὶ μὴ θρήνει	(cf. Par. Dod., III)
ἡ δ' εἶπε· τίς σε τῶν θεῶν, τέκνον, ⟨σώσει⟩	(Par., supplement from Bab.)
⏓ – ⏑ – ⏓ –] ὑπὸ σοῦ γ' οὐκ ἐκλάπη;	(III, cf. Dod., Par.)

This model has been altered by Babrius, in the first verse by means of a simple transposition, in the others profoundly; and it adds a fifth verse between the second and the third νόσου με δεινῆς καὶ πόνων ἀνασφῆλαι.

In this case, as we see, we only have an ancient version, that of 4 verses, and it is Babrius who slightly extends it. Yet it is possible that the ancient version is in turn a reduction of another previous

one. In any event, we have direct access to Babrius' way of working.

There are other fables in which the most we can do is to indicate an expansion by Babrius. In fact, this was already the case in some fables studied at the beginning of the chapter. And also in others, such as H. 168 "The Wolf and the Lamb" or H. 173 "The Travelling Fortune-tellers" (if it is from Babrius, as Tzetzes affirms), H. 270 "The Heifer Calf and the Bull". In cases such as these, common verse does not remain, lexicon and phraseology do.

This problem is not only created with Babrius, but, occasionally, also with other fabulists. We indicated as an example fable H. 275 "The Fawn and the Stag", where this situation arises for Aphthonius.

By combining the complementary verse of AnF. III, Par. and Dod., the original of this fable can be restored. The fawn is addressing its father, and asks why, being so big and with such horns, it flees from the dogs; the father answers alleging *phusis* or nature. In Aphthonius there is a version in which it is the mother who addresses her son. In my opinion, what happens is as follows: the ancient version said ἡ ἔλαφος, using the feminine as the epicene gender, and this shocked the subsequent drafters. These followed two paths: one, to change the feminine to masculine (such as in III compared with Par. and Dod.); the other, to modify the whole fable, converting ἡ ἔλαφος into the "hind", who now addresses the horned stag. Indeed, those who understood ἡ ἔλαφος as the "hind" could not understand that it had horns: hence the adjustments.

The problem is whether Aphthonius (who presents a summarized version, without a closing statement, as usual) was the author of the change or whether it comes from some intermediate version. This is the more likely, since it is customary in Aphthonius, who, on the other hand, is a learned rhetorician, from whom we must not suspect the grammatical ignorance to which we have referred.

A more or less parallel case, regarding Tzetzes, is that of H. 75 "The Dolphin and the Monkey", the anecdote of the monkey who, saved by the dolphin, says to the latter that Piraeus is a friend of his family, whereupon the dolphin lets him drown. In Tzetzes the dolphin disappears and it is a "someone" who first saves the monkey and then lets him drown. It is his original modification or an intermediate source.

Of course, the "translated fables" often do not present this same problem. Such as when, as we have seen, in H. 1 "The Eagle and the Fox", all our witnesses introduce certain alterations with respect

to the ancient fable of Archilochus which must be attributed to Demetrius Phalereus, the doubt nevertheless remains as to whether there are intermediate models or not. Specifically, in this case, as to whether Phaedrus innovates personally with respect to the model that also reached AnF. or whether it is based on another model, with a different metre, although both date back conclusively to Demetrius. This problem is difficult to resolve, although a question of method must prompt us not to accept more models than those that are demonstrable. This does not mean that others have not existed.

Sub-type V: Two Derivatives of the Primary Verse, without the Demonstrable Presence of Two Secondary Verses

Scheme: X verse → Y, Z

As we have already said, this type is comparable to II, except that we cannot demonstrate the existence of two new verses. We sometimes find two semiprosifications of the same primary verse; at others, at most one new metrical version and a semiprosification. And there is no shortage of cases in which we cannot find metrical features in the derived models.

We can form two subgroups within this section: in the first, two lines are recognized of the tradition that there are reasons for deriving from a primary model. They occasionally preserve (or one of them preserves) primary metrical remnants; it also may be the case that one introduces a secondary verse. In the second subgroup there is a series of versions that come very directly from the primary verse, which is partly reconstructible; and there are then two derived lines, with similar characteristics to those of the previous subgroup.

Within the first subgroup, the most simple, a good example is H. 15a "The Fox and the Grapes". Here the two lines, that of AnF and Phaedrus and that of Par. (two versions), Dod. and Babrius, have complementary metrical remnants. Phaedrus is very close to AnF. (cf. λιμώττουσα = *fame coacta*, ἀναδενδράδος = *alta in vinea*) but sometimes agrees directly with the other line, where AnF. has introduced recent modifications. A case such as this is in fact equivalent to what we have called a unique model with intermediate semi-prosifications.

Likewise H. 190 "The Ass and the Gardener", in which there is opposition between AnF. on one side and II, Dod. on the other.

The second subgroup is less simple. Within it, a particularly complicated fable is H. 103 "The Rook and the Birds": the story of how the rook, who had decorated itself with other birds' feathers, was robbed of these by the other birds.

Here we find the following lines:

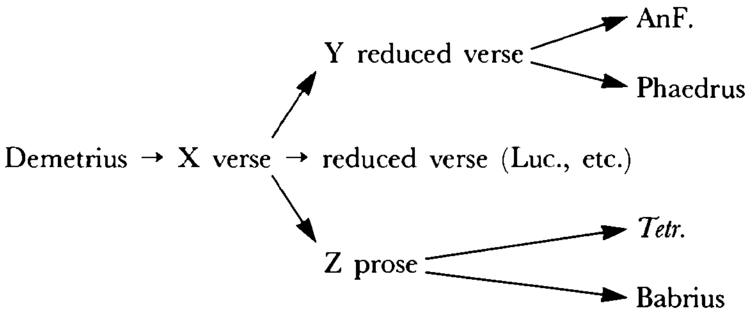
a) That of AnF. I, II and Phaedrus (he contaminates this fable with that of the peacock, H. 125). There are very significant agreements between the two in the phraseology (τὰ ἀποπίπτοντα τῶν ὀρνέων πτερὰ ἀνελάμβανε I, cf. II *pennas . . . quae deciderant sustulit* Phaedrus, καὶ ἑαυτῷ περιῆπτε I, cf. II/*seque exornavit* Phaedrus, etc.), which show that they come from the same semiprosification; in the abbreviated beginning, which tells of the beauty competition from the rest of the tradition. This initial model must have had a closing statement like that of Phaedrus, which disappeared in AnF., where, on the other hand, there remain metrical remnants such as]ὀρνέων καταστῆναι | προθεσμίαν [αὐτοῖς] ἔταξεν[, the phrase cited above initially]πρὸς τὸν Δία. | Μέλλοντος δ' αὐτοῦ[, etc.

b) The version that has left its trace in Babrius, who represents an expansion of 24 verses: it begins with the *agon* of beauty proposed by Iris, it continues with a long ἔκφρασις of the competing birds and the admiration of Zeus for the rook and concludes with a speech by the swallow uncovering the truth and the spoliation of the rook by the birds (this as in the other line). We must observe that Babrius, indeed, extends and does not agree with AnF. either in phraseology or in metre, but certainly starts from an intermediate stage of which *Tetr.* is the other witness. Here, indeed, the swallow takes part and it cannot be believed that it is derived from Babrius, because the initial ἀλλοτρίοις πτεροῖσι is absent in him and the oldest, Hellenistic reference to the fable is in no less than Philodemus: ἀλλοτρίοις ἑαυτὸν πτεροῖς; on the other hand, the final]γυμνὸς ηὑρήθη is reminiscent of the]ἀπογυμνωθέντι of I and has no parallel in Babrius.

c) The comparison of these two lines takes us back to an initial model, of which the line a) eliminates the theme of the *agon* instigated by Zeus and b) introduces the motif of the swallow; Babrius extends the latter, introducing Iris and making a lengthy description. This ancient version, thus uncovered, is to be found more or less well preserved in Libanius, Aphthonius and Theophylactus Simocatas: the theme of the *agon* (which in Libanius is called by Hermes, not

Iris), the theme of the birds in the fountains (as in Babrius, not in AnF.), that of the owl who begins to pull off the feathers (whence the swallow in the second line), that of the admiration of Zeus (in Libanius, as in Babrius); and themes from the first line in AnF. and in Libanius and Theophylactus there is talk of the kingdom of the birds, the προθεσμίαν ἔταξε[of I corresponds (prosified) to τὴν κυρίαν ὁρίζοντες in Aphthonius. There is talk in all these versions of the feathers that fall, the μέλλοντος δ' αὐτοῦ of I corresponds (prosified) to μέλλοντος δ' ἤδη in Libanius, there is in the latter a ἀλλοτρίων ἐγυμνοῦτο that is certainly the original, etc. What is missing is the speech of the owl: undoubtedly that of the swallow is original to Babrius.

That is to say, to summarize, we find an ancient line and two modified ones, one of these expanded by Babrius; the ancient one and one of the two have complementary verse, the other does not preserve it. It is likely that the line that goes from Demetrius to the primary verse passed through Diogenes the Cynic.



The Fable H. 119 "The Camel and Zeus" is also Cynic; it presents a more or less closely related panorama. As is known, the camel asks Zeus for horns, complaining about nature, and the god clips his ears. AnF. undoubtedly comes from the principal ancient line and preserve some remnants of verse. It is likely that in this case Avianus comes from the same model: in him we are presented with the camel travelling into the sky (referred to in Lucian), there is a closing statement that seems to have been lost outside of here and some theme that is in one of the derivative lines, the complaint about the lack of horns.

There is a summary of this principal line in Aphthonius, which I think, as usual, comes from an intermediate version. In this summary there are both metrical and phraseological agreements with I:

the beginning of both lines could easily be derived from ἰδὼν κάμηλος ταῦρον[, in Aphthonius we read κερῶν ᾔτει τυχεῖν, prosified in I, there is also a προσαφελέσθαι τῶν ὤτων likewise prosified in I (μέρος τι τῶν ὤτων ἀφείλετο). Conversely, the τῆς ἀπληστίας μισήσας of Aphthonius is a prosification of the Ζεὺς δ' ἠγανάκτει (cf. Vol. I, p. 549) of I (cf. *Iuppiter arridens* in Avianus, perhaps from the same semiprosification that is revealed in Ζεὺς δ' ἀγανακτήσας of I).

On the other hand, there exists another second summarized version that has left traces in Par., Dod. and Synt. It is a version with its own metrical remnants, cf., for example,]ταῦτά μοι λείπει Par., τῶν ὤτων | ἀπεστέρησε[Dod. The truth is that these versions seem prosifications of a Babrian fable with 4 verses. Yet this version, in which the envy of the camel for the bull is not mentioned, also left a trace in Synt. and here there is a ὁ Ζεὺς δ' ὀργισθεὶς which do not find any correspondence in Par., Dod. and does in I, as we have already seen. I think that Syntipas keeps a trace of the intermediate version, later reduced by Babrius, which, though lost, has left its descent in Par., Dod.

The scheme would be:

ametrical summary → Aphthonius
X verse → AnF.
metrical summary → (Babrius) → Par., Dod.

I will deal with H. 158 "The Wolves and the Sheep" more briefly. Here too the ancient model is mainly in AnF. I and Phaedrus (the version of Romulus is preserved) with numerous agreements; Dod. also belongs to it, presenting in direct style the speech of the wolves asking the sheep to hand over the dogs and it may preserve the ancient one with this or (more probably, there is no agreement with the verse of I) expand it. And there is also a summary of it in Aphthonius and Libanius, a summary that presents metrical elements that could very well be complementary to those of I. And there is a second version, in Par. and Babrius, a version in which the ending is altered: instead of the result of the sheep's stupid behaviour being the death of the sheep themselves, a ram persuades them not to hand over the dogs to the wolves. This innovation is not the work of Babrius; but comes from the intermediate source partially preserved

by Par., who presents a different verse: εἰ τοὺς κύνας λάβωσι[Par., ἐφ' ᾧ λάβωσι τοὺς κύνας πρὸς αἰκίην Babrius, τὰ μωρὰ δὲ πρόβατα συνέθεντο [τοῦτο] ποιῆσαι Par./μωρὴ δὲ ποίμνη . . . πέμπειν ἔμελλε Babrius. What is not clear is whether this metre is complementary to I (that is, primary): it is very likely, as there is nothing to contradict this. In short, everywhere there are traces of this initial model, related in one way or another with the version of the *Vita Aesopi*.

We have, then:

compl. metric summary (?) → Aphthonius, Libanius, Dod.
↗
X verse → AnF., Phaedrus
↘
another summary → Par. Bab.

Sub-type VI: Derivation in Cascade

Scheme: X verse → Y → Z

Let us look, to finish this chapter, at those fables in which there is a version derived from another and a third from the second: what we call derivation in cascade or in steps. The problems with respect to the verse (complementary or new, detectable or not), are the same as those we have seen above. Let us give a few examples, after emphasizing that it is not always easy to separate this sub-type from those of double derivation (1 and 5) and double primary verse (next chapter).

A good example, to begin with, could be that of H. 114, the fable of the cicada and the ant: it is a fable from the version AnF. I, which in Ia became "The Ant and the Beetle". This is, we believe, a derivation (starting from the common model in the pre-Augustana): the animal that, in the Classical tradition, sang and lived on dew, became the more strictly Cynic animal that is the beetle. We believe that the latter fable, which presents metrical remnants very different from those of the first, does not come from it directly, but from an abbreviated version, whose remnants, as on other occasions, we find in Aphthonius, the Codex Brancaccianus and, probably, in Theophylactus Simocatas. The remnants of the ancient tradition are found, as has been said, in I, but also in III, in Babrius (in fact the Pseudo-Dositheus) and in Dod. (two versions contaminated with Babrius), in particular. We must point out that this version began with a refer-

ence to the Winter and to the hunger of the cicada and continued with the dialogue between the two animals, with the ant closing with its "dance in the winter" (χειμῶνος ὀρχοῦ, a metric clause preserved by I, III and Babrius). There remain numerous metrical remnants of this version, complementary remnants. For example, the reply by the cicada to the question from the ant as to what the former did in the winter, better than in I (ᾖδον καὶ ἔτερπον τοὺς ὁδοιποροῦντας), is preserved in III, from whose οὐκ ἐσχόλαζον, ἀλλ' ᾖδον μουσικῶς the original οὐκ ἐσχόλαζον, ἀλλὰ μουσικῶς ᾖδον is easily obtained. There are also metrical traces in Babrius (we indicated one above) and in Dod. ( ]τὸ θέρος πῶς οὐκ ἔσχες; see below). For the details, I refer the reader to Appendix I.

Traces exist—furthermore, with significant differences between each other—of a summarized version like those we have already seen. In it there is a beginning with the situation in the summer, with the counterposing of the work (πόνος) of the ant and the indolence of the cicada; and later there is the dialogue in abbreviated form, except in Aphthonius, who, taking a further step, suppresses this and ends referring to the poverty of the cicada.

It is not from the main text, which practically allows itself to be fully reconstructed, but from the "summarized version" that the new version, "The Ant and the Beetle", came about. This is clear because this version also begins with the situation in the summer, with the differing behaviour of the two animals, the ant and, now, the beetle; and it continues with the situation in the winter and the closing statement by the ant, modified with respect to the practically identical one of the expanded and abbreviated versions. The new version presents some small traces of Hellenistic verse different from that of the original model: perhaps the initial verse was ὥρᾳ θέρους μύρμηξ περιιὼν and there followed an almost complete trimetre]πόνον ἀφειμένα ῥαστώνην ἄγει and another complete one ἔφη πρὸς αὐτόν· κάνθαρ', εἰ ἐπόνεις τότε (ὦ κάνθαρε mss.). This vivacity of the versions in Hellenistic verse, which could have been re-done again and again, is significant.

The scheme would be:

X verse 1 → Ib III, Bab., Dod. → Y semiprosified summary (Branc., *Tetr.*)

→ Aphth.

→ Z verse 2 (Ia)

As in H. 114, in H. 198. "The Ass and the Wolf", we have two metrical versions in the AnF., one derived from the other through an intermediate version which we can more or less reconstruct.

In this case, we have a primary version and a derived one (not summarized), the first centred around I, the second around Babrius. Beginning with the first, it presents the lameness of the ass as something fictitious: in this way he manages to make the wolf, before devouring him, attempt to play the doctor taking out the supposed thorn from its paw—whereby he only succeeds in receiving a kick and the ass escapes, which is followed by the lament of the wolf. As well as in AnF., this version appears in Romulus (that is to say, in Phaedrus) and also in paraphrases and dodecasyllables, which, although they are contaminated with Babrius, have direct access in some passages to the original model, cf. its δίκαια πάσχω[compared with the δίκαια πέπονθα of I (cf. Vol. I, p. 562), *digne haec passus sum* from Romulus.

One derivation is, as we have said, in a model later followed by Babrius and Aphthonius, of which the first expands, the second summarizes. Surprisingly, in Babrius there are very close agreements with I, which date back to the ancient one (Babrius λύκον δ' ἰδών[altered in I ὡς ἐθεάσατο λύκον for example). Yet Babrius alters: now it is no longer that the ass fakes having stepped one a stake (or σκόλοπα ἐπάτησα I, *stippem calcavi* Rom.), but rather indeed actually steps on it (πατήσας σκόλοπα): the fiction disappears. This modification in theme is also in Aphthonius, later both derive from the same secondary model (cf. also τοῖς ὀδοῦσι, etc.).

It is from this secondary version that the new metrical version of H. 257 "The Wild Ass and the Wolf" comes, since here there is also a real limp by the ass, not a pretend one. Except that now there is a change from the ass to the wild ass and, as we have said, a new metre is introduced. And not only this: the wild ass does not restrict itself to escaping, but kills the wolf with a kick, an ending that replaces the old one of the "closing statement" with the lament of the wolf, eliminated by Aphthonius, but present in Babrius with his σὺν δίκῃ πάσχω, a modification of the original δίκαια πάσχω. That is to say, in summary:

X verse 1 (H. 198 → Y summary (Aphthonius, Babrius) → Z verse 2 (H. 257)

Another significant case of derivation in cascade, this without the creation of new verse, is that of H. 136 "The Dog that Carried a Piece of Meat". Aphthonius and the Codex Brancaccianus come from a summarized version, but one that is not the intermediate one for a subsequent version, but the end of the chain. Since it derives directly not from the long initial version, but from an intermediate, already abbreviated one, which is in the Pseudo-Dositheus, the Syriac versions and Babrius.

The long version is reconstructed quite well starting from a series of witnesses such as AnF. I and II (the latter is sometimes more faithful to the original verse), Phaedrus, the paraphrases and *Tetr.*, which are variously contaminated with the abbreviated versions. For the details of the reconstruction, we once again refer the reader to our Appendix I. The fable clearly began with a choliamb,

κύων κρέας φέρουσα ποταμὸν διέβαινε

and then told how the dog, upon crossing the river, saw the shadow of itself, which it confused with another dog that was carrying a bigger piece of meat: the dog protagonist let go off his meat and jumped into the river to snatch the supposed meat of the other dog, thus losing "both". There are important pieces of verse preserved, and also various alterations (Phaedrus alters the order of the narration, AnF. modifies the ending, there are contaminations).

The abbreviated version 1 is characterized by innovations, among which stands out the initial κύων κρέας ἁρπάσας (and variants), which destroys the verse; and also because now what the dog sees is the shadow of the meat. As happened in the previous fable, this first abbreviated version may preserve traces of the original that are complementary to those from which it expanded. Such as, significantly, in the conclusion of the fable, better preserved in Pseudo-Dositheus and Syntipas than in AnF. I: they are good evidence of this ending, together with AnF. II and the paraphrases, in particular. In it it was affirmed that the dog lost his own piece of meat.

This ending, curiously, is maintained in the abbreviated version 2, derived from the previous one: rather, in Aphthonius and Branc., not in Babrius, who innovates. It agrees with it on other elements, such as in the beginning with the participle of ἁρπάζω (altered in Babrius). The most characteristic element of this new version is that now the dog walked "along the river" (Aphthonius, Branc., Babrius).

In summary:

X verse 1 (I, II, Phaedrus, Par., *Tetr.*) → Y summary 1 (Ps.-Dos., S., Babrius)
→ Z summary 2 (Aphthonius, Branc.)

Clearly, the number of reworkings of a fable is in proportion to its popularity: this we see clearly in this fable and in the previous one. In this the existence proves significant of various contaminations, not only the usual ones in which Babrius influences the Byzantine fables. It is clear that the authors of our collections sometimes had before them not one but two or three of the basic versions. Thus, in the Codex Brancaccianus there are elements of the long version (the dog sees the shadow of "another dog").

Something similar occurs with H. 143 "The Hares and the Frogs", except that here the "summary of the summary" is only represented by Aphthonius (whether he has an independent fable as his basis, or he himself is the author of this summary). The principal line is represented by AnF. III, with abundant remnants of verse supplemented with other complementary ones in III γ, paraphrases and dodecasyllables; there is also in Syr. and a summary in Babrius. The "first summary" is, surprisingly, the one that is at the basis of AnF. I and Phaedrus (if the version of Romulus depends on Phaedrus: they agree in eliminating the laments of the hares, transmitted sometimes in direct style, sometimes in indirect in the derivatives of the previous line (there remains only a brief allusion, καταγνόντες ἑαυτῶν δειλίαν I, *propter adsiduos metus*, Phaedrus, etc.,). In Aphthonius there is, as has been said, a second summary, further removed from the original phraseology, which has already suppressed all references to the hares' reasons for their suicide.

To summarize:

Z verse (III, III γ, Par., Dod., Syr., Babrius) → Y summary 1
(I, Phaedrus) → Z summary 2 (Aphthonius)

It is not very different from what happens with H. 145, the fable of the lion in love, who pulls out his teeth and cuts his claws to obtain the maiden, whereupon he is driven away with a stick by the father the farmer. Here there is the long version, of which, in AnF.

I and the dodecasyllables there remain important traces of complementary verse, with the first version having eliminated the final closing statement of the farmer; and the version in this case not summarized, but varied, by Babrius, who offers important metrical agreements with the previous one, and also certain innovations, including the ending where the farmer kills the lion. The idea that here Babrius does not innovate directly is demonstrated by his agreements with Diodorus of Sicily. A summarized version by Aphthonius, in which the lion again dies, depends on this varied version. This version has a special characteristic that makes us think that it is only original to Aphthonius in the last touchings-up: in him there are traces of a new verse ἐγγυῆσαι τὴν κόρην, ἐκβαλεῖν ἐπειρᾶτο. This second derivative version shows certain agreements with the long version, which demonstrate that it comes from a lost original, prior to Babrius. This lost original had a new verse (moreover, re-done based on the previous one, from τοὺς τ' ὀδόντας ἐξέλῃ of AnF. it was changed to ἐκβαλεῖν ἐπειρᾶτο in Aphthonius, to ἐξεῖλ' ὀδόντας in Babrius), of which Aphthonius preserved some remnants.

We have, then:

X verse 1 (I, Dod.) → Y (D.S., Babrius) → Z summary, verse 2 (Aphthonius)

The derivations in cascade are relatively rather infrequent, and usually appear in fables that are very popular and widespread. The cascade sometimes involves semiprosified fables, whose metre (if any remains) is complementary to the primary metre, sometimes new versifications; sometimes summaries, sometimes expanded versions without major alteration of the subject; sometimes, finally, alterations of this. We have seen that the same fabulist (and the different versions of AnF.) may sometimes occupy one place, sometimes another in the cascade. And that sometimes there are doubts as to the existence of a step, since perhaps we are dealing with innovation by a fabulist.

This does not mean that the number of fables with few models was limited (moreover, well known, since they contaminated each other). In the Chapter that follows this we will see this proliferation of secondary models, when there are derivations independent of a same ancient model.

VI. *Conclusions on Primary Verse*

The concept of primary verse refers to a relative age, not an absolute one. It appears in fables that we must consider, for reasons already stated, to be directly derived from Demetrius Phalereus; and it appears in fables clearly from later, whose subject sometimes derives from that of other older ones. In the review—which is not exhaustive—that on the previous pages we have made of the fables with primary verse, we have seen, furthermore, that sometimes fables have been created with secondary verse, which, on the other hand, are difficult to differentiate metrically. Occasionally it is a mere conjecture whether the verse that we have reconstructed for a fable or a series of versions is primary or secondary. On the other hand, fables exist—which we will consider in the next chapter—that present more than one drafting with primary verse, as we have already stated.

It is very clear that not only in the Hellenistic Age, but also in the Roman and Byzantine Ages, collections circulated that contained in various forms the fables in primary or secondary verse and, more often, the semiprosifications of both. The abundant examples of contamination are evidence of this. And further evidence is offered by the fact that these semiprosifications, in their various stages, have left their traces in ametrical passages common to the various versions of the AnF., of the paraphrases, etc. and even of both. They have been consulted again and again and thus, for example, a Byzantine writer who started from AnF. I could have contaminated this collection with his remote semiprosified source, just as at other times these sources could have been contaminated with Babrius, for example.

What I wish to emphasize here, to close this long chapter, is the great vitality of these semiprosifications, corresponding to one or more lines of a given fable. It is clear that many of them reached the Byzantine Age.

Then there is the fact that semiprosifications with a very ancient metrical tradition, reduced in AnF. I, not to mention Aphthonius, Pseudo-Dositheus, etc., were taken into account to create fables of the Accursiana (III, with its variants), of the paraphrases and the dodecasyllables, in the heart of the Byzantine Age; also, even, of the Tetrastichs of Ignatius the Deacon. My conjecture is that they were only lost in the 9th century, with the passage of the codices in uncial script into the transliterations in minuscule, like almost the whole of

the rest of the ancient literature in uncial. The difference is that this ancient literature was copied in minuscule in versions that attempted just to reproduce the ancient text, whereas the fable, a popular genre, proceeded differently. Continuing a tradition that comes from very ancient times, each author of collections of fables, even if he did not claim to be a poet or writer, believed himself authorized to alter the composition or the theme, reducing, expanding, varying, contaminating. These new versions were, clearly, considered more up-to-date than the ancient ones transmitted from Antiquity. The Byzantine Renaissance of the 9th century onwards brought with it not only a renovation of the fable, but also the loss of the ancient models, which, furthermore, were already more or less altered semiprosifications.

Occasionally the simple examination of AnF. I (the Augustana) or other ancient collections is sufficient to restore a large part of the primary verse of a fable. If everything is still there, there is no guarantee until what date a semiprosified model has been preserved with abundant verse: our Augustana, which is from the 5th century, did no more, starting from the 1st century BC, than reduce its metrical remnants. Yet when metrical elements lost by the Augustana are saved by II or III or the paraphrases or the dodecasyllables or other Byzantine texts, then we must indeed affirm that an ancient semiprosified version, yet still with considerable metre, penetrated into the Byzantine Age. Even more than one could have penetrated.

I refer to fables such as H. 114 "The Ant and the Cicada" or H. 143 "The Hares and the Frogs", which we discussed above and in which it is possible to reconstruct almost the whole original verse, starting, particularly, with the versions in the AnF. (in the former, from I; in the latter, from III) and in the dodecasyllables and paraphrases. This is especially evident when a fable with metrical remnants is only found in collections of a purely Byzantine date, such as III, with its variants.

I wish to emphasize, finally, that the semiprosifications, even when they depend on a single model, could have been numerous. This we see because, for example, those used by AnF. and those used by the tradition of dodecasyllables and paraphrases usually present differences; because there are differences within this same tradition or because other fabulists base themselves on other different semiprosifications.

This is the complicated image that we obtain for the transmission of the ancient fable: the next chapter will complete this. And another

problem then remains: an author of a collection could have chosen from among the multiple variants of the same fable (in verse, in semiprosifications, already totally in prose), although he could also have contaminated. Of course, already from Antiquity, as we have said, all collections of fables were of a mixed character. Even so, some constants existed, by virtue of which, in the Roman and Byzantine Ages (and we suppose in the Hellenistic one), the different fabulists usually worked on concrete and defined collections, although exceptions were allowed. Yet to arrive at this study—which we will carry out in the second part of this volume—it is necessary for us first to attend to the fables one by one, as we are doing, studying the typology of the relationships between them generally, without considering their inclusion in collections. This study must depend on the one that we are conducting now, although it is capable, clearly, of contributing confirmations, criticisms or complements to this.

CHAPTER TWO

THE HELLENISTIC FABLES WITH MORE THAN ONE PRIMARY METRICAL VERSION: SPECIAL CASES

I. *The Fables in the "Life of Aesop"*

This first section refers to a theme connected to that of the existence of various primary metrical versions, but not totally coinciding with it. This theme is that of the fables contained in the *Life of Aesop*, which have already been studied, albeit from partially different perspective, in Vol. I, pp. 654 ff.

In this location we divided the fables of the *Life* into two groups: those that, either on account of their history in the Classical Age, or for some other reason, we consider of ancient origin; and those others only present in the *Life*, which we thought reached collection III through it. To these two series we must now add three fables or anecdotes that we had neglected to mention, that of "The Walkers" (*Life* 125, cf. H. 187), that of "The Ancestors of the Delphians", (*Life* 126, cf. not-H. 80), and that of "Aesop on Delphi" (*Life* 127–128: this is not-H. 10 and finds a precedent in Aristophanes, *Vespae* 1446 ff.).

The problem of to what extent the fables of the *Life of Aesop* come from Antiquity or are more recent does not interest us in this context. Yet it is appropriate to recall, in any event, that these fables, and particularly those of ancient origin, preserve a system of traditional formulas. And also that we proposed that the fables of ancient origin, which we listed in Vol. I, p. 655, were fables in prose derived from Demetrius Phalereus, while we admit that the others (listed on p. 672#), from later, contained remnants of verse in some cases. We also said that the ancient fables, insofar as they were also preserved in AnF., displayed an older state in the *Life* (except for two to which only this *Life* made reference); and that from the *Life* the "recent" fables crossed over to the subcollection III δ (or to manuscript F), with the exception of *Life* 99, which entered in modified form in H. 298 ("The Man Who Hunted Grasshoppers").

On the transmission of these fables, our ideas have altered to a certain extent since the publication of our first volume. We are not now interested, as we have said, in the age of each fable in the *Life*, but in its situation within the corresponding *stemma*. These *stemmata* are not as simple as we proposed. It is not always true that we must start with two primary models, one in the *Life* and the other outside of it, starting from the original by Demetrius; neither do we think now, in the case of other fables, that the text of the *Life* is the only ancient one preserved, from which come the others that possibly exist.

For this reason it is, because of what we said, that the section relative to the fables of the *Life of Aesop* only partially coincides with the type of *stemma* based on two primary versions. Sometimes it does, at other times it does not. Yet it is appropriate to deal with this problem at a previous level, to discard possibilities of error and false ideas, thus paving the way for the study of the fables with two primary metrical versions.

We must say, to begin with, that there are some fables that only appear in the *Life*: it is impossible, then, to aspire to establish a *stemma*. They are, initially, the two fables that we have just mentioned, not-H. 10 "Aesop in Delphi" and not-H. 80 "The Ancestors of the Delphians", the former with a precedent in the Aesopic legend of the 5th century BC, judging by Aristophanes (cf. Vol. I, p. 278). These are two prosaic passages: perhaps they come from oral legend, not from versions in verse. There are also fables with iambic remnants: that of the theme of the two roads (*Life* 94 = not-H. 89), coming from Hesiod and Prodicus; that of "The Man who Defecated his own Brain" (*Life* 67 = not-H. 23), the only version with some iambic remnants; and that of "True and False Dreams" (*Life* 33 = not-H. 228), which we have derived from a passage by Euripides. The text of the latter fable in the *Life* presents important remnants of iambic metre which, of course, have nothing to do with the metre of Euripides. The most significant is:

> ⏓ – ⏑ – ⏓ – ⏑ –]καὶ μὴ θέλων
> τοῦτον παρ' ἀνθρώποις τοσοῦτον ἰσχύειν
> ἔπλασεν ὀνείρους τινὰς ἀληθεῖς, οἵτινες (an inversion)

which, on account of its length, guarantees the authenticity of minor fragments, such as]θαυμαζόμενος ἀνθρώπων,]τὸν Δία | καταλλαγῆναι[,

]τὴν μαντικὴν ἀκυρῶσαι (with inversion),]καταφύγωσι μαντείαν, ἐὰν ἐπιστῇ[,]ἐξαπατῶν ἐνυπνίοις.

The conclusion is clear: traditional fabulistic material (in a broad sense) reached the *Life of Aesop*, sometimes along a non-metrical oral path, sometimes through a versified version. Sometimes, at least, this material only in the *Life* appears in a later period.

On other occasions the version of the *Life* belongs to a fable with ramified *stemma*, but appearing in it only as a mere allusion, it proves impossible to place it within this *stemma*. This is what happens with H. 44 "The Frogs Asking for a King" (probable allusion in *Life* 125), where two primary versions exist without our being able to attribute that of the *Life* to one or the other or to a third; with H. 87 "The Piglets and the Sheep" (in *Life* 48 it is a λύσις), whose *stemma* includes a metrical version derived from another, also metrical, but different; with H. 187 "The Walkers" (in *Life* 125), also in AnF. I (here with verse); also with not-H. 84 "Dionysus and the Grapes" (in *Life* 68), a "problem" difficult to compare with late texts that are purely allusive and fragmentary.

In the case of other fables, however, the *Life* gives us support to reconstruct a binary *stemma*.

This is the case, firstly, of H. 3, the well-known fable of "The Eagle and the Beetle", known since Semonides, which Aristophanes already presented to us incorporated in the legend of Aesop. In the Hellenistic and Late Ages, apart from allusions that cannot be inserted in the *stemma*, we find two lines with two different verses. One is that of AnF. I and II, practically identical, whose remnants of verse, not very long, moreover, can be seen in Appendix I; it began in the active voice (ἀετὸς λαγωὸν ἐδίωκεν and related the clever action of the eagle in depositing its eggs at Zeus' breast, with no other precedent than the general statement that the beetle always starts to rotate its eggs. The second line is that of III and the *Life*, which follow each other very closely; the narration begins in the passive (λαγωὸς ὑπ' ἀετοῦ διωκόμενος) and relates in detail two prior attempts of the eagle to put its eggs in a safe place.

This second line also shows traces of verse. This is complementary verse in III (which reduces the central part and the final dialogue) and the *Life*. Indeed, the fact of the version of III being more reduced does not demonstrate that it derives from that of the *Life*. In it there are metrical elements that are absent from this: Ὁ Ζεὺς δ' ἀναστάς[(mss. Ὁ δὲ . . .),]συνετρίβη πεσόντα,]πρὸς τὸν ἀετὸν θέσθαι.

In the *Life* there are remnants of complementary verse, in passages eliminated in III]συνέτριψεν αὐτά,]τὸ δὲ τρίτον σοι αὐτά, οὐ μόνον ἐμ' ἠδίκησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς σέ (complete choliamb),]τὸν ἱκέτην ἀπέκτεινεν. | Οὐ παύσομαι δέ[.

Yet the significant thing is that the verse that is restored by adding together these two witnesses, is not contradictory to that of the other line. Furthermore, there is an identical passage in I and III (altered in the *Life*) ὁ κάνθαρος δὲ κόπρου σφαῖραν ποιήσας, from which easily, by means of an inversion and a replacement of κόπρου with ὄνθου (which appears two lines below), we obtain a choliamb: ὁ κάνθαρος δὲ σφαῖραν ὄνθου ποιήσας.

It seems, then, that in this case we also do not find ourselves before two primary metrical versions: only one, from which comes one semiprosified, abbreviated line; which finishes in AnF., I and II and the other also semiprosified, which produces III and the version from the *Life*.

The relationship of H. 121 "The Gardener" seems to be the same. The well-known theme that nature is the mother of wild plants and the wet-nurse of cultivated ones, is expressed in AnF. I and the *Life* in very similar terms; I think that it could be reconstructed as:

ὁ δ' ἔφη· ἡ γῆ
τῶν ⟨γε⟩ μήτηρ, τῶν δὲ μητρυιά ἐστι.

Cf. *Vit. Aesop.* ἡ γῆ . . . τῶν μὲν . . . ἐστὶ μήτηρ . . . τῶν δὲ . . . ἐστὶ μητρυιά.

If this is the case, we would have to attribute to the original some fragments of the beginning of the fable in the *Life* as βραδεῖαν ἔχει τὴν αὔξησιν,]τάχιον αὔξεται and ⏒ – ⏑ – ⏒ – ⏑] μὴ εὑρὼν λῦσαι, | θεία προνοία παντ', ἔφη, διοικεῖται (an inversion).

We do not know whether this is also the case of H. 299 "The Woman and the Farmer", the famous story of the widow of Ephesus. Here we have, certainly, two very close versions in AnF. III γ, δ and the *Life*. They show complementary verse:

Life	III γ, δ
Γυνή τις ἄνδρα [– ⏑ – ⏒ – ⏒ ⏒	Γυνή τις ἄνδρα [– ⏑ – ⏒ – ⏒ ⏒
⏒ – ⏑ – ⏒ – ⏑]πρὸς τὸ μνῆμ' αὐτοῦ	id.
ἔκλαι'. ἀροτριῶν δέ τις ἐπεθύμησεν	id. (σύνεγγυς after τις)
abbreviation	ἡ δ' ἐπύθετ' αὐτοῦ· διὰ τί καὶ	

	αὐτὸς κλαίεις;
σοφήν τε καὶ ἀγαθὴν γυναῖκα κατώρυξα	slight variation
ὅταν δὲ κλαύσω [⏓ – ⏑ – ⏓ ⏓ – ⏓ ⏓	ὅταν οὖν κλαύσω (ametrical)
κουφίζομαι τὴν λύπην (ametrical)	τῆς λύπης κουφίζομαι (metrical)[1]
ἔπειθε τὴν γυναῖκα [– ⏓ – ⏓ ⏓	ἔπεισε τὴν γυναῖκα[(undoubtedly ancient)
⏓ – ⏑ – ⏓ – [ὁ δ' ἀροτήρ· ὦ γύναι	suppressed
suppressed	⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ –]ἀληθείᾳ κλαίω

I have stated the correspondences in detail in order to show how the relationship between III γ, δ and the *Life* in a series of fables in which the edition of Hausrath and I myself have proposed that it comes from an old version of the *Life* transcribed by III γ, δ. This is not the case. Both use a semiprosified text, derived from a Hellenistic metrical version. As regards our fable, the problem is whether the versions of Phaedrus and Petronius, more novellesque and quite different from these, derive from another primary metrical version or whether these are innovations by these authors. Since we do not possess the Greek source, we cannot decide.

Although not certain, the case of H. 158 "The Wolf and the Sheep" could also be brought forward. On p. 36 we indicated that the various versions date back to an original verse and in this same work, Vol. I, p. 657, I indicated that the beginning of the version of the *Life* (97) was more complete. Given the agreements, moreover, of this version with the others, I consider it likely that it also comes from the same ancient original. From this original come various passages such as]πόλεμον πρὸς ἀλλήλους,]ἀπεδίωξαν τοὺς λύκους,]ἔχοντες ὑποψίαν.

It may be observed that, in contrast to what might have been expected, the versions of fables in the *Life of Aesop* are barely useful for deducing with certainty binary schemes with primary metrical versions. Rather, they fit within a tradition which, in the case of each fable, starts off from a primary metrical version and only one. The significant fact is that this tradition, in the form of a semiprosified derivative, sometimes reached not only the *Life*, but also the authors of Byzantine collections, particularly III δ and the mss. F and M.

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[1] We then restore ὅταν δὲ κλαύσω τῆς λύπης κουφίζομαι.

In the *Corpus Fabularum Aesopicarum* by Hausrath, Vol. I, 2, p. VII, we can see the list of fables that are found in certain manuscripts of III δ and are absent in the rest of AnF., including those that we have just dealt with and those that we will consider. But also others. That is to say, the authors of these manuscripts added other material from various sources to the material that they took from the tradition of the AnF.; these sources included the semiprosification that had also been used as a model for the *Life of Aesop*. All this material can also be found through our list above, on pp. 75 ff., where we rightly noted that facts such as this testify in favour of the arrival of very different ancient fabulistic material in the Byzantine Age.

We will now give a summary list of fables that appear in the *Life*, on one hand, and in III δ or M or F, on the other, showing complementary verse and also common prose: these are always derivations of a semiprosified version of a Hellenistic metrical original. It is worthy of note that, on occasions these fables are also found in the Syriac versions, which confirms the age of the source of III δ.[2] We may add that further fables of III δ exist with Hellenistic metrical remnants that did not find space in the *Life*, while they are sometimes in other collections, namely H. 289, 290, 292, 294, 295, 296, 297. On this, see below, pp. 435 ff.

H. 298 "The Man who Hunted Grasshoppers" (in *Life* 99). In AnF. III we find quite complete remnants of 8 verses and in the two Syriac versions we find a summary; in the *Life* there is a version with complementary verse and a certain difference of subject (in AnF. the grasshopper hunter captures a cicada, which is the insect that begs; in the *Life*, it is a grasshopper). In spite of this, there are significant phraseological and metrical agreements. This is better preserved in M., with complete verses such as

ἤγρευσε καὶ τὴν εὔλαλον τερετίστριαν I τέττιγα	(the theme seems original)
ἡ δὲ πρὸς αὐτόν· μὴ ματὴν μ᾽ ἀποκτείνῃς	(mss. μή με μάτην)

but also the *Life* contributes elements, such as

οὔ[τε] γὰρ στάχυν ⟨ποτ᾽⟩ ἠδίκησ᾽ οὔτε κλάδους	(M οὐ, altered by the others)

[2] In fact it is mostly mss. F or M; cf. p. 430.

and there are very significant agreements, from which we deduce, for example, a

]ήθέλησ' ἀποκτεῖνα,]ἀκρέμονας ἔβλαψα (in the *Life*, altered in M), etc.

H. 302 "The Mouse and the Frog" (in *Life* 133). We have already seen above, pp. 56 f., that the various versions of the fable (in the final analysis related with the *Batrachomyomachia*) date back to a metrical model from which, on the other hand, a reduced version was obtained that is in the Pseudo-Dositheus and the *Codex Ademari* and Romulus (that is to say, Phaedrus). The *Life* also dates back to this already semiprosified metrical model. The significant thing is that, in this case, we also have derivatives in paraphrases and dodecasyllables: FM are not alone in the Byzantine tradition. The metre is sometimes better preserved here, sometimes there, see Appendix I. Of course, the various Byzantine versions are closer to each other than that of the *Life*. We are interested in indicating that verses are to be found in the frog/mouse dialogue, which only the *Life* preserves:

⏓ – ⏑ – ⏓ – ⏑ – ⏓]δειπνήσων
ἵνα σε καλῶς λάβω. Ἀπήγαγεν δ' αὐτόν
⏓ – ⏑ – ⏓ – ⏑ –]κολυμβήσων.
Ὁ δὲ μῦς· κολυμβῆσαι <μὲν> οὐκ ἐπίσταμαι.

H. 303 "The Farmer and the Asses" (in *Life* 140). This version and that of FM are very close. There are important metrical agreements such as

⏓ – ⏑ – ⏓ – ⏑ – ⏓ –]ὦ Ζεῦ,
τί σ' ἠδίκησα ὅτι οὕτως ἀπόλλυμαι.

and certain differences in which sometimes one part, sometimes another, seem to be more closely related to the original, cf., for example, FM]ὑπὸ ἵππων ἐντίμων, choliamb ending altered in the *Life*.

H. 304 "The Father and the Daughter" (in *Life* 141). Not very much verse remains in this short fable, but there is some; the differences between the two versions (*Life* and M F) are minimal. In one passage it seems that it is MF that preserves the verse:

]ἔπεμψεν εἰς ἀγρόν.

H. 305 "The Foolish Daughter and the Mother" (in *Life* 131). This obscene novelette also dates back to a Hellenistic verse, generally best preserved in III δ, which, in addition to other fragments, preserves two complete choliambs:

Γυνή τις εἶχε θυγατέρα παρθένον μωράν
διεπαρθένευσε τὴν κόρην φθείρας αὐτήν

somewhat altered in the *Life*. Also altered, for example, is]ὃν πρῶτον εἶχες νοῦν into ὃν πρῶτον εἶχον νοῦν, equally valid metrically, but with a less clear meaning. On the other hand, the *Life* is more closely related to the original in terms of certain metrical elements such as]νοῦν ἐντίθημ' αὐτῇ,]εἶπε· νοῦν ἔχω, μῆτερ.

II. *The Fables in Rylands Papyrus 493*

This is also a preliminary section, but in it we will already clearly find fables with two or more primary metrical versions, derived from Demetrius. In fact, the study of the Rylands Papyrus collection, only very fragmentarily preserved, could logically be conducted in our Part II, which studies the different collections of fables one by one. If we do this here—completing elements of the previous volume, pp. 54 ff., 426 ff., 449 ff., 587 ff., and introducing elements from our earlier publications, already mentioned, and later ones—it is because this collection has special characteristics.

It is, in effect, the only collection we know, although very partially, more or less in the form it had in the 1st century BC. And it is a totally unitary collection: closely related to the Augustana as regards structure and style, as we have already seen, but having introduced innovations such as the systematic promythium, always of the same type, and the elimination of the epimythium, sometimes introduced into the fable as a second "closing statement". Together with elements proper to Demetrius (construction, syntax, Hellenistic lexicon) even more archaic than those of the Augustana, there is a desire for innovation and systematization in a given direction: nowhere do we find the mixed, anthological character, common to the various collections, including the Augustana.

To all this we may add the following: the four fables of this collection that are preserved more or less complete all present metrical remnants brought together by us in Vol. I, pp. 58 ff.; and metrical remnants different from those of the corresponding fables in the Augustana, without there being grounds for thinking of a derivation of a verse starting from the other. For the reader's convenience, we may recall that the fables preserved in the Papyrus are, in the order in which they appear in it, H. 113 "Heracles and Plutus", H. 224 "The Shepherd and the Sheep", H. 39. "The Owl (in other versions it is the swallow) and the Birds" and H. 238 "The Boar (in other versions, the stag), the Horse and the Hunter".

Note that all these conditions are given here and only here. The fables of the Assendelft Tablets, apart from being late, show the usual miscellaneous character. The other few fables on papyri that we possess (cf. Vol. I, p. 153) are isolated, except for the collection of the Cologne Papyrus 64, which for us has been reduced to one fable and the beginning of another: it is impossible, then, to deduce conclusions. Though it is perhaps worth the effort to emphasize that all of these few fables on papyrus contain metrical elements and those of the Augustana never do (moreover, "The Bitch that Gave Birth" on the Cologne Papyrus does not appear in this).

Let us return to the Rylands Papyrus, however, on which we reached certain conclusions in our previous studies,[3] conclusions summarized and developed in our previous volume; and to which we have referred, with new contributions, in later publications.[4] Here we will take into account all these works, which will allow us to abbreviate, but we will study the problem from the standpoint that now interests us. And we will introduce some corrections.

Leaving aside the differences regarding promythia and epimythia, also leaving aside the differences in the versification, the fables of the papyrus are very close to those of the Augustana in terms of theme, structure, phraseology and lexicon. My conclusions—which partially modify those of Vol. I, pp. 587 ff.—are that the models of

[3] "El papiro Rylands 493 y la tradición fabulística antigua", *Emerita* 20, 1952, pp. 337 368; "La tradición fabulística griega y sus modelos métricos", *Emerita* 37, 1969, pp. 235 315, and 38, 1970, pp. 1-52.

[4] "La fábula de la golondrina, de Grecia a la India y la Edad Media", *Emerita* 48, 1980, pp. 185-208; "Más sobre la fábula de la golondrina", *Emerita* 50, 1982, pp. 75-80; "Neue jambische Fragmente aus archaischer und klassischer Zeit. Stesichorus, Semonides (?), Auctor Incertus", *Philologus*, 126, 1982, pp. 157-179.

the Rylands Papyrus and the Augustana both derive from Demetrius and remain closely related to him, but are independent: they are the ones we have called primary metrical models.

The closeness between the Rylands Papyrus and the AnF. (I and III, both with access to the verse, in this case) is clear for H. 224 "The Shepherd and the Sheep". Yet I do not believe, now, in the stepped derivation (Demetrius-AnF.-the Rylands Papyrus) that I proposed before. It is true that from the verse of the Rylands Papyrus (above, Vol. I, p. 71#) we only find τὰ δὲ πρόβατα in AnF., but this demonstrates nothing, it undoubtedly comes from the original model. Yet it is not true that there is not new metre in AnF.; on the contrary, by combining I and III we could obtain:

ποιμήν [⏑ – ⏓ –] τὰ πρόβατ᾽ εἰς δρυμῶνα	(mss. τινὰ δρυμῶνα)
ὡς εἶδε δρῦν μεστὴν βαλάνων, ὑποστρώσας	(I ὡς ἐθεάσατο δρῦν παμ- μεγέθη)
θοιμάτιον [⏑ ⏓ – ⏑ – ⏓ – ⏓ ⏓	
τὸν καρπὸν ἀντέσειε [– ⏓ – ⏓ ⏓	
ὡς εἶδε τὸ γεγονός, ὦ κάκιστ᾽, ἔφη, ζῷα	(text of III)
ἐμοῦ δὲ τοῦ τρέφοντος [–] ἀφείλεσθε	(id. of I + III)

It seems totally clear that we are dealing with two different metrical drafts, each of which (or their prosifications) introduce certain variations, without it being easy to say which innovates more.

In the case of H. 113 "Heracles and Plutus" we also believe that we must cross over from the theory that there is a chain derivation to the one that we are dealing with primary metrical models. What we said in "El papiro Rylands . . ." continues to be true, that Phaedrus, who in this case is also a witness of this Cynic fable, belongs to the branch of AnF. (only I, the Augustana, in this case) and that sometimes in him, sometimes in our Augustana, there are modifications with respect to the semiprosified model preceding both: I refer the reader to this work of mine, which it is not appropriate to repeat here. In it I also stated correctly that just as the beginning in the passive voice, in I, is more recent than that in the active of the Rylands Papyrus, the closing statement of the latter is certainly more recent; that certain genitives absolutes of I are secondary, etc. I believe that all this continues to be true, but not the thesis of the derivation of I starting from the Rylands Papyrus, see above, Vol. I, pp. 587 ff.

This thesis is based once again on the fact that of the metre of the Rylands Papyrus (presented in Vol. I, p. 58) there only remain two remnants in AnF. I, that is, ἕκαστον τῶν θεῶν and ἠσπάζετ'. I think that these are two elements inherited from Antiquity, from before the metrical texts: that is to say, from Demetrius. Yet neither in this case is it true that in I there is not new metre: there is indeed, independent from and in parallel to that of the Rylands Papyrus:

]ἕκαστον τῶν θεῶν
φιλοφρονῶν ἠσπάζετο[
καὶ δὴ τελευταῖος[
]ἐδάφους κύψας
⏓ – ⏑ – ⏓ – ⏑ ⏑]ἐπυνθάνετ' αὐτοῦ
τὴν αἰτίαν δι' ἥν [⏑ – ⏓ – ⏓ ⏓
ὁ δ' εἶπεν· ἀλλ' ἔγωγε [⏑] διὰ τοῦτ' αὐτόν
⏓ – ⏑ –]παρ' ὃν καιρὸν ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἦν (mss. ἤμην)
συνόντα τοῖς πονηροῖς ὡς ἐπὶ πλεῖστον (mss. ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖστον τοῖς πονηροῖς συνόντα)

We postulate, then:

X → Y verse 1 (PRyl.)
X → Z verse 2 (AnF., Phaedrus)

In the case of H. 238 "The Boar, the Horse and the Hunter", the totally fragmentary preservation of the fable in the Rylands Papyrus is sufficient to see that the verse of this version and that of AnF. 1 are different:

PRyl.	AnF. I.
Ἵππος καὶ ὗς λειμῶνος [-] ἐκοινώνουν	σῦς ἄγριος καὶ ἵππος ἐνέμοντ'
ὁ δ' ὗς	ἐν ταὐτῷ (invers.)

They come, certainly, from the same model. In this case, the Augustana seems closely related to the model, judging by its agreement with

other texts;[5] on the other hand, *PRyl.* πολλάκις δὲ τοῦ ἵππου is metrical, and there is no trace of this in I; but there is no argument to make us change the conclusions drawn from the previous fables: we are dealing with two independent metrical versions.

This fable is important in any event, because it is one of the very few that enable us to reconstruct the model of Demetrius and see how he modified what in turn was his model: in this case, a fable by Stesichorus, as we already know.[6]

Indeed, in my article already cited, "Neue jambische Fragmente...", I have shown that:

a) In Aristotle, *Rhet.* II 20 and Conon, *Narr.* 42 two different prosifications are preserved, certainly derived through the historian Philistus of Syracuse, from a poem by Stesichorus in which the poet warned his fellow citizens of Himera that it was dangerous to grant Phalaris a bodyguard, which he would use (as indeed he did) to become a tyrant. In both prosifications there are remnants of iambic verse, sometimes agreeing, sometimes complementary, with the help of which it is feasible to achieve a partial reconstruction of the poem by Stesichorus. In the fable with which the poet warned his fellow citizens, the animal against which the horse asks the hunter for help is the stag, not the boar.

b) On the other hand, in the collections (the Rylands Papyrus, AnF., Phaedrus, Par., *Tetr.*) it is the boar that appears, not the stag, which we have interpreted as an innovation by Demetrius that goes together with other innovations: now it is not a dispute between two herbivores for a meadow, but over the invasion of the spring from which the horse was drinking by the ferocious boar.

c) Nevertheless, two other texts exist, a quotation from Horace and the fable of Romulus, in which there are elements of the ancient tradition, with the stag, and elements of the Demetrian tradition. We have interpreted this fact as coming from a contamination of the fable of Demetrius with that of Stesichorus or one of the derivations of this.

We find, then, in the Rylands Papyrus and in AnF., two prosifica-

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[5] Cf. "Neue jambische Fragmente...", p. 166.

[6] Cf. Vol. I, pp. 242, 400, previously *Emerita* 46, 1978, pp. 251 ff. Other examples refer to various fables by Archilochus, particularly "The Eagle and the Fox" (H. 1).

tions that derive in turn from two primary metrical versions obtained from the text of Demetrius. Sometimes in one, sometimes in another, we find literal agreements with Stesichorus, reconstructed starting from Aristotle and Conon; occasionally the ancient text also reached the witnesses of the contaminated tradition. For example, the λειμῶνος ἐκοινώνουν of the Rylands Papyrus (I ἐνέμοντ' ἐν ταὐτῷ) corresponds in Horace to *communibus herbis*; I τὴν πόαν διαφθείροντος I believe preserves the first word of the ancient text (cf. the Rylands Papyrus above and Conon τήν τε πόαν) and also the second, which, however, must have gone in the imperfect in the original (cf. Aristotle διαφθείροντος τὴν νομήν, on the other hand, in the Rylands Papyrus there is ἐλυμαίνετο, in Conon κατέστειβε); the τὸ ὕδωρ θολοῦντος of I also paraphrases an ancient text reflected in Conon τὸ νᾶμα ἐτάραττε, Phaedrus *turbavit vadum*; etc. I refer the reader to my article for the details. However, it is clear once again that it is sometimes one version, sometimes the other, that retains greater proximity to the ancient version, that in both there were alterations, first by the versifier, then by the prosifier.

As the fragments of the Rylands Papyrus are so sparse, we cannot establish the *stemma* of the Demetrian versions as we did in the case of "Heracles and Plutus". Certainly, *a priori*, we must think that at least the version of Phaedrus must belong to the line of the Augustana. And, indeed, they are closely related, although, I repeat, not being able to apply the contrast with the Rylands Papyrus prevents us from seeing if really both came from a common ancestor, the "Ancient Augustana" that we have been discussing. What is indeed clear is that Phaedrus does not derive from our Augustana: he presents elements that, judging by the direct or contaminated descendants of Stesichorus, are ancient. Such as the *turbavit vadum*, already referred to. Although more often it is I that is more traditional: we have referred to its τὴν πόαν διαφθείροντος; its ἐπὶ κυνηγέτην σύμμαχον κατέφυγε is closer to the κυνηγέτην βοηθὸν ἐκάλει of Conon than to the *auxilium petiit hominis* of Phaedrus; the ἐὰν μὴ χαλινόν τε ὑπομείνῃ καὶ αὐτὸν ἐπιβάτην δέξηται is also closely related to Conon and Aristotle; Phaedrus, even starting from a text prior to the Augustana, certainly a model for this and different from the model for the Rylands Papyrus, behaved in a very personal manner, as is customary in him.

We must note that there is, as we have already said, a further derivative from Demetrius, the fable of the paraphrases (I will leave

Tetr., too reduced in size to study its situation in the *stemma*). It offers a great deal of verse, so I do not believe it is a prosification of Babrius, judging by its iambic, not choliambic endings ὅπως σε κάμπτω καὶ τρέχοντα κωλύω. It is impossible, once again, to establish its relationship with the Augustana and the Rylands Papyrus. Yet as there is a different verse and as sometimes, elements derived directly from Stesichorus are preserved that are absent from the other two versions, it is most likely that we must be dealing with a third primary metrical version. We will return to the theme when talking about the fables with more than two primary metrical versions.

Finally, we have the fable of "The Owl and the Birds", which in AnF. is "The Swallow and the Birds" and which we have discussed in our articles "El papiro Rylands...", "La fábula de la golondrina" and "De nuevo sobre la fábula de la golondrina". We follow the conclusions of the latter two, which modify to a certain extent (although not essentially) those of the first.

This is a very ramified fable, over the course of whose evolution not only did it occasionally change the name of the bird (the swallow, the owl, "a bird", birds in general, the nightingale), but also the instrument used by the man to ruin them (birdlime, flax used in one way or the other), and the aetiology of the fable. The version of the Rylands Papyrus shows clear traces of verse. I give them here, improving, I believe, their presentation in Vol. I, p. 59, and in "La fábula de la golondrina", p. 189:

⏓ – ⏑ – ⏓ – ⏑ –]ἰξοφόρον δρῦν	
κακὴν ἔσεσθαι τῷ γένει τῶν ὀρνέων	
ἀπὸ τῆς δρυὸς τὸν ἰξὸν [–] ἐθήρασεν	(pap. ἔσεσθαι κακόν)
⏓ – ⏑ – ⏓ –]λαβὼν δέ τις ἰξευτής	
⏓ – ⏑ – ⏓ –]ὁρῶντα μετενόουν	(pap. τις ἀνήρ)
καὶ νῦν ὅταν ἴδωσι γλαῦκα περίπετον	
⏓ – ⏑ – ⏓ – ⏑ –]αἰσχύνεσθε	(Hausr. reads ἴδωσι τὴν
νῦν καὶ μιμνῄσκεσθ' [– ⏑ – ⏓ – ⏓ ⏓	γλαῦκα)
οὐκ ἔσχετ' ὥραν τῆς ἐμῆς ⟨γε⟩ συμβουλῆς	(pap. ὥραν οὐκ ἔσχετε)
ἀτὰρ οὖν καὶ ὑμεῖς [– ⏑ –] οὐ μνησθέντες	
ἐμοῦ [⏑ – ⏓ – ⏑ – ⏓ – ⏓ ⏓	
εἰρηκέναι λέγοντες· οὗτος ὕστερον	(with a suppression)

In our articles cited we have shown that the metrical version restored starting from here is not the only primary one existing in Antiquity:

we have established the existence, at least, of another two, the reason why we leave the theme of their study for a further section of this chapter. There are, indeed, metrical remnants in two versions of the Augustana (that of I and Ib, designated in Hausrath's edition as 39a and 39b, respectively) and in the one preserved in fragmentary form by two papyri, *PMich.* 457 and *PYale* inv. 1158 v. The version of H. 39b probably shows secondary verse, see below. There are, on the other hand, other derivative versions: very specifically, Phaedrus is related to the fable of the papyri, two paraphrases with that of I.

What we are interested in now, however, is to stress the independent character of the fable of the Rylands Papyrus and its verse. In the other versions the birds, who do not heed the advice of the swallow to make friends with men and to live in their houses, are hunted and she takes refuge in their houses: an aetiology of why this continues to be the case and why the swallow is respected. On the other hand, in the Rylands Papyrus it is the owl, who is revealed to be a wise fortune-teller: the theme comes from the famed wisdom of the owl and the fact that, by day, the birds congregate around it (according to the fable, to ask for advice, which the owl now refuses to give).

In my article "La fábula de la golondrina . . ." I have argued, I believe convincingly, for the theory that the entrance of the owl into the fable, with the change of aetiology, is an innovation. Almost undoubtedly, in the fable Demetrius maintained the traditional bird, the swallow, which was preserved by the different primary metrical versions resulting from him, except for that of the Rylands Papyrus. The latter made innovations, in this case, major ones. And it has remained isolated, producing only two descendants in the indirect tradition: the two fables of the owl in Dio Chrysostom XII 7–9 and LXXII 14–15. We have shown that this second version derives from the same metrical model as the Rylands Papyrus, innovating it sometimes on one side, sometimes on the other; and that the former descends more directly from the immediate (prosified) model of the Rylands Papyrus, but contaminating it with another branch, that of the Michigan and Yale papyri. In fact, in this version we have not only the motif of the birdlime, which is ancient, but also the more recent one of the flax, from which nets are are going to be manufactured to hunt the birds: a motif that is in the version of these papyri and even in their model, from which Phaedrus and AnF. Ib also derive.

We may, then, draw some conclusions about the collection of the Rylands papyrus in general, a collection which, as we have said, dates back at least to the 1st century BC. It is, as we have already said, a very unitary collection as regards its composition and style, which generalizes the promythium (of a very characteristic type) and the absence of an epimythium (which tends to be introduced in a closing statement).

We have seen that this collection is inserted into the tradition of Demetrius Phalereus, which, or a derivative from which, is the model for "The Wild Boar, the Horse and the Hunter". In this case, the subject is practically respected. Undoubtedly the same must be said of "The Shepherd and the Sheep". But "Heracles and Plutus" is clearly a Cynic fable, as we have already discussed: that is to say, our versifier has used not only the fables of Demetrius, from the ancient tradition, but also new, Cynic fables. Yet he, precisely, is rather far from the Cynic school: the "closing statement" that he adds to "Heracles and Plutus", in which the latter god justifies himself, is not orthodox within the school. I would dare to propose that the versifications that underlie the fables of our papyrus are not from the 3rd century BC, the date in which versifications began to be made of fables under the influence of the Cynics, but somewhat later, when the metrical fable and its prosifications spread outside of the school and gained ground. Let us say from the 2nd century BC or perhaps the 1st. The generalization of the promythium testifies to this same recent character.

Possibly this isolated, secondary character of the collection explains the change of bird and aetiology in "The Owl and the Birds". Now it is the theme of the sage who is not listened to and is resentful that is offered us.

The collection of the Rylands Papyrus is, then, a rather strange case within the ancient fabulistic tradition. It drinks from the same sources as the whole of it, but it is independent in its metre, in the promythia, in a certain way of expressing the themes. This tradition remained isolated: only in the case of the two versions by Dio Chrysostom of "The Owl and the Birds" do we know that it was exploited later on. Its manuscripts were lost, did not pass to Byzantium. While the whole of the rest of the tradition splits, contaminates, combines again and again, here we are dealing with an isolated branch. Yet it offers good evidence that making new metrical Hellenistic versions of fables of different ages (from Demetrius or Cynic) was a

common practice and that the thesis must not be postulated *a priori* that there is only a metrical version of each fable: a thesis which, moreover, is often correct.

III. *Binary Tradition with Verse Preserved in Both Branches*

1. *General Remarks*

Within the central current of the ancient fable, from which the marginal one of the fables of the Rylands Papyrus differs, as we have already stated, the phenomenon occurred again of the split from the tradition, from an ancient date subsequent to Demetrius, into two primary metrical versions, which in turn produced derivatives. Of course we have sometimes also seen, and we must stress this, that it is not easy to separate this case from the other already studied, in which a metrical version restricts itself to altering or re-doing the verse of an older one, the only existing primary verse. Yet at other times the existence of two primary versions is undeniable: the burden of proof that this is not the case and that one depends on the other, as some believe, must be with those who find sufficient indications in that direction. I, at least, have not found them.

As usual, the creation of two models usually goes together with differences in subject or structure, including abbreviation and expansion. Certainly, these may be greater or lesser depending on the individual case. And neither can we rule out the existence of two versions practically faithful to the original, except that they originated in different places or at different dates. As regards the fables of the Rylands papyrus, we have seen that both possibilities occur.

Within this binary tradition we must distinguish various cases. With regard to the nature of our material, we must separate the one in which the verse of both branches is partially reconstructible: this is what we are going to discuss in this section. Together with it there is another in which, together with the versions derived from a more or less reconstructible metrical model, there is another or others that do not depend on it, since they are different in terms of theme; but it is impossible for us to indicate if in this case we are dealing with a second metrical model or simply with traditional versions, perhaps orals, perhaps prosaic.

The most frequent sub-type within the binary tradition is the one

that opposes a model that ended up in the anonymous fables and other fables that ended up in the paraphrases and/or dodecasyllables; both may have greater diffusion. It is very characteristic of the mixed character of Par. and Dod. that their fables occasionally belong to this sub-type, while at other times they follow the line of AnF., at others they depend on Babrius, at others they contaminate. Just as the following sub-type is also characteristic: that in which Par. and Dod. are opposed to each other, as they belong to two primary metrical models.

There exists, of course, another sub-type in which various versions come into play: in fact, it is the same as we have seen when talking about the opposition of the fables of the Rylands papyrus with other different ones. Papyri, indirect tradition, minor collections may show a trace of a different metrical version from the one that underlies the principal line, irrespective of whether AnF., Par. and Dod. appear in this or not.

Sub-type I: Primary Metrical Model in AnF. Opposed to Another in Par. and/or Dod.

Scheme: X prose → Y verse 1 (AnF.)
→ Z verse 2 (Par. and/or Dod.)

In a series of fables the two different verses are linked, as we have already said, to differences either in subject, or structural, or of both types. They may be important or merely of shade or degree.

H. 188 "The Walker and Hermes" tells the story of the walker who found a knapsack that contained almonds and dates: he deposited on an altar the shells of the first and the stones of the second and remained satisfied at having fulfilled the vow that he had made to Hermes, the god of walkers and discoveries. This is the story of AnF. in its three versions, all of which have access directly to a metrical model, or rather, to a semi-prosified model. In Dod. things happen in a similar way, but the vow and the sacrifice are made to Zeus; the fable finishes with the offering, without the closing statement of the walker in AnF.

The metrical model of AnF. is reconstructed to a large extent:

Ὁδοιπόρος πολλὴν ὁδὸν διήνυτο	(cf. H. 184)
⏓ – ⏑ – ⏓ –]ἀναθήσειν τῷ Ἑρμῇ	(an inversion)
πήρᾳ δὲ περιτυχὼν ἐν ᾗ ἀμύγδαλ' ἦν	(an inversion, without τε as in II)
καὶ φοίνικες, ταύτην ⟨ἰδὼν⟩ ἀνείλατο	
οἰόμενος ἀργύριον. Τινάξας δ' ὡς εὗρε	(an elimination)
θανόντα, ταῦτα καταφαγὼν ⟨τε⟩ καὶ λαβὼν	
ἀμυγδάλων τὰ κελύφη καὶ τῶν φοινίκων	(κάλυφα III)
τὠστᾶ [⏑ – ⏓ ⏓ ⏑ ⏓ ⏓] ἐπὶ βωμοῦ	
ἔθηκεν εἰπών [– ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑	

In Dod. we find metrical remnants that are certainly less extensive, but clearly incompatible: καθ' ὁδὸν δῶρον, μεστὴν φοινίκων, λαβὼν δὲ ταύτην, καρποὺς φοινίκων, τῶν ἀμυγδάλων. It is not impossible that this verse is made on the other: but it is not demonstrable.

In H. 12 "The Fox and the Leopard" (Cynic theme: the beauty of the latter is successfully set against the intelligence of the former) we encounter two versions originally of 4 verses, that of AnF. I, II and that of Par. The subject is the same: the boasting of the leopard and the "closing statement" of the fox; but AnF. presents the fable with the traditional form of the "dispute" (ἔρις), while in Par. we enter directly into the boasting of the leopard. The verses are incompatible:

AnF.:	⏓ – ⏑ – ⏓ –] περὶ κάλλους ἤριζον	
	⏓ – ⏑ – ⏓ – ⏑ ⏑] ἀλώπηξ εἶπεν	(a suppression, I follow II)
	καὶ πόσον ἐγὼ σοῦ καλλίων [⏓ – ⏓ ⏓	
	⏓ – ⏑ –] τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν πεποίκιλμαι.	
Par.:	Στικτή ποτ' ⟨οὖν⟩ πάρδαλις φορεῖν ἐκαυχᾶτο	(an inversion)
	ζῴων ἁπάντων ποικιλοτέραν δέρριν	(an inversion)
	πρὸς ἣν ἀλώπηξ εἶπε· σῆς δορᾶς ἐγὼ	(mss. ἐγὼ σοῦ τῆς δορᾶς)
	⏓ – ⏑] ποικιλοτέραν γνώμην ἔχω.	

On the versions in Avianus and Plutarch, cf. p. 270.

A similar relationship is the one between the versions of H. 240 "The Hyenas", a Cynic fable against homosexuality, which is based on the belief in the change of sex of the hyenas, in AnF. (I) and

Dod. They certainly depend on two models, each of 4 lines. The difference is in the detail of the words of the closing statement of the female hyena directed at the male and in the incompatible verse, see Vol. I, Appendix I.

More extensive and with a more abundant tradition is H. 31 "The Middle-Aged Man and the Hetairas", the fable of the man with two women, one of whom removed his grey hairs and the other the black, until he was left bald. Here the difference between the two fundamental versions, that of AnF. I and that of Par. (two versions) and Dod. (another two) lies in the order in which the facts are related. In AnF. the young mistress is mentioned first, then the old one; below we present the intervention of the latter, then that of the youth. Phaedrus and Diodorus, who seem to depend on this model (cf., for example, I οὕτω δὲ συνέβη φαλακρὸν γενέσθαι = Phaedrus *calvus repente factus est*) simplify in different ways. As regards the model of Par. and Dod. (contaminated), it twice repeats the old/young order; Babrius comes from it, it seems; this is an amplification, with certain alterations.

In I quite a lot of verse is preserved:

ἀνὴρ μεσαιπόλιος δύ᾽ ἐρωμένας εἶχεν
ἡ μὲν νέα ⟨ἦν⟩, ἡ δὲ [– ⏓] πρεσβῦτις
⏓ – ⏑ –] αἰδουμένη νεωτέρῳ
μελαίνας αὐτοῦ τρίχας [⏑ – ⏓ – ⏓ ⏓
γέροντ᾽ ἐραστήν [– ⏑ – ⏓ – ⏓ ⏓

Combining elements of Par. 1 and 2 and Dod. 1 and 2, to the extent that they do not seem contaminations of Babrius, the result is:

Ἀνὴρ μεσῆλιξ ⟨ποτε⟩ δύο ἑταίρας ἔσχε	(Par. 1–2, inversion)
λευκὰς γὰρ εἶχε [– ⏑ – ⏓ – ⏓ ⏓	(Dod. 1)
ἡ μὲν μῖ᾽ ἦν γραῦς, ἡ δὲ νεότητ᾽ ἤκμαζε	(from Par. 1, Dod. 1 +
ἔτιλλεν οὖν ἡ γραῦς [⏑ – ⏓ – ⏓ ⏓	Par. 2)
⏓ – ⏑ – ⏓ ⏑] ἐθέριζε τὰς λευκάς	(Par. 2)
⏓ – ⏑ – ⏓ –] φαλακρὸν ἐποίησαν	(Par. 2)
	(Par. 1, cf. Dod. 1)

These texts are so close (μέλαινας αὐτοῦ τρίχας is added in Dod. 2, cf. also ἀπέσπα in I, Dod. 2, cf. Babrius) that it is not certain that they come from a common prose, perhaps there is a common verse

below. That is to say, that it is the sub-type studied on pp. 28 ff.

Let us quickly look at some other fables. In H. 6 "The Wild Goats and the Goatherd" the difference between AnF. I and the version of Par. (two derivatives) and Dod. (one), of which Babrius is an expansion, is that in the first the wild goats, whom the goatherd has fed well to accustom them to captivity, flee and criticize his procedures; while in the second the wild goats also flee, but the domestic ones perish and the goatherd complains. The structure is, then, very different. Not much verse of I remains, but some does, enough to see its difference with respect to the other, partly linked to the new difference in subject (for example, ἃς εἶχεν εὗρεν ἐκ λιμοῦ τεθνηκυίας Dod., with an inversion; μέγα στενάξας κόλολύξας ἐκ βάθους Dod.;]φροντίδ' ἐποιησάμην, Par. 2).

There is also a small difference in subject between the two versions of AnF. and Par. (Avianus also comes from this branch) of H. 35 "The Man and the Satyr". In the second branch the walker, instead of simply making friends with the satyr, as is said in the first, arrives at his cave. The preserved verse is not very abundant in either one or the other, but it is sufficient to see the difference, cf. Vol. I, Appendix I.

It occasionally happens that the major difference between the two metrical versions, judging by what we can deduce from their descendants, is in the greater length of one of them: starting from the original, from Demetrius or whoever else, one versifier has reduced the length or else has expanded it, another has maintained it or has acted in the opposite direction to the first. We have already seen how the secondary verse and semiprosified derivations, also secondary sometimes, are characterized, precisely, by their character of a summary or of an extension. Evidently, this way of proceeding was already given from the very origin of the metrical versions in the first Hellenistic Age.

Occasionally it is the line of Par., Dod. that presents the expanded version. This is the case in H. 172 "The Bees and Zeus", the story of how Zeus granted a request by the bees to kill with their stings, but with the condition that they must die afterwards. Here in AnF. I some small traces of verse remain:]ἰσχὺν ὅπως παράσχηται (with inversion),]σωτηρίας στερίσκεσθαι (and prosifications of traditional metrical formulas). On the other hand, abundant traces remain of a very different verse in the expanded version known through the other branch of the tradition. See the beginning:

Μέλισσα μήτηρ κηρίων οὖσ' εἰς θεούς
ἀνελήλυθεν, φέρουσα κηροὺς καὶ μέλι (inversion of ἀνελήλυθεν)

We find similar expansions in the same branch, with a change of verse, in H. 141 "The Walnut Tree" and H. 230 "The Boy who Took a Bath". "The Walnut Tree" is a situation fable: the tree complains about the ingratitude of the walkers, who throw stones at it. Together with the version of AnF. (I), with traces of four verses, in Dod. there is a version whose 8 *politici* verses very possibly trace back to 8 trimetres or choliambs; the significant point is that in Par. there is a reduced version of that same expanded version, and the verse agrees with that of Dod. Indeed, apart from the complementary verse there are agreements such as κάρυα τις ἐν ὁδῷ[, καρπὸν ἔφερε πολύν[; and the combination of both texts enables us to restore an ending δεινὰς χάριτας ἀντιλαμβάνω. Of course in Dod. there is more verse, for example, a complete trimetre ἡ ⟨δὲ⟩ στενάξασ' ἐκ βάθους τῆς καρδίας. The verse, I repeat, is incompatible with that of I: cf., for example, I ἀθλία ἐγώ εἰμ', ἥτις ὕβρεις καὶ λύπας, Dod.]οἴμοι τῇ παναθλίᾳ. See also the fable already mentioned, H. 230, with not very much verse in AnF. I and much, and different, verse in Par., which develops more extensively the scene in which the boy who drowns asks for help and a shepherd reprehends him in direct style, a scene followed by the "closing statement" of the boy. The two fables are reconstructed quite precisely:

I:	παῖς ⟨τίς⟩ ποτ' ἔν τινι ποταμῷ ἐλούετο	(mss. λουόμενος ἔν τινι ποταμῷ)
	κἀκινδύνευσεν ἀποπνιγῆναι, ὡς δ' εἶδε	(mss. ἰδὼν δέ)
	ὁδοιπόρον τιν', τοῦτον ἐπὶ βοήθειαν	(mss. τινα ὁδοιπόρον)
	ἐκάλει [⏑ – ⏓ – ⏑ –] ὡς τολμηρῷ.	
	Τὸ δὲ μειράκιον πρὸς αὐτὸν εἶπεν· ἀλλὰ σύ	(mss. εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτόν)
	νῦν μοι βοήθει, ὕστερον δέ μοι μέμφου.	(see the mss.)

Par.: Οὔπω κολυμβᾶν μειράκιον [⏓ – ⏓ ⏓
ποταμὸν διειδῆ καὶ καλὸν θεωρῆσαν
ἔρριψεν αὐτὸν γυμνὸν ὡς κολυμβῆσον.
Τὸ ῥεῦμα δ' αὐτὸν καὶ τὸ βάθος [⏓ – ⏓ ⏓
⏓ – ⏑ – ⏓ – ⏑] χεῖρας ἔκτεινον

⏓ – ⏑ – ⏓ – ⏑ ⏑] ἐδίδου χεῖρα.
Τὸ δ' εἶπεν· ἄρτι μοι βοήθει [– ⏓ ⏓
⏓ – ⏑ – ⏓ – ⏑ ⏑] ὅταν σώσῃς με.

We are dealing, as we can see, with of a fable of six verses compared with one of eight.

It may also be the case that it is the line of Par., Dod. that abbreviates. Such as in H. 226 "The Shepherd who Joked", where Par. and Dod. present a text with quite a lot of complementary verse to that of AnF. III γ and III δ: in this version the calls of the boy that warn of the presence of the wolf (first false, then real) go in the direct style. On the other hand, in AnF. I everything is in the indirect style; the text is longer and there remains very little verse.

This limited verse of I may be deduced from the beginning ποιμὴν ἐλαύνων[(mss. ἐξελαύνων) and, particularly, from the reading of ms. E, at the end,]τῶν προβάτων στερηθῆναι. The verse of the other line could be restored as follows:

Παῖς τις νέμων πρόβατα πολλάκις ἀνέκραγε	(Par. + III δ, cf. Dod.)
λύκος, βοήθειτ'· οἱ δ' ἀγρόται[	(Par., cf. the others)
⏓ – ⏑ – ⏓] μὴ ἀληθεύειν ὅλως	(Dod.)
⏓ – ⏑ – ⏓ – ⏑ ⏑] ὁ λύκος, δεῦτε	(III δ, cf. the others)
οὐδεὶς ἐπίστευσ' οὐδ' [⏑ –] βοηθῆσαι	(Par., III δ)
Ὁ λύκος δ' ἀδείας [– ⏑ – ⏓ – ⏓ ⏓	(III δ, cf. the others)
⏓ – ⏑] πᾶσαν εὐκόλως διέφθειρε	(cf. Dod.)

In the fables so far related there are, as it has been possible to observe, certain differences in content, structure and length which are linked to the differences in versification. At other times these differences, if there are any, are minimal.

Thus, the subject of AnF. I and Par., Dod. is essentially the same in H. 44 "The Frogs Asking for a King": only certain derivations of the first line, as are Phaedrus and AnF. II, introduce certain modifications (for the verse of AnF. I, cf. Vol. I, p. 80). These are two Hellenistic primary versions, an agreement between II and Dod. (II χρόνου δὲ πολλοῦ παρῳχηκότος, Dod. χρόνου δὲ πολλοῦ προβεβηκότος) must come from contamination. The same could be said of H. 193 "The Ass that Carried an Image", with some verse in AnF. I and quite a lot, but different, in Par. (*Tetr.* is close, and is from the same line). We need only mention the closing statement of the master,

who makes fun of the ass that believed, partially referring the adoration directed at the image that he was carrying to himself: I καὶ τοῦτο λοιπὸν ἦν, ὄνον σ' ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων, Par. ὄνος εἶ θεὸν φέρων.

Also similar is the case of H. 146 "The Lion and the Frog", except that here we would like to note the great lexical and phraseological proximity of the two versions: perhaps (as in the case of H. 31, see above) we have a fable in primary verse from which have come two with secondary verse. In any event, it is clear that the beginning of AnF. I

Λέων ἀκούσας βατράχου κεκραγότος
ἐπεστράφη πρὸς (τὴν θέαν?) [⏓ – ⏓ ⏓

does not fit together with the second line of Dod.

τὸν δοῦπον ὡς ἤκουσεν, ἐστράφη [⏓ ⏓

nor does the final closing of I

μηδέν' ἀκοὴ ταραττέτω πρὸ τῆς θέας

agree with the Byzantine verse of Dod. τὸν ἐχέφρονα μηδεὶς ταράττει λόγος. Cf. also I ὡς εἶδεν αὐτὸν τῆς λίμνης ἐξελθόντα (mss. ἐθεάσατο ἀπὸ, Par.]μακρὰν τῆς λίμνης).

I will mention, finally, H. 222 "The Shepherd and the Dog", with two versions, in AnF. I and Par.; they are similar, but with two very different Hellenistic verses.

Sub-type II: Primary Metrical Model in Par. in Opposition to Another in Dod.

Scheme: X prose → Y verse 1 (Par.)
→ Z verse 2 (Dod.)

The membership of Par. and Dod. to different branches of the tradition does not have to appear strange to us, as it is a fact that we have repeatedly encountered. The only new element is that here those two branches are two primary metrical versions.

This is the case of H. 46 "Boreas and Helios", the ancient fable

that comes from Sophocles. Here AnF. I and Dod. follow each other step by step, showing small complementary metrical remnants; if we must consider Dod. an independent witness (apart from the fact that a derivation from I would be strange), it is because its ὁ δὲ χλιάνας takes a word from the version of Sophocles (moreover, also in Par. 1). It is clear that the final bathe of the walker, overcome by the Sun, comes from the last phase of the Augustana, and is not in Dod. nor in the Syriac versions, also of this branch. As regards the other, in the two drafts of Par. and in an expansion in Babrius, it presents small independent metrical remnants: Par. 1 Βορρᾶς δὲ πρῶτος, ὁ δὲ Ἥλιος, etc.

This is clearer in H. 234 "The Worm", on account both of the difference of the theme and of the better preservation of the verse. In Dod. (from where the versions of AnF. derive) the mother tests the sight and sense of smell of her son with mulberry and incense; in Par. it is the parts of his mother that the son smells. In the first case the closing statement is by the mother, in the second by a brother. We have:

Dod.: σπάλαξ λέγει τῇ μητρί [– ⏓ – ⏓ ⏓ (cf. AnF.)
⏓ – ⏑ – ⏓ –] συκαμινέαν ὁρῶ
Ἐκ δευτέρου δ' ἔφη [⏑ – ⏓ – ⏓ ⏓
ὀσμῆς πεπλήρωμαι [⏑ – ⏓ – ⏓ ⏓
ὦ τέκνον, οὐ μόνον [⏑ – ⏓ – ⏓ ⏓

Par.: ⏓ – ⏑ – ⏓ – ⏑ –] τὴν μητέρα
θέλων φιλῆσαι [– ⏑ – ⏓ – ⏓ ⏓

As we can see, this seems to be a rather rare sub-type.

Sub-type III: Primary Metrical Model in AnF. in Opposition to Another from Another Source or also from AnF.

Scheme: X prose → Y verse 1 (AnF.)
→ Z verse 2 (AnF. or another source)

This sub-type shows once again the wealth of the fabulistic tradition. We find, indeed, primary metrical models in fables transmitted by pure chance in papyri and the indirect tradition. This we

already saw for H. 32 "The Murderer", with two primary metrical versions, one in AnF. and another in a Grenfell-Hunt papyrus; see the detail above, p. 3.

I present below three other similar examples.

The first is H. 40 "The Astrologer", a fable in which AnF. I has preserved a large part of the verse of the primary version that it follows, see in Vol. I, p. 80; a summary is found in *Tetr.* However, in Diogenes Laertius there are traces of a second metrical version, conclusively derived as the first of the well-known passage of Plato's *Theaetetus* (cf. Vol. I, p. 402). The verse of the "closing statement" of the old woman is partly preserved; she is addressing Thales (since here the anecdote continues to refer to him, as in Plato):

Σὺ γάρ, ὦ Θαλῆ, τὰν ποσὶν ἰδεῖν οὐ δυνάμενος (an inversion)
τἀπ' οὐρανῷ [⏓ – ⏑] οἴει γνώσεσθαι;

Under H. 211 "The Snake and the Crab" we in fact bring together two fables, both derived from the well-known Attic scolium. That of AnF. maintains the same animals and more or less the same intention (the snake wants the crab to "walk straight", something that he does not do), but makes the snake die and it is then that he becomes straight, which gives rise to the satirical closing statement of the crab. The second fable is in Aphthonius and Babrius and in it the characters are the crab and his mother: the mother asks the son to do what she is not able to do. It is an abbreviated fable.

Model 1 presents some verse, not much:

⏓ – ⏑ – ⏓ –] ταὐτῷ διέτριβον
ἀεὶ ὕπουλος [– ⏑] καὶ πονηρὸς ἦν
ἐκεῖνος οὐκ ἐπείθετο [⏑ ⏓ – ⏓ ⏓
ὦ οὗτος, ἀλλ' οὐ νῦν σ' ἔχρην ἁπλοῦν εἶναι

Model 2 is preserved quite well in Aphthonius, from where the verse can be obtained better than from the derivative in Babrius, from which come Par., and from him *Tetr.* and Avianus. By introducing some changes of order, we obtain for the first:

ὦ παῖ, τί δὲ λοξὴν ⟨σύ γε⟩ βαδίζεις ὁδόν
ὀρθὴν ἰέναι προσῆκον; ἡ μήτηρ εἶπε.
Ὁ δὲ πρὸς αὐτήν· τῆς ὁδοῦ ἡγοῦ, μῆτερ,
⏓ – ⏑ – ⏓ – ⏑ –] πειράσομαι.

What is clearer is the existence of two fables regarding H. 43 and 70 "The Frogs", although we cannot see clearly which might be the more faithful to the original; some significant agreements remain between them. In the fable of AnF. 70 (I, III), the frog that does not want to go to the lake and stays beside the road dies, flattened by the cart; in that of H. 43 (I, II, III; *Tetr.* is a summary) one of the two frogs rejects the advice of the other to go to live at a well: if it dries up, he says, how will we get out?

See the verse of both fables:

H. 70: δύο βάτραχοι ἐγειτνίων ⟨ποτ'⟩ ἀλλήλοις
ἐνέμοντ' ὁ μὲν βαθεῖαν [–] ὁδοῦ πόρρω
λίμνην, ὁ δ' ἐν ὁδῷ μικρὸν [–] ὕδωρ ἔχων.
Ἐκεῖνος οὐκ ἐπείθετο [⏑ ⏓ – ⏓ ⏓
ἕως συνέβη ἅμαξαν αὐτὸν συνθλάσαι
(cf. III)

H. 43: βάτραχοι δύο [⏑ ⏓ – ⏑ – ⏓ – ⏓ ⏓
⏓ – ⏑ –] ἀμελετήτως καθάλλεσθαι,
ὁ δ' ἕτερος ἔλεγε [– ⏑ ⏑] ὕδωρ ξηρανθῇ

Examples such as these show how the versifiers worked, obtaining new fables or altered versions of the ancient ones, while at other times they restricted themselves to reducing or expanding or, simply, to producing a new version.

Sometimes there exists at least the possibility that there has been a binary metrical tradition, with two primary models, but with one of the branches being represented by fables in recent verse or in translation, this is not certain. Let us give a few examples, among quite a lot of others that could be proposed at least hypothetically, since it is also possible that one branch derives from the other.

Sub-type IV: Only Binary Tradition Possible

I refer firstly to not-H. 124 "The Ignorant Doctor", for which we possess, on one hand, the version of Babrius (with two derivatives in Par.) and, on the other, that of the Pseudo-Dositheus, which shows clear remnants of verse. Both versions present common elements, such as the theme of the doctor who meets a sick person whom he believed dead. Yet while in Babrius the sick person says to the doctor that the infernal gods complain about doctors who cure too many

sick persons, to later reassure him by saying that he has already informed these gods that he is not a true doctor, so he has nothing to fear, in the Pseudo-Dositheus the theme is different: the gods complain about doctors who do not allow the sick to die and threaten them, which is followed by an observation by the sick person to reassure the doctor with the same argument. The theme has been varied in two different directions; on the other hand, in the Pseudo-Dositheus the initial part of Babrius is absent, namely the dialogue of the doctor and the sick person in which the former announces—incorrectly—the quick death of the latter.

It could be thought, certainly, that Babrius alters and expands an original that is more faithfully preserved by the other source. Yet it is also conceivable, since there have been two lines from ancient times, that they have ended up, respectively, in the Pseudo-Dositheus and Babrius; the model of the second would, as is customary, be semiprosified verse.

Finally, in the case of certain fables in which Phaedrus, Avianus, the Syriac fables, etc., offer a very different version from the rest of the tradition, we could doubt between presenting the latter as derived or proposing that it depends on a second ancient model. This is the case, for example, in the case of H. 138 "The Hungry Dogs": in Sy. there are wolves instead of dogs and "a man" intervenes at the end, and provides the closing statement; or in not-H. 155 "The Dog and the Blacksmiths", in which Sy. presents a difference of detail and is a summary of the principal line, which preserves much verse. Or, again, in that of not-H. 164 "The Faithful Dog", in which Phaedrus and Sy. differ in the answer of the dog, it being impossible to decide which fable is older.

Sub-type V: Special Cases within the Binary Tradition

On other occasions the existence already seems likely from the Hellenistic Age of two branches of the tradition, although for one of them we cannot prove the existence of verse. It could come from the oral tradition or from an ancient non-versified source. It occasionally happens, on the other hand, that one of these two branches (sometimes versified secondarily) offers grounds to suspect that it derives from the ancient model of the other, that with primary versification: it is an ancient Greek fable or an Oriental fable.

See, for example, what happens to the fable H. 83 "The Fox and the Monkey", which comes from an original by Demetrius, unconnected with Epode VI by Archilochus. Here there are remnants of verse in the versions of AnF. Lucian presents in various places (see Appendix I) traces of a different version of the fable in which it is not the winning monkey-king in the dance competition, deceived by the fox, who puts a piece of meat in a trap, but some monkeys taught by a king (by Cleopatra in other versions) to dance graciously with purple mantles and masks. When somebody throws them figs or almonds (nuts in another version), they abandon the dance and dive on the fruit. I have indicated elsewhere (Vol. I, p. 354) the idea that the Egyptian fable that Lucian echoes and which demonstrates a better knowledge of the monkey, an animal that does not eat meat, is precisely the source of Archilochus. If this were so, we find in the Hellenistic Age a descent of the Egyptian model, without verse, and another of its transformation in Archilochus, with iambic verse.

Another case in which we can detect an Oriental source that has left a trace in Greece and a derivation already properly Greek, with remnants of iambic metre, is that of H. 140 "The Mosquito and the Bull". We have already said (Vol. I, p. 324) that it is the Greek version of the Assyrian fable of the elephant and the mosquito, which in some way reached the poet Mesomedes, in the 2nd century AD, who transmits it to us in lyric metre: we do not know if in Greek the point of there being an iambic version was reached or not. Yet there was for the fable derived from there, that of the bull and the elephant. The iambic model is revealed in AnF. and Babrius, and also underlies the Syriac versions; from it, in turn, there comes a new fable, that of the camel and the flea, which appears in Romulus, certainly a derivative from Phaedrus; and another one of "The Mosquito and the Bull" in Rom. 84; also that of "The Fly and the Mule" in Phaedrus III 6 and Rom. 47.

Significant, in this case, is the preservation of the original metrical elements both in AnF. and in Babrius (from which come Par. and *Tetr.*). The beginning, which is in AnF. Κώνωψ ἐπιστὰς κέρατι ταύρου and also in Babrius, but with κέρατι καμπύλῳ, probably dates back to a model κώνωψ ἐπιστὰς κέρατι ἀγρίου ταύρου. And the ending of Babrius seems to derive from a text whose verse is partially preserved in AnF. (ἐὰν ἀπέλθῃς, γνώσομαι). That common model also

leaves a trace, as we have said, in the Syriac versions in which the mosquito expresses itself in direct style, as in Babrius.

Sub-type VI: Ternary or More Ramified Tradition

Although it is not frequent, for some fables we must resort to the hypothesis of the existence of three primary Hellenistic originals, with or without verse. This happens with fables whose model we do not know and also for others whose ancient or Oriental model is known to a greater or lesser extent.

I am referring, firstly, to H. 274 "The Ethiopian" and not-H. 60 "The Ox and the Ass Ploughing". The first is a fable on the classic theme that "nature does not change": the negro or the Indian do not lose their colour although they wash. There are three variations that it does not seem easy to reduce to unity:

a) In Aphthonius (also transmitted as H. 274) and Themistius there is a fable with clear traces of verse (see the ending: μεταβαλεῖν οὐκ ἔσχε, | νοσεῖν δὲ τῷ πονεῖν παρεσκεύασεν). In it the master washes the Ethiopian (Indian in Themistius) and the only thing he succeeds in doing is make him sick.

b) In Synt. and one of the versions of Syr. it is the negro (or Indian) who washes himself in vain.

c) In another Syriac version, a man who does not want to go to a meal apologizes saying that the king has sent him a negro to whiten. The dialogue that follows is on the theme of the invariability of nature.

Of course, we cannot certify that the versions b) and c) are ancient or that they have verse. Yet it is a possibility. In any event, a) seems to preserve the ancient model better.

In a similar manner, the versions of not-H. 60 vary. They are quite different:

a) In Plautus there is allusion to the fact that the ass, yoked to the ox, falls on account of being the weaker.

b) In Babrius, after both have ploughed, they are unyoked and it is the ass that has to take the farm instruments to the master, in spite of both having worked the same and his being the weaker.

c) In the *Codex Ademari* (Phaedrus?) the ass, who has not wanted to help the ox that was bearing the yoke, must take it when he falls and dies.

The theme, as we can see, is substantially the same: but we do not have the means to derive some of the variants from the others.

Let us now look at a different case. In H. 254 "The Tortoise and the Hare" we find, on one hand, two versions with different verse and different structure in AnF. I and in Par., Dod., respectively: in one version there is pure action, in the other a debate, the fox also takes part and changes the order of the action.

In any event, there was originally a single model, the dispute over the speed at racing between the tortoise and the hare, which finishes with the victory of the former: the epimythium eulogizes the *ponos*, in the manner of the Cynic fables.

We must compare this fable with the long one by Libanius, whose protagonists are the tortoise and the horse. In spite of its showy presentation and rhetoric, this fable, in which there are no traces of verse, has common elements with the other line, particularly in Par., Dod., such as in the initial laugh of the competitor of the tortoise, in the debate, in praise of effort. We cannot know which animal is older in the fable, the hare or the horse; nor whether both versions come from Demetrius or only that of the hare, later split off into two. Perhaps the two may have derived independently from the theme of Achilles and the tortoise in Zeno of Elea. In any event, there are two lines in the Hellenistic Age, in one of which there are no traces of verse.

At this point let us move on to mention fables for which we know, to a greater or lesser extent, both the ancient or Oriental antecedents and the Hellenistic derivatives.

We have already seen one first example, in fact: it is the fable of the stag, the horse and the hunter by Stesichorus, prosified by Philistus and, starting from him, remodelled again by Aristotle and Conon. We have already seen that Demetrius Phalereus made a new draft of this fable, with the boar instead of the stag, and that of this new version we know three primary metrical derivatives: the one that has left traces in AnF. (and undoubtedly also in other collections), the one prosified by the Rylands Papyrus and the one that appears in Par. The significant thing is—and we have also referred to this—that the model remained alive in some of the phases of its evolution,

since it was contaminated by Horace and Romulus with some of the Hellenistic models. For greater detail, I refer the reader to my article already cited.

Let us now look at a fable with a very complex *stemma* and an Oriental model: H. 132 "The Stomach and the Feet". It is a fable that has been subject to a long evolution. Today it is agreed[7] that is stems from the Egyptian fable of the head and the body arguing, from which there derives the fable of Menenius Agrippa in Livy (also in Plutarch and Dionysius of Halicarnassus) in which there is a confrontation between the limbs and the stomach (pure action): the limbs refuse to serve the stomach, and as a result they all die. This version is to be found, without reference to Menenius Agrippa, in Greek derivatives such as the model followed by Romulus (certainly dependent on Phaedrus) and that of Maximus Tyrius, in which the dispute is between the foot and the rest of the body.

We do not know if this line has received a metrical version in Greek at some time or even more than one: this is likely. Yet it does have a second line (perhaps starting from the version of the previous one in Maximus Tyrius, as Nøjgaard believes), in which now it is a debate and this takes place between the stomach and the feet. It has left traces in AnF. I and in the Syriac versions, which preserve the direct style in the speech by the feet (placed in indirect speech, as is customary, by I). In AnF. I we find traces of verse, although not abundant ones, as it is a summary. And we must also add that H. 291 (whence comes Babrius 134) "The Serpent's Head and Tail" is another derivative, perhaps directly based on the Egyptian model, to which it is more faithful than the other versions: there are other examples of the derivation of a fable from Babrius starting from an unknown Oriental one outside of him. On the other hand, "The Stomach and the Eyes" by Dio Chrysostom is certainly derived from the version upon which Livy's is based.

We have, then, an Egyptian source, certainly known by the source of Babrius, and we have two Greek derivations, both of them metrical; also that of Babrius, perhaps directly derived, as in the case of other Oriental fables. We might suspect that the two primary versions are not independent and the one that replaces the Egyptian head/body debate with the confrontation in action of the stomach

[7] Cf. Nøjgaard, *op. cit.*, II, p. 425.

and the limbs has influenced the other line, that of the stomach/feet debate. Yet the latter, in turn, was acquainted with the Egyptian model, which it follows, as it is a dispute and not action. Surprisingly, the Augustana and Phaedrus are placed in this case in two different branches of the tradition. And the *stemma* is different from the previous one; together with references to the Oriental fable, we find traces of two Greek derivatives, not just one.

We may, then, propose a scheme like this:

X Egyptian fables → V verse 1 (?) (Livy, etc.)
X Egyptian fables → Z verse 2 (AnF.)
X Egyptian fables → W (H. 291)

Another fable to which it is appropriate to devote attention in this context is H. 51 "The Farmer and the Serpent", in which, besides the three versions in AnF. (and of those of Par., Dod. and *Tetr.*, related to them), we must take into account that of Romulus 39, that of Syr. and that of the *Panchatantra* III 6. Indeed, Nøjgaard, who does not know the Syriac fable, has drawn attention to that of the *Panchatantra*, showing some significant agreements of this with that of Romulus: a whole initial phase of the story in which the farmer feeds the serpent and this increases his prosperity, until the farmer turns against the serpent (in *Panch.* he simply attacks it, in Romulus it is his son that cuts off its tail). It is the theme of the serpent that increases wealth, very different from the customary one in Greece of the malicious serpent.

Nøjgaard postulated that *Panch.* and Romulus are, with the other versions, branches of a tree from which all derive; they present unique agreements, but Romulus is independent. This is certain. We need to add, I believe, that they are two derivations of a "complete" initial version of the fable, undoubtedly that of Demetrius Phalereus; and that another derivation of this is that of Syr. I think that, as in the case of the fable of the swallow, it is a Greek version that entered India and not the other way round: but an older version than that of AnF., a "clipped" version, in which the serpent kills the farmer's son, the farmer attacks the serpent (he cuts off its tail in II, hurts the stone by mistake in I and III) and when he later wants to be reconciled, he receives a negative answer from the serpent.

It is sometimes in *Panch.*, sometimes in Romulus, sometimes in Syr. that traces are found of archaic elements, sometimes eliminated

in the clipped version, sometimes preserved in it. The theme of the serpent's tail in Romulus and II is archaic; also in Syr., where it is the tail of the serpent's son; also archaic is that of the death of the farmer's son, in *Panch.* and AnF.; and, as I have indicated, is the whole beginning, more or less faithfully preserved in *Panch.*, Romulus and Syr. However, within this, Syr. and *Panch.* follow each other very closely when placing the scene in the field, close to the cave of the serpent, which deposits coins close to its entrance; this is archaic. Also in AnF. we find ourselves in the field outside the cave, while Romulus displaces the action to the farmer's house. On the other hand, the *Panchatantra* introduces innovations: the reconciliation of the serpent, it is the farmer's son and not the farmer who attacks the serpent.

That is, we repeat: both Romulus, which in fact is derived from Phaedrus (cf. p. 555), and Syr. (derived in this case from a tradition prior to AnF.), and the *Panchatantra* (whose fable is new, as it is not in the *Tantrākhyāyika*) come from an "extensive" fable whose theme is more or less: the serpent enriches the farmer by leaving coins by its cave, the farmer ungratefully attacks the serpent, cutting its tail and, subsequently, there is a double theme: the farmer becomes poor, the serpent kills his son. The farmer makes an attempt at reconciliation and the serpent refuses. From here there arises a derivative version which eliminates the beginning and reverses the order of the themes: now it is the farmer's son who dies first, and the farmer attacks the serpent later. It is that of AnF., which in fact breaks down into three:

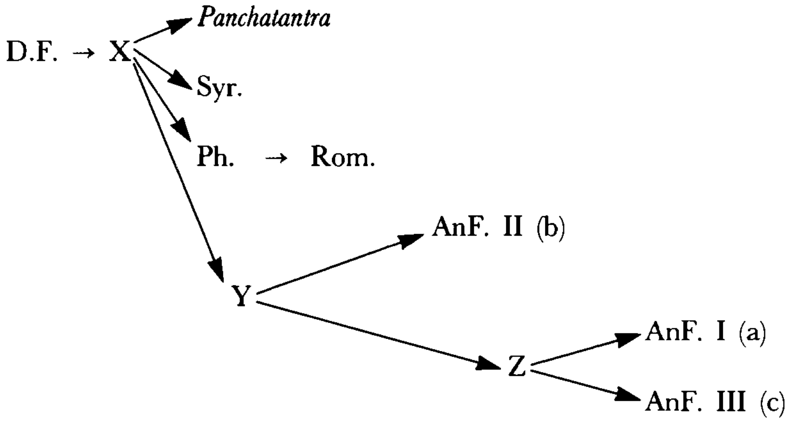
a) AnF. I. The serpent kills the farmer's son and the farmer in turn attempts to kill it with an axe, but only succeeds in hitting the rock by the serpent's cave. The attempt at reconciliation by the farmer is rejected by the serpent: while one sees the dented rock and the other the tomb of his son, there will not be reconciliation.

b) AnF. II. There are the following variations: the farmer, when attempting to retaliate, cuts off the serpent's tail; when he attempts reconciliation, he offers flour and honey to the serpent (this is ignored in the other version). The rest is the same.

c) AnF. III = Par., Dod., summary in *Tetr.* The theme is that of a), except that the offerings to the serpent are included (this time bread and salt) as in b).

Of the three versions, judging by the theme of the serpent's tail,

the oldest is b); from its source we may deduce a) and c) (the theme of the stone); probably from an antecedent of b), c) it preserved the theme of the reconciliation of the serpent, which it transformed (the farmer offers bread and salt, symbols of friendship and hospitality, instead of flour and honey, the food of sacred serpents). That is to say, we propose:



The detailed study of the metrical and prosaic elements of a), b) and c) confirm this *stemma*. The fact that the three derive from a metrical Hellenistic version is deduced from the partial agreement of the beginning, with only b) giving a complete trimetre:

Ὄφις γεωργοῦ παῖδα δήξας ἐν ποδί	(mss. ἐν τῷ ποδί)
Γεωργοῦ παῖδα ὄφις ἑρπύσας ἀπέκτεινε	(ametrical)
Ὄφις ἐν γεωργοῦ προθύροις φωλεύων	(ametrical)

As we see, versions a) and c) derive from the verse better preserved in b), and are probably prosifications of two remodelled verses that are difficult to restore; one has preserved the γεωργοῦ παῖδα, the other the word order.

Moreover, the metre of b), partly linked to what is specific to its theme, has disappeared from the other versions. Thus:

⏒ – ⏑ – ⏒] τὴν ὄφιν πρὸς εἰρήνην.
Ὁ δ' ἔνδον ὢν τοῦ φωλεοῦ [⏒ – ⏒ ⏒
⏒ – ⏑ – ⏒ –] ἐγὼ μὲν τὴν οὐράν
βλέπων λυποῦμαι [– ⏑ – ⏒ – ⏒ ⏒

In a) there are other remnants of new verses, just as those linked to the new theme:]παρακειμένην | πέτραν διέκοψεν[. And there are also some, more complete, in III = Par. and Dod. (although the latter contaminates with the version b) of AnF. III):

⏒ – ⏑ – ⏒ –] προθύροις φωλεύων	
ἀνεῖλεν αὐτοῦ παῖδα νήπιον τύψας	(better in Par.)
Πένθος δὲ τοῖς γονεῦσι [– ⏒ – ⏒ ⏒	
ἄρτον λαβὼν καὶ μέλι ἔθηκ' ἐν τῇ τρώγλῃ.	(an inversion)
Ὁ δ' ὄφις συρίξας εἶπεν· οὐκ ἔσται ἡμῖν	(I suppress λεπτόν)
ἀπάρτι πίστις [– ⏑ – ⏒ – ⏒ ⏒	

The Byzantine versions depend on the reduced version: Dod. contaminates the models of AnF. II and III, Par. and *Tetr.* come from that of III. That is to say, in short, we have three descending versions of the ancient one, without it being possible to see very accurately what each one preserves or innovates; and a fourth, reduced one, which presents a metre that is undoubtedly secondary, which in turn is remodelled on what we would call tertiary verse of AnF. I and III.

At this point let us move on to consider the fable of the swallow (H. 39), the one with the richest *stemma* of all those of Classical Antiquity. We will restrict ourselves to summarizing what is stated in the two articles of *Emerita* already cited; cf. also above, pp. 88 ff. In the case of this fable, we have the following primary versions, together with each one of which we speak briefly of the secondary ones derived from them or contaminated with them:

a) The version of the Rylands Papyrus, whose content and metrical remnants we have studied above. This is the most altered: the theme of the mistletoe is maintained (from which the birdlime is manufactured), but the swallow is replaced with the owl and the aetiology is different. We have seen that from the original of this version there derive two versions in Dio Chrysostom, one of them contaminated with another branch (the theme of the flax).

b) The version of H. 39a (AnF. I), the most traditional: taking part are the swallow and the theme of the mistletoe, explaining why the bird is welcome in the houses of men. Metrical remnants:

⏒ – ⏑ – ⏒ – ⏑ – ⏒] τοῖς πτηνοῖς
κίνδυνον, ἀθροίσασα πάντα τὄρνεα (mss. συναθροίσασα)
⏒ – ⏑ – ⏒ – ⏑ –] συνεβούλευε
αὐτοῖς μάλιστα [– ⏑ – ⏒ – ⏒ ⏒
εἰ δ' ἄρ' ἀδύνατον [– ⏑ –] ἐπ' ἀνθρώποις (mss. εἰ δ' ἄρα τοῦτο αὐτοῖς
συλλαμβάνωσιν αὐτά [– ⏒ – ⏒ ⏒ ἀδύνατον, ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους)
⏒ – ⏑ – ⏒ –] ἱκέτις τῶν ἀνθρώπων
σύνοικον αὐτοῖς προσελάβοντο [– ⏒ ⏒
μόνην δὲ τὴν χελιδόνα [⏑ ⏒ – ⏒ ⏒
⏒ – ⏑ ⏑] ἀδεῶς νεοττοποιεῖσθαι.

I believe that two secondary versions derive from this version:

α) Already in my first article I established the dependence of the version of the Bodleian paraphrase (ms. Ba) 350 Ch. = 164 Cr., on the basis of the numerous literal agreements. It is a summary, in Hellenistic verse, in which the final aetiology changes:

ὅτ' ἰξὸν ἔφυε δρῦς [⏑ ⏑], βλάβην ὀρνέων (mss. δ. ἰ. ἔ.)
ἡ ⟨μὲν⟩ χελιδὼν πᾶσιν ὀρνέοις εἶπε (mss. ἡ φρονιμωτάτη χ. εἶ. π. ὀ.)
⏒ –] τὰ δ' ὡς φρονοῦσαν οὐδέν [– ⏒ ⏒ (mss. οὐ φρ.)
ταύτην παρελογίσαντο [– ⏒ – ⏒ ⏒
τότ' ἡ χελιδὼν [⏑] ἱκέτευσεν ἀνθρώπους (mss. τοὺς ἀ.)
σύνοικον αὐτὴν [– ⏑ –] εἰσδέξασθαι
⏒ – ⏑ – ⏒ – ⏑ –] μονῆς αὐτῆς
ἰξός [⏑ –] πτεροῖς οὐδέποτ' ἐκολλήθη

β) I Also established in this article a second dependence, that of Babrius 12, the fable of the nightingale and the swallow, in which the former rejects the advice of the latter to go to live among men: the memories of her life—the myth of Philomela—do not allow her to. In this article I do not consider that we preserve the model of this fable of Babrius (which I will not transcribe here): it is in an abbreviated fable that is reconstructed almost whole starting from Par. 9 Ch. = 12 Cr. and Dod. 9 Ch. (mss. Ba, Bb, Bc):

Ἀηδόνι χελιδὼν συνεβούλευ' ἀνθρώποις (Par. σ. χ. τοῖς)
εἶναι σύνοικον καὶ ὁμόροφον ὡς αὐτή.

Ἡ δὲ πρὸς αὐτὴν δακρύουσ' εἶπ'· οὐ θέλω (Par. + Dod.)
λύπης παλαιῶν συμφορῶν μου μεμνῆσθαι (Par. τὴν λύπην τῶν π. μ. σ. μ.)
⏓ – ⏑ – ⏓ – ⏑] ἐρέμους οἰκήσω (Dod.)

The derivation starting from the model of AnF. I is clear from the lexical agreements and the absence of motifs in other branches.

c) The version of *PMich.* 457 + *PYale* inv. 1158 v. and of Phaedrus (in the *Codex Ademari* and Romulus, restoration in Zander 28). In my first article, pp. 201 ff., I argued that these two versions derive from a common original. The theme of the mistletoe is replaced with that of the flax, the swallow suggests to the birds—unsuccessfully—that they should eat the flax seeds that are being planted, and later, when they grow, that they should pull them up; the two derivations simplified the double motif in a different direction. In that of the papyri there are clear traces of verse:

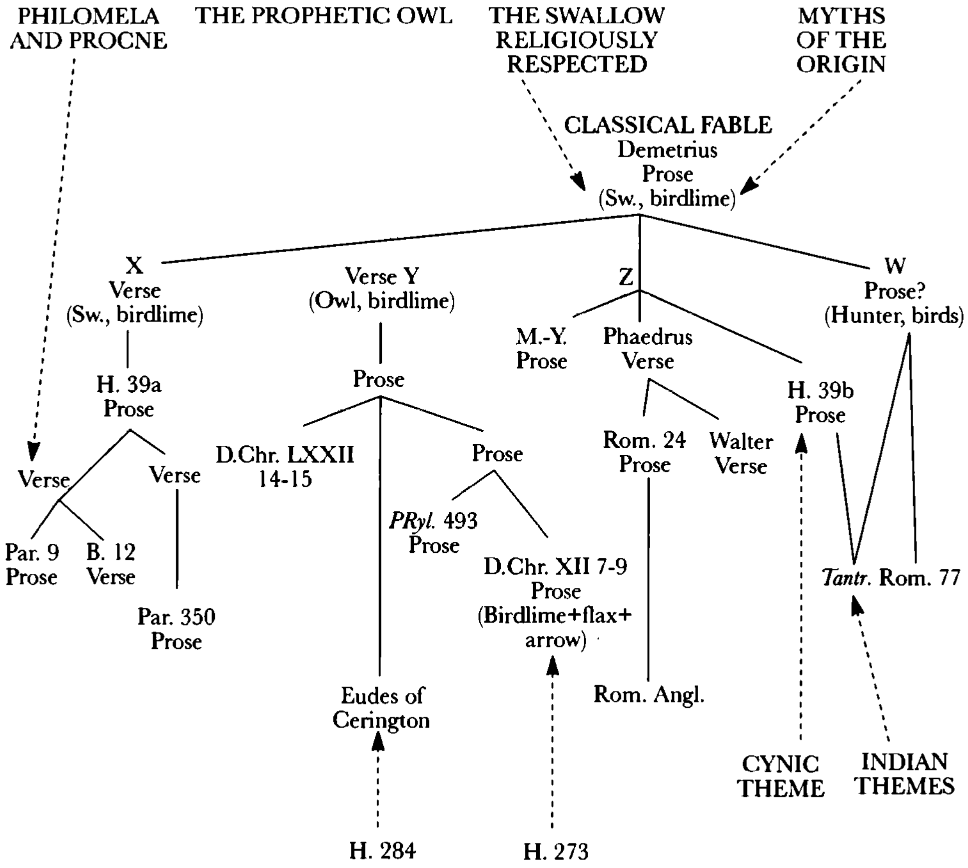
[τὸ σπέρμα] συλλέξωσι κἀφανίσωσι (Pap. συλλέξαντες ἀφανήσωσι)
⏓ –] ἑαυτῶν παντελῶς ἀπώλειαν (Pap. παντελῶς τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀ.)
⏓ – ⏑] τὴν [χελιδόν]ος συμβουλείαν (Pap. τὴν σ. τῆς χ.)
ἡ μὲν χε[λιδών – ⏑ – ⏓ – ⏓ ⏓
⏓ – ⏑ – ⏓ – ⏑] δώματ' ἀνθρώπων

To this branch I have attributed—apart from Medieval fables that come from Phaedrus—the version of H. 39 b (in some mss. of AnF. I and in Ib), although I have proposed a contamination between this line and Demetrius. I do not see a reason for this now. It is a modification of the c) line, in which the swallow proposes to the birds, firstly, to go to live with men and, later, to eat up the flax seed, with the extravagant result that, when they pay attention to it and eat it, they grow fat and the men catch them. Everything is changed round and the Cynic theme of the animal that perishes as a victim of its greed has been introduced. The verse, moreover, is independent from that of the papyri, although it cannot be ruled out that in the initial part of the fable, lost in these, it was the same: that is to say, that AnF. Ib (their model, better) started from the previous verse, modifying it to the extent required by the change of theme. The verse that we can restore is:

ἐκκλησίαν τῶν ὀρνέων κινήσασα
⏒ – ⏑ – ⏒ –] παρῄνει φάσκουσα
κράτιστον εἶναι μὴ προκόπτειν ἀνθρώποις (Mb)
⏒ – ⏑] διακεῖσθαι πρὸς αὐτούς [– ⏒ ⏒
τῶν ὀρνέων τις [– ⏑ – ⏒ – ⏒ ⏒
⏒ – ⏑ – ⏒ – ⏑ – ⏒] τὸ σπέρμα
μᾶλλον κατεσθίωμεν [– ⏒ – ⏒ ⏒
⏒ – ⏑ – ⏒ – ⏑ ⏑] ὑπομείναντα
κατεσθίειν τὸ σπέρμα [– ⏒ – ⏒ ⏒

d) I add, taking it from my first article, the existence of a fourth primary model, the fable of "The Hunter and the Birds", which we find in the second version of Romulus (77) and has ended up (previously contaminated with the model of *PMich.* + *PYale*, etc.) also in the Indian collection of fables, the *Tantrākhyāyika*. It is, of course, impossible to establish whether it was a metrical fable, although it is likely that it was.

So, in short, four primary fables were created from the version of Demetrius, at least three with Hellenistic verse: they differ on account of the modifications in theme (bird protagonist, trap, aetiology). From those primary fables there were deduced other secondary ones in verse in at least three cases: the two of the paraphrase, from the model of AnF. I; and that of AnF. Ib, from the model of *PMich.* and *PYale*. It proves very significant that a fable from Babrius depends on one of these secondary models, which it expands, even leaving literal agreements: it is, I believe, the first case in which we have the model (almost complete) and the derivative of Babrius. That is to say, the *stemma* would be:



In this *stemma* X, Y, Z and W are primary versions, the first three at least in Hellenistic verse. The secondary versions, also in Hellenistic verse, are those of Par. 1 and 2 and AnF. Ib. From both come the new versions in modern verse by Phaedrus and Babrius. I will not consider here the detail of the prosified Medieval versions and those in new verse.

IV. *Conclusions*

What we have seen in this chapter enables us to finish completing our vision of the various drafts in which the fable proliferated in the Hellenistic and Roman Ages. The customary element was the presence of a single primary versification, sometimes accompanied by a

secondary versification (rarely more); occasionally, by semiprosified versions, as we have seen. These various versions usually went together with modifications in theme, which sometimes created a practically new fable, as well as various differences in the organization of the fable, in its length, etc., although not always. There were also "cascade" derivations, metrical or semiprosified, with the same characteristics. Yet this is not the only situation.

There exist fables—not too many, however—in which there lived one alongside another two (and even more) primary versions, which sometimes contaminated each other and produced secondary versions in verse, also with various semiprosifications intervening. These two or more versions were usually linked, also, to differences in theme or of the other types mentioned, although here too there are exceptions.

It was not customary for the different primary versifications to be organized systematically in collections. This occurs only in the case of the Rylands Papyrus, which always presents a different verse from that of the other texts (only in one case do we find descent in the indirect tradition). Moreover, in spite of a general uniformization of the collection with regard to promythia and the absence of epimythia, as well as style, the collection is heterogeneous as regards its sources (Classical or Cynic) and as regards the conservative or innovative character of the various fables.

The most frequent case is that when two primary versions exist, one is followed by the Anonymous fables and more or less related collections, the other by Par. and Dod. Yet this is not always the case, as there may be opposition between Par. and Dod., and there may be opposition between two of the Anonymous collections. And it happens that the whole tradition transmitted in collections follows one version, but in the indirect tradition (quotations from Imperial authors) there are traces of a second. This is further proof of the great wealth of the ancient fabulistic tradition and of our imperfect knowledge of this, since some fables have only reached us by chance in the direct tradition.

It is an important result—although a negative one—that the *Life of Aesop* does not follow either of these two collections. Of course some fables reached only it, which we suppose were already in Demetrius and did not cross over into the collections. Yet the *Life*, it seems, used an independent intermediate collection (also known to the AnF.s): cf. pp. 360 ff. There were also various other marginal

collections, which I will discuss in Part II. The fables added to various collections sometimes depend on these.

Also important is what we have seen on the persistence of the diffusion of models, sometimes ancient, sometimes Oriental, that have subsequently given, sometimes, various drafts during the course of the Hellenistic and Roman Ages. Significant things occurred, such as, for example, the fact that one of these ancient models was sometimes contaminated with the tradition of Demetrius, giving rise to new fables: this has been seen in the case of "The Stag, the Horse and the Hunter" by Stesichorus. The same occurred with certain Oriental models, as in the case of the Egyptian fable of "The Head and the Limbs". Sometimes, clearly, the intermediate models are absent, such as in "The Farmer and the Serpent". Another significant thing is the creation of new prosaic derivatives starting from the ancient fable, which, on the other hand, were responsible for the creation of the principal line of a certain fable, with one or more primary models.

In the most complex cases, a fable was disseminated into up to four primary models and various secondary ones, amid contaminations, reductions, expansions, introductions of new verse. The complete panorama clearly escapes us. Yet we may sense it.

Supplement to Part One, Chapter two

These chapters develop Chapter II of Part II of Vol. 1. See the Supplement to that chapter. In it reference appears to the reconstructed verse in various fables in my "Neue Jambische Fragmente aus archaischer und klassischer Zeit", *Philologus* 126, 1982, pp. 157–179; and in an article still in press at the time, "Más fragmentos nuevos de poesía griega antigua", in *Studi in onore di Adelmo Barigazzi*, Rome, Edizioni dell'Ateneo, 1984, pp. 1–11. In Vol. III, *Documentation of the Graeco-Latin Fable*, the material from these articles is brought together.

I have made a defence of the Hellenistic character of the metre, against those who deny it or consider it Byzantine, among other places, in "Les collections de fables á l'époque hellénistique et romaine", in *Entretiens sur l'antiquité classique*, vol. XXX, Fondation Hardt, Vandoeuvres-Genève, 1984, pp. 136–186; and particularly in "La fecha de la Augustana y la tradición fabulística antigua y bizantina", *Prometheus* 18, 1992, pp. 139–149.

To the fables studied here, we must add new fabulistic material on papyri, see my article "Nuevos fragmentos papiráceos de fábulas esópicas", *Emerita* 67, 1999, pp. 1–11.

On the manuscript tradition of the fable, see also my article "Problemas de la crítica textual en la transmisión de la fábula greco-latina", in *La crítica textual y los textos clásicos*, Murcia 1986, pp. 131–148.

On the cynicism of the fable (a theme to which much less attention has been paid than it deserves), see two of my works: "Filosofía cínica en las fábulas esópicas", Buenos Aires, Centro de Estudios Filosóficos, 1986; and "Política cínica en las fábulas esópicas", in *Filologia e forme letterarie, Studi... Francesco della Corte*, Urbino 1987, pp. 413–426.

PART TWO

THE FABLE IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE

CHAPTER ONE

PHAEDRUS

I. *General*

In Vol. I, pp. 120 ff., I gave a general characterization of the fables of Phaedrus and reviewed the ideas of various authors, particularly Thiele and Hausrath, on his sources; later, starting from p. 126, I offered some indications on Medieval derivations of lost fables by the fabulist. The fundamental conclusion was that Phaedrus uses the same Greek collections which, derived from the fables in Hellenistic verse, served equally as a basis for the rest of the ancient fabulistic tradition. If, within those collections, he chose some fables or others, it is due to his own interests, within his Cynic-Stoic orientation and his resurrection of the fable as a weapon of moral and political combat, as did Archilochus. It cannot be accepted that Phaedrus followed two or three isolated collections—a Cynic one, another of novelettes, another more properly "Aesopic". His material is certainly mixed, but this occurred in the various collections of fables which, starting from the models that we have indicated, proliferated in the Hellenistic Age.[1]

All this was discussed again by us, in more detail, in our article "Fedro y sus fuentes", already cited.[2] This article will be used below, although its conclusions will be partially modified, partially expanded upon.[3] It emphasizes that, besides the fables that are also in the Augustana and other anonymous collections, Phaedrus has others in common with other sources (Babrius and Plutarch, in particular) and yet other original ones: either derived from known fables, or from new collections. It shows, with regard to all the poet's fables, his tendencies when he modifies the tradition or creates based upon it.

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[1] Perry, *Babrius and Phaedrus*, cit., pp. LXXXVII ff., n. 1, gives a list of fables by Phaedrus from various sources, rather organizing them in terms of genres. The basis is insufficient.

[2] Published in *Bivium. Homenaje a Manuel Cecilio Díaz y Díaz*, Madrid 1983.

[3] This articles was written in 1979.

I must now mention other works on the sources of our poet, to which I have also made already reference during the course of this work. The serious problem of studying the situation of specific fables by him within the *stemma* of the ancient collections of fables has been approached on various occasions. As we have already said above, it is Nøjgaard, in Vol. II of his monumental work, who studied it most extensively, as well as giving a general characterization—very useful to read—of our poet.[4] His theory is, as regards a series of fables that are both in Phaedrus and in the Augustana and Babrius, that Phaedrus is closely related to the Augustana, whereas Babrius represents a different line. We must see that our analysis and conclusions frequently agree with his. Yet the theme has to be studied again: we work with very numerous data—all the versions of each fable—which allow us to better reconstruct the *stemma*; and, particularly, we add the criterion of verse, which allows us, sometimes, to obtain a clear idea of the models of each fable and the relationship between these. That is to say, apart from the fact that Nøjgaard's ideas could be criticizable with regard to such and such a fable, it is possible to improve on some of his interpretations and, when there are the two lines, Augustana-Phaedrus and Babrius, to establish the possible relationships between them. We cannot content ourselves with indicating the existence of the two recensions (when there really are two), rather, we can see which depends on which or whether the two depend on a third.

That is to say, Nøjgaard is a good point of departure, but the facts must be studied again. On the other hand, the problem is presented of the numerous fables of Phaedrus that are not in the Augustana and Babrius at the same time: they are missing from one or the other or both. Already in our work "La tradición fabulística griega y sus modelos métricos" we established a series of *stemmata* that include Phaedrus: though nowadays they could be improved because we have deepened our knowledge of this themes with the help of a better understanding of Hellenistic metre and a greater accumulation of materials. This previous study of ours, as well as contributions in others,[5] are the basis, together with the contribu-

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[4] Nøjgaard, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 17 ff.

[5] "El papiro Rylands . . .", "Fedro y sus fuentes", "La fábula de la golondrina . . .", "Nuevos fragmentos yámbicos . . .", works all cited in the course of this book.

tions of Nøjgaard and some others,[6] for the study of the sources of Phaedrus. And, more specifically, for the establishment of the *stemmata* of his fables, insofar as they are reconstructable. In Part I of this book we have already established, on these bases and other parallel ones relative to the other fabulists, the types of *stemmata* of the ancient fabulistic tradition. Starting from here (and from the particular *stemmata* of fables), we will work below. We must add, clearly, the more complete data which we include in our Appendices, which save us longer explanations. It must be taken into account that only when we know the position of Phaedrus in the *stemma* of a certain fable can we gauge his degree of originality. And that only when we can bring together data on the constants that result from the study of these various *stemmata* will we be able to obtain some conclusions on the organization of the different models of fables in the collections, which of these were followed by the different fabulists (in our case, Phaedrus), etc.

Studies carried out without this basis are rather haphazard and, as well as successes, could contain errors. I wish to refer—after the mention I have made to occasional errors by Nøjgaard—to the book by Giordana Pisi, *Fedro traduttore di Esopo*.[7] In the case of eight fables of the Augustana that are also in Phaedrus, this author compares the text of both and interprets the differences as innovations by Phaedrus, useful for studying his style and intentions. We must correct this: Phaedrus does not come from our Augustana, but, in those fables at least, from an ancestor of it (the "Ancient Augustana"). That is to say, it is sometimes Phaedrus who preserves the ancient, the Augustana (ours) which innovates: for example, H. 76 "The Stag and the Lion", innovated when introducing a lion instead of the hunters, Phaedrus I 12 maintains the ancient version; at other times, the direct style of Phaedrus, instead of the indirect style of the Augustana, is also an archaism. Only by bringing forward the maximum number of versions can it be demonstrated whether Phaedrus innovates or is conservative when he presents an element that is not in the Augustana.

We must say, however, that the work of Pisi is very useful. Since,

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[6] Particularly in Perry, in his works already cited "Demetrius of Phalerum . . ." and "Introduction" to *Babrius and Phaedrus*.

[7] Florence, La Nuova Italia, 1977. See my review in *Emerita*, 47, 1979, p. 491.

when studying fables in which both texts are close, she goes on to consider fables in which we have established that the Augustana and Phaedrus depend on the same model: whether a single existing model, or one of the two existing ones. The comparison is valid, then, if it is completed with attention to other versions (when there are any) and if the innovations of the Augustana are discounted. Phaedrus is not a "translator" of our Augustana, but the latter is, generally speaking, closely related to the ancient source, so most of the statements of the author concerning the style and intention of Phaedrus are valid. However, we must emphasize, the validity is limited. And referring only to eight fables.[8] Yet let us return to the general problems of the sources of Phaedrus.

If we recall, there exist, on account of their sources, three types of fables by Phaedrus:

a) Fables that are in Phaedrus and in the Augustana and, generally, in AnF. (although there are two only in III or the ms. F).

b) Fables that are in Phaedrus and other ancient sources, but not in AnF. Of course, this is a miscellaneous section.

c) Fables only in Phaedrus, either derived from known fables or anecdotes or fables that are only known to us through him. New discoveries may make a fable in this section move to the previous one (cf. p. 151).

The study of these three groups must be done separately. Of course, only the two first groups and the fables "derived" from the third allow us—and not always—to establish what the innovations of Phaedrus are in form and content; innovations that, moreover, could enable us to understand better the totally new fables of the third group. Another problem is that of selection: why, within the very ample tradition of the ancient fable, did Phaedrus choose certain fables.

On the other hand, an objective study will show us that the behaviour of Phaedrus is not always exactly the same. There are fables that are difficult to alter or that Phaedrus did not wish to alter hardly at all, others in which greater freedom is allowed in the style and narrative, others in which he innovates (to a greater or lesser extent) in

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[8] Cf. also, on the innovations of Phaedrus, Perry, *Babrius and Phaedrus*, cit., p. LXXXVII, note. There are useful elements, but the basis is flimsy, as can be understood.

the content, sometimes to the point of creating practically new fables.

We will add, nevertheless, that once the work of seeing the constants in the behaviour of Phaedrus has been done (the collections or models that he follows, themes, modifications), an attempt can be made to study whether the different books of the poet behave in the same or a different way. Judging by the prologues, the five books comprising the work were edited subsequently. Yet these books have been preserved for us, some more complete and others less so: fables were extracted from them at one time, which we today read in the *Appendix Perottina* and others were prosified in the Medieval versions that we know. We cannot be completely sure *a priori* that the fables that we find in the five books belonged to them originally: we must recall what happened with Babrius (although here there has certainly not been a listing in alphabetical order). It would be important to check on possible differences between the fables of the different books: differences in sources, form or content.

Consider, for example, that Phaedrus, in the prologue to book III, discusses the persecution that he suffered from Sejanus for his first two books: we might wonder if, now that Sejanus has died,[9] with his tyranny now over, the poet reduces his virulent attacks against absolute power. Or consider also that it is in the prologue to book IV that Phaedrus calls his fables *Aesopias*, not *Aesopi*, that is to say, of an Aesopic genre, but with "new elements": is there starting from now an increase in the originality of the fable, or is it a generic definition?

II. *Fables that are Found in Phaedrus and in the Anonymous Fables*

The proximity of Phaedrus and the Anonymous Fables, particularly in contrast with Babrius, is a well-known fact; we have also already noted that it occurs most frequently (although not exclusively) that our Augustana preserves the semiprosified text of the "Ancient Augustana" more faithfully than Phaedrus (and the other collections). It is this text, as we have seen again and again, that is the point of departure, not our current Augustana of the 4th century AD. Frequently, as we already know, not only in the Augustana, but also in

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[9] As is stated by Perry, "Introduction", cit., p. LXXX.

the other Anonymous collections and even in others (the Paraphrase, etc.) there are traces of metre or phraseology or content coming from the common model: older things than Phaedrus, therefore. Although the case may also arise, as we have said, that Phaedrus (sometimes accompanied by another source) is the one who preserves the ancient version.

We must say that the number of fables by Phaedrus that are also in the Anonymous Fables is limited: only 29, out of a total of 122 fables from Phaedrus preserved in the five books and the *Appendix Perottina.*[10] Of course, this does not mean that Phaedrus did not know the other fables of AnF.: many of them are the point of departure for new fables of his. And without arriving at this point, we must indicate that I believe that IV 8 "The Snake to the Blacksmith" is a contamination of H. 59 and H. 95; and, of course, I 3 "The Proud Rook and the Turkey" is a contamination of H. 103 and H. 125 (and probably demonstrates knowledge of other fables of the Augustana; compare Nøjgaard, II, pp. 376 ff.).

Of the fables of AnF. to which we are referring, there are two, H. 294 and H. 299, corresponding, respectively, to Phaedrus III 7 and *App.* 15, that belong to a special type of fable: those that are only in the ms. F (H. 294) or in III γ, δ (H. 299) and, sometimes, in a tradition extraneous to AnF., as is the case of these two. It is clear that the model of these fables is Hellenistic, but that they never entered the Augustana or the Vindobonensis and only at a late date did they penetrate part of the tradition of the AnF. We will see that the relationship of the version of AnF. with Phaedrus is not, in the case of these two fables, the customary one of those that are found in the Augustana (and sometimes also in the Vindobonensis and the Accursiana).

There remain, then, 27 fables of the Augustana directly corresponding to those of Phaedrus (29 if the two contaminations are taken into account). Yet one fact that it is worthwhile to indicate is that H. 238 "The Boar, the Horse and the Hunter" is only found in the ms. Pa (Hausrath E): it is equivalent to Phaedrus IV 4. And that the case of H. 229 "The Two Knapsacks" (Phaedrus IV 10) is similar; here our tradition of the Augustana depends on the group PcPa (Hausrath O E). The close relationship that exists between the

[10] Cf. below p. 169.

recension Ia and these mss. is well-known, compare Vol. I, pp. 73 and 84 ff., with quotations from Nøjgaard and Perry.

This does not mean, as Nøjgaard affirms,[11] that the source of Phaedrus is, if not identical to Pa, at least close to its source. There is no fable of Phaedrus whose corresponding one in AnF. is only in Ia. And Pa (and let us not say the PcPa group) sometimes has material from Ia; others, material common to the whole Augustana. What is true, clearly, is that in some cases Phaedrus has had access to partial collections that only secondarily and in some manuscripts converged with the main mass of fables of the Augustana. This is not strange, Phaedrus knew the Augustana before this took the form it took in the 4th or 5th century AD. And, of course, before the one it took in the Byzantine Age, when different traditions converged in some manuscripts.

A further proof of this is that, as we will see, Phaedrus IV 20 "The Snake harmful to the Merciful", derives directly from the model, as do two fables of the Augustana, H. 62 and H. 186: Phaedrus is external to late facts such as the agreement of two derivatives of a same fable in the mss. of the Augustana, which undoubtedly in earlier times appeared in different collections that in this case converged in the Augustana due to the simple fact of the differences of title ("The Farmer and the Serpent" and "The Walker and the Serpent").

Our Augustana is, we have already said, a kind of anthology into which "partial" collections were subsumed; with time, this anthology was expanded, either in all the mss. or in some of them. Phaedrus knew it, we repeat, in an ancient phase. What we will say below may help to a certain extent to isolate elements that later converged, that is to say, elements of "partial" collections known by our poet—just as he knew fables that never reached the point of penetrating the AnF.s or were lost from them in ancient times.

Having established these bases, we must see the relationships between the fables of Phaedrus and those of the AnF.s, initially the Augustana, to attempt to draw conclusions, on one hand, on the originality of Phaedrus; on the other, on his models and the situation of these in the *stemma* of each fable. Hypothetically also, in the final analysis, on the "particular" collections that Phaedrus used and that brought together these models.

[11] *Op. cit.*, II, p. 388.

Indeed, and to begin with, we must recall what was stated above on the fact that a tradition of versified fables exists that ends up in the collection of the Rylands Papyrus and another external to this. Phaedrus, consequently, when he presents a fable that is both in the Rylands Papyrus and in the AnF.s, is closer to the drafting of these. In our article "El papiro Rylands..." we indicated this in the case of H. 113 "Heracles and Plutus" (= Phaedrus IV 12) and in that of H. 39, the fable of the swallow, of which there is a version in a Phaedrian fable by Romulus; our previous study, in this same book (pp. 110 ff.), of both fables, confirms and specifies this. And we have also seen that in the case of H. 238 "The Boar, the Horse and the Hunter", the AnF.s had different metre from that of the Rylands Papyrus, although the very limited degree of preservation of this version prevents us from seeing whether that of Phaedrus IV 4 is closer to that of AnF., as is to be expected. Nor can we draw conclusions for H. 224 "The Shepherd and the Sheep", as it is absent from Phaedrus. Yet as a whole, and due to the lack of data against this, we must emphasize that Phaedrus is aligned with the great tradition of the Hellenistic fable, from which the "relegated" tradition of the Rylands Papyrus remains separate.

We must rectify the statement of Nøjgaard, to which we have already referred, according to which the "normal" tradition, with which Phaedrus is aligned, divides in turn into two, the line of AnF. (fundamentally, of the Augustana) and Phaedrus and that of Babrius. This does not mean that this alignment is not the most frequent (although there are exceptions) where these three witnesses exist simultaneously: we have seen this in a reduced number of fables. Yet we have indeed seen above that:

a) Very frequently, there is only a trace of a primary metrical version of a fable and there are not even indications that enable us to conjecture that between this and AnF. and Phaedrus there is a particular semiprosified intermediate, with specific innovations compared with other derivations. The agreements between Phaedrus and AnF. compared with the rest of the tradition could be simple archaisms.

b) When Phaedrus (with the Augustana) and Babrius belong to two different lines, these lines may be defined in a more complete form, there may be more evidence of both. On the other hand, they sometimes come from two primary versions, at other times the second is derived from the first or vice versa. There are different cases that we must study.

In any event, and before beginning this study, we must stress a point that attracted our attention in Vol. I, pp. 443 ff. Although Phaedrus belongs to the tradition external to that of the Rylands Papyrus, the comparison with this (and with Babrius, etc.) shows us that he maintains an archaism that disappeared from AnF.: he presents fables with epimythium, but also with promythium, with promythium and epimythium and without either of the two. The generalization of the epimythium in AnF. is a secondary phenomenon, as is that of the promythium in the Rylands Papyrus. In this, Phaedrus is more archaistic. He depends on a collection of this type, that is to say, with fluctuating and erratic exposition of the "moral" of the fable. Sometimes it is easy to note that he has modified that moral. It others he is satisfied with stating it in a "closing statement" and it also occurs that he presents narration in the second grade (traditional, although sometimes he has introduced it secondarily). This is useful for confirming the fact that, sometimes, when he is close to AnF.s, he is more conservative than these, although the contrary is more frequently the case, insofar as he is a much more original fabulist.

Yet let us already enter directly into the comparison of Phaedrus and the Augustana where they agree. We leave aside the two fables in Phaedrus and III or F (we will consider these later).

As we have said, the comparison of Phaedrus with AnF. must be placed in a broader framework than that of limiting ourselves to these two collections or possibly to these two and Babrius. Leaving aside the versions of the Rylands Papyrus, to which we have already referred, the examination of the material of our Appendix I (frequently already analyzed on the pages above) allows us to establish various groups or types as regards the situation of Phaedrus in the *stemma* of the fables that are also in the Augustana. They are the following (I indicate all the witnesses of each fable, except for those that are derived from other related ones):

1. Fables derived from a single metrical model (without counting the Rylands Papyrus, I emphasize).

a) Without derivatives in Babrius: H. 1 "The Eagle and the Fox" (Phaedrus I 28, S.); H. 27 "The Fox and the Bust" (Phaedrus I 7); H. 64 "The Man Bitten by a Dog" (Phaedrus II 3, S.); H. 80 "The Sailors" (Phaedrus IV 18); H. 95 (cf. above) "The Snake and the File" (Phaedrus IV 8, I believe contaminated with H. 59); H. 113 (cf. above) "Heracles and Plutus" (Phaedrus IV 12); H. 120 "The

Beaver" (Phaedrus, *App.* 30, Dod., Aelian); H. 156 "The Lion and the Wild Ass" (Phaedrus I 11, *Tetr.*).

b) With derivative in Babrius: H. 22 "The Fox and the Woodcutter" (Phaedrus, *App.* 28, Babrius, perhaps from same line as Maximus Tyrius and Ovid); H. 76 "The Stag and the Lion" ("The Hunters" in the other versions) (Phaedrus I 12, Par. 1–2, Babrius = T. Assend., Sy., Ps.-Dos., Aphthonius); H. 81 "The Cat and the Mice" (Phaedrus IV 2, Babrius); H. 173 "The Travelling Magicians" (Phaedrus IV 1, Babrius); H. 62 "The Farmer and the Serpent"; H. 186 "The Walker and the Serpent" (Phaedrus IV 20, Babrius, Par., Sy., *Tetr.*); H. 229 (cf. above) "The Two Knapsacks" (Phaedrus IV 10, Babrius, Par., Themistius).

Note that I only give the precise references of Phaedrus, the others can be found in Appendix I, where, as has been said, the statements that we make on these *stemmata* and those that follow are justified.

As we see, there are eight fables not represented in Babrius and six represented in Babrius (although Babrius 143 "The Farmer and the Serpent" is in fact a fable of ms. G, note that, due to its initial letter, it must have entered the Athous ms. of the poet).

2. Fables with two primary metrical models; we conventionally call that of AnF. 1; or else with two semiprosified model derived from a single primary one (same convention):

a) Without the presence of Babrius: H. 44 "The Frogs Asking for a King" (1: AnF., Phaedrus I 2; 2: Par., Dod.); H. 238 (1: AnF., Phaedrus IV 4; 2: Par.).

Note that in H. 44 it is possible that both versions come from an older one, of which there are remnants in AnF. II and Dod. (see Appendix I); and that we have observed, as regards H. 238, that AnF. is only represented by Pa, that the ascribing of Phaedrus to this branch is only likely and that there is another verse, that of the Rylands Papyrus, as in any event all these versions come from Demetrius and do not present contaminations with Stesichorus, as is the case of other versions; cf. above, pp. 85 ff.

b) With the presence of Babrius: H. 15 "The Fox and the Grapes" (1: AnF., Phaedrus II 3; 2: Babrius, Par. 1–2, Dod.); H. 31 "The Middle-Aged Man" (1: AnF., Phaedrus II 2, Diodorus, *Tetr.* [?]; 2: Babrius, Par. 1–2, Dod. 1–2 contaminated); H. 103 "The Rook and

the Birds" (1: AnF., Phaedrus I 3 contaminated with H. 125; 2: Babrius, *Tetr.*).

As we see, there are two fables in which Babrius is not included and three in which he does, as the first are less certain. Alongside Babrius there appear Par., Dod. (also in line 2 when Babrius is not there), sometimes *Tetr.*

3. Fables in which AnF. and Phaedrus depend on the primary model, having a secondary one beside it:

a) Without the presence of Babrius: H. 9 "The Fox and the He-goat" (prim.: AnF., Phaedrus IV 9, *Tetr.*; sec.: Par., Dod.); H. 138 "The Hungry Dogs" (prim.: AnF., Phaedrus I 20, Plutarch; secondary: Sy.); H. 160 "The Wolf and the Lamb" (prim.: AnF., Phaedrus I 1; sec.: Par., Dod.).

b) With the presence of Babrius: H. 126 "The Crow and the Fox" (prim.: AnF., Phaedrus I 13, Ps-Dos., Aphthonius, Tzetzes, *Tetr.*; sec.: Babrius, Par., Dod.); H. 136 "The Dog that Carried a Piece of Meat" (prim.: AnF., Phaedrus I 4, Par., Theon, *Tetr.*; sec.: Babrius, Sy., Ps-Dos.; third: Aphthonius, Branc.); H. 161 "The Wolf and the Heron" (prim.: AnF., Phaedrus I 8, Branc.; sec.: Babrius, Par., Dod.); H. 174 "The Mice and the Weasels" (prim.: AnF., Phaedrus IV 6, Ps-Dos., Sy.; sec.: Babrius, Par. 1–2–3, Dod.).

Three times Babrius is absent from the primary model, four times he appears. Whether Babrius is there or not, Par., Dod. appear in the secondary model and there are other versions distributed in various ways.

4. AnF. and Phaedrus separate, with the latter belonging to the secondary model: H. 154 "The Lion, the Ass and the Fox" (prim.: AnF.; secondary: Babrius, Phaedrus I 5).

As can be seen, only this fable makes an exception to a law that states that when there are two models, whether of the same or of different hierarchy, Phaedrus goes with AnF. against Babrius; and if the models are of different hierarchy, AnF. and Phaedrus depend on the primary version, Babrius on the secondary one.

Yet it is an example that offers no doubt. It is the famous fable of "The Lion's Share". In AnF. there are three animals: the ass

makes three equal parts, which draws the anger of the lion and death; the fox, then, gives almost all to the lion and to the question by the latter of who taught him to distribute like this, answers: "the misfortunes of the ass". In Babrius and Phaedrus it is the lion who distributes so as to keep everything, giving justifications that may be summed up as his greater power. Evidently, this represents a different line, as was recognized by Nøjgaard, II, p. 397. It is undoubtedly, an innovation, since Babrius, who only presents two animals, the wild ass and the lion (certainly influenced by H. 156, as Nøjgaard states), continues to talk of three parts. The four parts (and four animals) of Phaedrus are undoubtedly a culmination that makes even more of the theme and allows a rhetorical intensification, going on to discuss the "rights" of the strongest.

In short, it seems certain that Phaedrus follows the only existing model in certain fables, as the other fabulists also do, necessarily. On other occasions two (and even three) versions existed, sometimes at the same level, sometimes derived from each other. Evidently, in this case Phaedrus normally follows a collection also followed by our Augustana, which included: a) single fables, and b) fables sometimes with two primary versions, sometimes with a primary and a secondary, from which he collected, respectively, the primary version 1 and the only primary version. It is the collection that we will identify with the "Ancient Augustana". Babrius followed another collection, which coincided with the previous one in the "unique" fables, but completed them with version 2 and secondary versions. It is not a question of talking about two traditions, that of AnF. and that of Babrius, because on many occasions we are dealing with the same, unique tradition; and because on others Babrius (or our Babrius) only chose a few fables from a more extensive collection.

Consider that, on the other hand, we have already said that the agreement on a fable of AnF., Phaedrus and Babrius, and even of AnF. and Phaedrus, occurs in a minority of cases. And that it is not only that many fables of AnF. are absent from Phaedrus (that the latter has selected at his source), but also the opposite. And there are fables in Phaedrus and Babrius and in Phaedrus and other sources.

The problem is, then, more complicated than one might think, which does not prevent the two collections which we have discussed from actually existing. In the case of H. 154, it is clear that not only Babrius, but also Phaedrus, have occasionally used the collection that we are going to call number II. This is not strange, since various

other collections vary in the same way: for example, Par. and Dod., which usually follow II, sometimes follow I, *Tetr.* sometimes follow one, sometimes the other, etc.

It is interesting in this respect what happens to the two fables of Phaedrus that we have said appear in AnF., but not in the Augustana. The reader will recall (cf. pp. 432 ff.) that a series of fables of the Hellenistic tradition were only later, starting from the 9th century, incorporated as part of the tradition of the Accursiana or the ms. F. We established in our Appendix I that H. 294 "The Dog and the Wolf" (a fable that comes from Archilochus) produced a primary version and a secondary, with Babrius and Phaedrus III 7 deriving from the first, and the version of the ms. F. and *Tetr.* from the second. Here, if we are still dealing with collection I, it happens that it was followed not only by Phaedrus, but also Babrius, but not AnF. I: only much later did a secondary derivative produce descendants, and this already in the Byzantine Age. A different case is that of H. 299 "The Woman and the Farmer" (the well-known story of the widow of Ephesus): here, if Perry's argument is true,[12] Phaedrus *App.* 15 (and Petronius) come from a secondary version; from the first come III γ, δ and the *Life of Aesop.* That is to say, the primary version was totally disregarded by the collections of the Roman Age, and it is the secondary that attracted the attention of two Roman writers, Phaedrus and Petronius. Yet was it included in our Collection II?[13] This is not at all certain.

We have given some clues here on two collections followed, respectively, one by AnF. and Phaedrus, the other by Babrius. Yet followed selectively and not exclusively. Phaedrus, specifically, used loose versions of certain fables. Note that when he contaminates two close fables of the Augustana or when he follows a model that later produces two fables in the Augustana (a case that we have dealt with), he is working, as we have already said, with various collections, not precisely with an exact model of the Augustana.

After this we may enter the study of two points that interest us and that we have already announced: seeing in what sense Phaedrus modifies models that are approximately reconstructable; and seeing how he selects his models from the double standpoint of form and

[12] "Demetrius of Phalerum . . .", p. 329.

[13] I do not include H. 290 "The Warrior and the Crow" (= Phaedrus, *App.* 23), also in AnF., because this version comes from Plutarch, see the next section.

content. It will be better to leave the distribution of the fables among the different books for the end.

The treatment by Phaedrus of his models reveals a certain number of constants as regards form and content, although in some fables he follows these models more closely and in others he modifies them more profoundly. This could depend either on the fact that the theme of certain fables proves less modifiable, or that it corresponds more to Phaedrus' viewpoints and needs fewer modifications.

It is better to perform the study of this treatment by attending to the different sub-types of fables that Phaedrus inherits from his predecessors. We must say that, within the reduced number of fables that are common with the AnF., a considerable number of them appear. There are situation fables, with an ending of action or with a "closing statement"; there are agonal ones, either of action or containing speeches, or purely of debate and, within them, there are some with one, two or three agones, with or without a final closing statement; there are aetiological ones; and there is one of Natural History and another that is purely mythical. There are some subtypes not represented, for example, the fables of *eris* or dispute between two animals or plants.

In the study of the treatment of the different sub-types in Phaedrus, we must take into account, of course, the different *stemmata*. We could achieve a better reconstruction of the model (and, consequently, a better knowledge of its modifications by Phaedrus) where we are dealing with a single model with various appearances in addition to Phaedrus and AnF. (the Rylands Papyrus, Babrius, etc.). And Phaedrus can be better known when he depends on one of two models, since the one to which he does not belong could contain remnants of the ancient one that help with the reconstruction. The existence is also useful of data on the archaic or classical model of the fable, since they help, in contrast, in the reconstruction of the fable in Demetrius, as we have seen in the case of H. 1 "The Eagle and the Fox". In any event, where the circumstances are less favourable, the constants deduced from the other fables may be of use.

The study that we perform below cannot be complete. It is based on the results of Appendix I and only aspires towards obtaining some general results. For the details, considerable useful data may be found in the study by Pisi of eight fables, in spite of its limitations. This study and our own pave the way for a more detailed one, which it is easy to conduct.

The short fables of Phaedrus are almost all situation fables (the main exception is IV 20 = H. 62 and H. 186). It is, in principle, there that fewer modifications may be expected: a situation followed by action or comment. Sometimes it is precisely AnF. that summarizes, as is the case in H. 15 "The Fox and the Grapes". In general, the length of the fable of Phaedrus remains closely related to that of the model, although he may also summarize, as is the case in H. 27 "The Fox and the Bust" (= Phaedrus I 7): although here we only have AnF. and Phaedrus, the fable of the latter, which includes situation, closing statement and epimythium in four verses, is shorter than usual. And since the corresponding fable in AnF. has traces of four verses and adds an epimythium very close to that of Phaedrus, it seems clear that this depends on a fable of four verses followed by an epimythium. There are also abbreviations in other fables and some expansion.

A fable barely modified by Phaedrus is H. 15 "The Fox and the Grapes", which we have just mentioned. Following the same model as AnF., it remains more archaic, when summarizing AnF.: it sometimes agrees with the other primary model, that of Babrius (who expands), Par. and Dod. The story of the fox who looked at the grapes and concluded "they are green" had little to alter. If at all, the theme of truth is characteristic of Phaedrus (compared with AnF.) but this is already found in a version of Par. and in that of Dod.

This is, probably, the most conservative fable of Phaedrus. On the other hand, in H. 27 "The Fox and the Bust", which we have also mentioned, the abbreviation by Phaedrus is characteristic, not coincidental. Instead of describing the banal details of how the fox found the bust, Phaedrus limits himself to mentioning the encounter and adding the closing statement: "How much beauty and it does not have a brain", barely altered with the entrance of the word "beauty". The brevity of what precedes places it precisely in relief. And with the epimythium entering within the four verses of the fable, its effect is also greater: concentrated in its are the concepts of honour, glory, fortune, common sense. The poet can bear the reader directly, without passing the time on the road, the message that interests him, substantial, concentrated, repetitive.

This search for a greater dramatic tension is achieved at other times by modifying the subject slightly. This is the case in H. 64 "The Man Bitten by a Dog" (= Phaedrus II 3). It is a fable with a single model, but the agreements of AnF. and S. allow us to see the

modifications by Phaedrus. What in the other one was a superstitious piece of advice given by somebody to the bitten man (throw the dog bread soaked in his blood), advice followed by his protest, becomes action in Phaedrus: the bitten man throws the bread soaked in blood to the dog. And the closing statement is by Aesop himself: not to do this with many dogs, or else they will eat both of them alive. The Cynic criticism of superstition has disappeared, it has become all the more impressive by changing from a proposal to a fact and everything has been concentrated on the problem of morality: the dogs will devour them "when they know that this is the prize for wickedness". The epimythium emphasizes the theme. That is to say, the fable places a fact before the gaze, it is more realistic and dramatic than that of the model and establishes a new theme: that of how to deal with the bad.

Similar is the procedure followed in H. 138 "The Hungry Dogs" (= Phaedrus I 20), a fable in which a primary model is at the basis of AnF., Phaedrus and Plutarch and there is a secondary one in Sy. Phaedrus abbreviates a little: in him the dogs, who see a hide in the river, begin to drink the water from the river in order to eat the hide, whereupon they burst; there is not the prior moment of the decision of the dogs and their intention. It is action that interests the fabulist. On the other hand, his promythium emphasizes the theme of the *stultum consilium* and the beginning of the fable, like others on many occasions, is distinguished from the conventional formulas based on the protagonist as subject; and the division of the fable into situation and result is also not formulaic, it takes place within the same sentence (*aquam coepere bibere: sed rupti prius*. . .). It is a story of action, not a series of formulaic parts that only arrive at the action at the end.

These tendencies are also seen in another of these fables, H. 95 "The Snake and the File", which, as we have said, Phaedrus IV 8 contaminates with H. 59 "The Weasel and the File". Indeed, in H. 95 Ia the snake asks the file to give him some of the instruments in its workshop and it replies that its nature is to take, not to give. Yet in Phaedrus the snake bites the file, who describes him as *stulta*. The words have been changed into action, certainly derived, as I say, from the other fable, in which the weasel bites the file and loses his tongue. That is to say, the contamination is based on the tendencies of the poet to present vividly an action with its consequences. On the other hand, it is significant that the theme of *phusis* or nature,

without being obliterated, is dominated by that of stupidity and its consequences. This is a constant in Phaedrus, at other times together with praise of cunning.

These are the short situation fables of Phaedrus. Yet I must add that H. 80 "The Sailors", which is in AnF., a fable of this type, but complex, is abbreviated in accordance with the same principles in Phaedrus IV 18. There are two fables with the same model, better preserved in AnF. with remnants of verse and with three parts: the ship in the storm, the vows and promises of the sailors, followed by their happiness when the sea calms down, the closing statement by the captain, who tells them that we must live knowing that fortune may bring another storm. Phaedrus abbreviates by joining the first and second parts, eliminating the theme of the vows and only leaving that of the tears followed by happiness; and he modifies the closing statement, now the captain preaches *ataraxia*, to be happy little and complain little. The theme of religion has disappeared (in parallel fables, those that make vows forget them afterwards); we are described human feelings that change when the situation changes and these feelings are criticized. More than the theme of fortune, it is the preaching of ataraxia what concerns the poet.

Let us now discuss the other fables of Phaedrus, agonal fables for the most part, which he shares with AnF. We suggest that his way of proceeding is following the same intentions: predomination of action, quick search for the outcome, use of speeches to underline the action or the outcome, breaking with the traditional schemes of organization, emphasis on criticism, on the theme of wickedness, tyranny, avidity, the condemnation of desire for financial gain, the praise of clever behaviour. The length of the fables, with their shortenings and, sometimes, expansions, are at the service of these intentions of synthetic and lively, quick description, which leads to a logical end.

Although in all the fables the various resources are combine variously, we may make some distinctions. We may separate, for example, a group in which Phaedrus abbreviates some element of the fable with the purpose of avoiding delay or distraction in the story, loss of attention to the outcome, the underlining of this; sometimes, the alteration of this.

This is the case in H. 1 "The Eagle and the Fox" (= Phaedrus I 28), a fable of a single model appearing in many witnesses, rather abbreviated in Phaedrus. We have already seen (Vol. I, pp. 418 ff.)

the modifications by Demetrius Phalereus, from which this whole tradition comes, with respect to Archilochus: the fable had been simplified, the theme of Zeus had been eliminated. Even so, in the Hellenistic fable there remained the essential elements of the ancient one, the theme of the breaking of a friendship, of the curse, of the punishment. In Phaedrus, in spite of the agreements of the details, nothing of this remains: as on other occasions that we have seen, it has eliminated the religious theme. The fox restricts himself to pleading to the eagle and, when he is not listened to, takes a firebrand and sets fire to the tree in which the eagle has its nest: then the eagle returns the fox's young to him. That is to say, the beginning has been eliminated, the middle lightened, the end changed. There is a quick description of actions, hardly any of words, which leads to the new theme: the punishment of evil thanks to the ingenuity of the weak.

In H. 9 "The Fox and the He-goat", a fable in which Phaedrus IV 9 derives, as do AnF. and *Tetr.*, from a primary version together with which there is a secondary one, in Phaedrus there is also a summary of the complicated action of the fox and the he-goat in the well: we arrive quickly at the escape of the fox by climbing on the he-goat's horns. The end, the lament of the he-goat and the satire of the fox are eliminated: evidently, the action remains more well-rounded and decisive in this way. The fox is now in the centre, it is the theme of the victory of the clever (in the promythium of Phaedrus) that is interesting, rather than the condemnation of the foolishness of the he-goat (in the closing statement and epimythium of AnF.).

The elimination of the closing statement is also characteristic of the Phaedrian version of H. 126 "The Crow and the Fox", a fable with a single primary model with various derivations, in which AnF. I has strangely replaced the "cheese" with a piece of meat. The version by Phaedrus is quite traditional, as it preserves not only the "cheese", but other ancient elements eliminated in AnF., for example, the direct speech of the fox. Here the action of the fable consists of the success of flattery: this must be highlighted. Yet when the cheese falls, the fox restricts himself to keeping it. There is no ironic closing statement by him, if there is a closing statement it is the represented by the pain of the crow. The theme is, again, not the stupidity of the crow (such as/like in AnF.), but the value of ingenuity—and the punishment of those who allow themselves to be flattered.

I cannot review all the fables one by one. Yet note in H. 31 "The Middle-Aged Man and the Two Women" (= Phaedrus II 2) the concentration and alteration of the order of the elements in the story, the emphasis on the theme of the danger that men risk with women, even more than in Babrius (both must derive from an ancient promythium or epimythium). For H. 113 "Heracles and Plutus" (= Phaedrus IV 12) I refer the reader to "El papiro Rylands . . .", pp. 349 ff.: there are certain abbreviations and the closing statement, which is maintained, makes special emphasis on the theme of the desire for financial gain, also the promythium. In H. 174 "The Mice and the Weasels" Phaedrus IV 6 abbreviates in the beginning, quickly moving on to the theme of the imprisonment and death of the generals (on account of the horns on their helmets, Phaedrus follows the primary model), on which he places rhetorical emphasis. And he places the political theme in the centre. The same may be said of an aetiological fable, H. 229 "The Two Knapsacks", in which Prometheus is replaced by Zeus, and the story is concentrated and synthesized.

As regards H. 299 "The Woman and the Farmer", we have already said that Perry proposed that the versions of Phaedrus, *App.* 15 and Petronius derive from a much more piercing and moralistic secondary version, also more misogynous, than the Greek original: the beginning and the ending, particularly, are modified in this direction. Yet it remains to be seen what is proper to this secondary version and what is proper to Phaedrus.

As we have said, neither abbreviation nor expansion constitute an end in themselves, they are at the service of the objectives to which we have referred. We have said, for example, that in H. 174 there is initial abbreviation and final rhetorical expansion. Thus we understand, for example, what occurs in Phaedrus IV 20, a short fable, despite being interpreted as agonal, which we have already said comes from an ancient model, from which H. 62 and 186 also derive. It is the theme—which comes from Theognis—of the farmer who was bitten by the snake that he had tried to revive at his breast. The story is abbreviated. And the closing statement is neither removed nor added, it is simply altered. Instead of it being the farmer who recognizes that it is right that he suffers for his stupid conduct, it is the snake: "nobody should learn to favour the bad", he says. Once again the theme of foolishness remains secondary, that of dealing with the bad is of primary importance.

Yet let us now move on to the expanded fables, although sometimes expansion and reduction are combined. An example that we have already given is that of H. 154 "The Lion, the Ass and the Fox", in which we have already said that Phaedrus I 5 follows a secondary line, to which Babrius also belongs. We also note that, in him, the animals are now four, with which the speech of the lion (his closing statement) is made longer and concludes in a climax with a threat: *malo adficietur si quis quartam tetigerit.* The epimythium emphasizes, compared with the model, the theme of *improbitas*, wickedness.

It is not a question of adding details, but of rhetorically emphasizing the conclusion. Likewise in H. 160 "The Wolf and the Lamb" (= Phaedrus I 1), derived in AnF. and Phaedrus from one of the two primary versions. Here the wolf/lamb dialogue is all in direct style, as in Babrius, Par. and Dod.: I believe this is ancient, as is the closing statement of the wolf, who says that he is going to eat the lamb for many reasons that he gives. Phaedrus has eliminated this closing statement: the wolf restricts himself to eating the lamb, the action prevails, as on many other occasions. Yet the arguments of the wolf are the same as in the branch to which it belongs, plus one new one: "your father spoke badly of me", he says, and eats up the lamb without letting it answer. It may be seen that here too there is a climax in the argumentation and that this leads directly to the action.

Another similar case is that of H. 294 "The Wolf and the Dog". To judge by Babrius, derived from the same ancient model (cf. above, p. 42), it was a fable of debate, but Phaedrus has expanded it a great deal. The same tendency is to extend the debates to draw a rhetorical and moral tip from them: the freedom of the wolf is preferable to the servitude of the dog, which, moreover, does no more than express the ancient theme, which already comes from Archilochus.

There are other additions in other fables, generally of speeches where they are used to underline the action. This is the case in H. 22 "The Fox and the Woodcutter", Phaedrus, *App.* 28 is practically all debate: fox/oxherd, hunter/oxherd, fox/oxherd. The treachery of the oxherd, which is emphasized, is thus more underlined, since it all consists of words rather than acts. In H. 238, the well-known fable of the boar, the horse and the hunter, Phaedrus IV 4 lightens the story by suppressing the request of the boar to the man, but when the latter kills the stag, this action is interpreted by means of a closing speech by the former. This is curious, because at other

times these closing statements are suppressed by Phaedrus: here the simple action did not explain its meaning, and a direct speech was, in these circumstances, more dramatic than a simple explanation such as that of other versions and the ancient model itself of Stesichorus.

The examination of these fables has enabled us to gain a full understanding of the working methods of Phaedrus. This may also be attempted in others, in which the abbreviation and expansion criteria are less prominent. It is a matter, first and foremost, of modifications of the writing techniques: elimination of artificial divisions and of formulas, the merging and alteration of elements, the introduction of poetic or picturesque features, minor alterations in theme, etc.

In fact, we have already seen some of these alterations in subject linked to other features. We may cite others, such as H. 81 "The Cat and the Mice" (= Phaedrus IV 2). It is a fable of a single line in which both Phaedrus and Babrius innovate: the former making the cat, instead of being hung from the roof like a sack, being covered in flour and stored in a dark place. It gives the impression that the fable has been contaminated with one on the theme of disguise, clearly as well as the innovation that the cat in question has aged and used this trick to hunt, comes from a contamination with H. 147 "The Lion and the Fox". The fable is newer and more picturesque; on the other hand, it is an innovation to introduce it as an exemplum by Phaedrus himself. Another contamination, this a very clear one, is the already cited one of H. 103 "The Rook and the Birds", one of whose two derived lines contaminates Phaedrus I 3 with H. 125. Here, also, the fable is presented as an exemplum of Aesop for those who rejoice in others' goods; and the theme of Zeus and the kingdom of the birds is eliminated. At the same time, the contamination with the other fable enables Phaedrus to introduce a double action, with a climax: the rook is rejected first by the turkeys, then by his own. Furthermore, a closing statement is added by one of the rooks, which emphasizes the theme of nature. Thus from the theme of false beauty and the trap in the competition, we cross over to the one in which each must be satisfied with his lot.

The modification of themes is, as we see, intimately linked with the techniques of abbreviation, expansion, contamination, presentation of the fables. An interesting one, from this latter standpoint, is H. 44 "The Frogs Asking for a King", in which Phaedrus belongs with AnF. to one of the two primary versions. Here the ancient theme is preserved of the deputation sent to Zeus and the punishment of

those who do not respect their own nature, but introduce innovations. The first is to narrate the fable in the second grade, it is Aesop who tells it to the Athenians during the tyranny of Pisistratus. This prologue and the final closing statement are directed against the tyranny, as distinct from the vaguer and generalizing conclusions in the other appearances. On the other hand, in this fable Phaedrus respects the development of the narration, with its various acts, which arrive at the climax of the punishment by Zeus; but he adds a new ending, the frogs ask Zeus, through Mercury, to help them and he refuses. Just as Phaedrus sometimes prefers an ending of action, eliminating the closing statement, which he considers superfluous, others introduce a new closing statement, which emphasizes the theme.

Let us look at other cases in which, more than of modifications, we are dealing with differences in composition. For example, in H. 76, the comparison of the numerous witnesses of this fable with a single model will convince us of the superior skill of the storytelling in the version by Phaedrus I 12 "The Stag Reaching the Spring". This may be seen in detail in the book cited by Pisi, pp. 39 ff., concerning the relationship with the Augustana. Or see H. 120 "The Beaver", where Phaedrus *App.* 30 transforms into something alive, explained as *divina ratione*, what was an insipid story. Yet perhaps H. 136 "The Dog that Carried a Piece of Meat" is a better example, in which Phaedrus I 4 belongs to the line of the primary model. He has concentrated the various themes together, merging them with each other instead of adding them to each other. After the relating of the situation (the dog that, with its piece of meat, crosses the river and sees another supposed dog with another piece of meat), Phaedrus tells us subsequently how the dog drops its meat, goes for the other, loses both, as one did not exist and the other was carried away by the river: he says directly that he wanted to snatch the other meat and that his avidity was mocked by his losing both pieces of meat. There are the same phrases, but in a different order to make the action advance better. This narrative art may also be seen, for example, in H. 156 "The Lion and the Ass", with the story, in this picturesque and dramatic case, of the hunt of the ass and the lion in Phaedrus I 11; or in H. 161 "The Wolf and the Heron", in which Phaedrus I 8 describes with suspense the efforts of the crane (who is introduced instead of the heron) to take the bone from the wolf; or in H. 173 "The Travelling Magicians", with

a lively and direct ending (although perhaps more archaic than that of AnF.) in Phaedrus IV 1.

The resources that Phaedrus uses to rewrite his models are different, therefore. It could be said that, with very few exceptions, he prefers to respect either the reduced length or the average of these, but introducing certain abbreviations or expansions or changes whose purpose is to accentuate the dramatic aspects of the description, its vivacity, and to emphasize the resulting moral evaluations. The traditional schemes are generally respected, there are even times in which a traditional scheme is altered by means of the imitation of another. Yet the skilful divisions, the stereotyped language, the repetitions of formulas, give way to a greater amalgamation of elements, to imitations of the poets, to the use of the metaphor, of the new names attributed to the animals. In Pisi's book abundant material can be found on imitations and the rhetorical and picturesque use of language.

As regards the themes, either by selection or by alteration of the models, Phaedrus emphasizes the motifs already mentioned: political satire (particularly of the abuse of power), wickedness, avidity and greed. It is not that traditional themes of the Cynic fable such as that of fortune, nature, foolishness, the criticism of beauty and superstition, do not exist in Phaedrus, but they have less relief. As regards the positive themes, that of cunning that is rewarded is the most important, although others are also found, such as that of freedom against slavery—a political theme, moreover.

In any event, as we have already said, the number of fables that Phaedrus followed more or less faithfully is limited, taking them from a collection that we have described as comprising fables from a single model and others, also primary, but in opposition to a second primary version or to a secondary one. At other times Phaedrus seems to have followed a different collection or different collections. However, this theme of the sources will receive more clarification through the study of the fables of Phaedrus that are not in AnF.: showing, at any rate, that some derive from models that did indeed reach these and which Phaedrus altered.

Phaedrus, adding books during the course of the years, wrote a mixed, complex collection, as his model collections already were. In this he did nothing new. Thus there was nothing to prevent, together with a basic, mixed collection, following others that were also mixed or creating, by imitation or as they were, other fables of the same

types. What he did do was to give a certain unity of composition, style and content to these various materials by means of a double process of selection and of re-creation.

III. *Fables that are in and outside Phaedrus, but not in the Anonymous Fables*

Below I give a list of fables by Phaedrus that are re-encountered more or less exactly elsewhere. Clearly, it is difficult or impossible to trace a boundary between these fables and those others in which we consider that Phaedrus has created an original fable starting from another known one. In the list that follows, I give the most essential data on each fable. The order is that of Appendix II (not-H.), although not-H. 303 includes H. 290 at the same time:

not-H. 8 = Phaedrus, *App.* 24 "The Goat and the Goatherd", also in Babrius and in other witnesses. The goatherd who has broken the goat's horn cannot hide it: "the horn will scream".

not-H. 17 = Phaedrus I 26 "The Fox and the Stork", also in Plutarch, *Quaest. Conu.* 614 E (where the crane takes part). An *agon* of the two animals, in two acts, with the stork (or crane) triumphing: the fox serves soup on a plate that is not very deep, the bird in a bottle with a narrow neck.

not-H. 37 = Phaedrus III 3 "Aesop and the Rustic", also in Plutarch, *Sept. Sap. Conv.* 149 C–E (he applies it to Thales, Phaedrus to Aesop). Mocking the divinities, Aesop tells the rustic, who consults him on the lambs with human heads that have been born of his sheep, to give women to his shepherds.

not-H. 41 = Phaedrus III 19 "Aesop Answers a Chatterer", an anecdote from Diogenes (Diogenes Laertius II 41, Plutarch, *Sept. Sap. Conv.* 189 C) now attributed to Aesop.

not-H. 62 = Phaedrus I 22 "The Weasel and the Man", also in Babrius. The weasel does not obtain pardon from the man in spite of being the enemy of the mice, since he works like this for his own benefit. Criticism of selfishness and falsehood.

not-H. 91 = Phaedrus V 6 "Two Bald Men", cf. the proverb "a bald man (found) a comb", in *CPG* I, p. 459. A comb that the bald man found is useless to him.

not-H. 118 = Phaedrus I 6 "The Frogs in the Sun", also in Babrius 24. Fear of evil ("and what is going to happen if he has children?").

not-H. 128 = Phaedrus, *App.* 21 "The Race-horse", also in Babrius and elsewhere. The old race-horse, who has ended up in a mill, complains of his fate.

not-H. 162 = Phaedrus III 15 "The Dog to the Lamb". The lamb that has been raised by the goat says that it is kindness, not kinship, that makes parents. The fable is probably the development of this χρεία that is already in Menander, *Mon.* 452 πατὴρ οὐχ ὁ γεννήσας, ἀλλ' ὁ θρέψας σε "your father is not the one that engendered you, but the one who raised you".

not-H. 164 = Phaedrus I 23 "The Faithful Dog", also in Syntipas 21. The dog is not tempted by the bread he is offered by a burglar at night.

not-H. 165 = Phaedrus I 19 "The Bitch has Pups", also now in a Cologne papyrus, no. 64 (and in Justinus). The bitch, who leaves her den for another bitch to give birth, is unable to recover it, as the litter helps the new tenant. Theme of the abuse of wickedness when it is allowed to multiply.

not-H. 203 = Phaedrus I 10 "The Monkey Judging the Wolf and the Fox", connected with the anecdote on Diogenes in D.L. VI 54 and *Gnomol. Vat.*, ed. Sternbach, no. 190. The two litigants are as evil as each other.

not-H. 218 = Phaedrus IV 24 "The Mountains Giving Birth", an allusion in Horace, *AP* 139.

not-H. 222 = Phaedrus I 18 "The Woman Giving Birth", also in Plutarch, *Coni. Praec.* 143 E. The woman does not want to give birth in bed, where her problems began. Sexual joke and theme of the place where wrong is received.

not-H. 285 = Phaedrus IV 26 "Simonides Saved by the Gods". The same anecdote in Cicero, *Orat.* II 352, Quintilian IX 2.11, Valerius Maximus I 8, 9. Simonides, when the roof collapses at a banquet, is saved by his pity for the Dioscuri.

not-H. 288 = Phaedrus III 8 "A Sister to her Brother", cf. Plutarch, *Coni. Praec.* 141 d, Diogenes Laertius II 5, 33 (attributed to Socrates), Stobaeus III 1.172 (attributed to Bias by Demetrius Phalereus). The moral advice of a father to his son, who is handsome, and to his daughter, who is ugly. The action consists of the fact that when looking in the mirror, the former boasts and the daughter takes offence.

not-H. 303 = Phaedrus, *App.* 23 "The Walker and the Crow". Cf. also Plutarch, *Vita Phocionis* 9, and in H. 290 (III), cf. below, p. 371. A walker hears *ave* (a term of greeting) repeatedly and stops, until he realizes that it is a crow. He curses it for delaying him.

If we wish to attempt to specify the originality of Phaedrus in the writing of these fables, it is appropriate to divide them into various groups. Above all, into two: sometimes they are true fables of which a Hellenistic metrical version that is a precursor to that of our poet exists; at others, they are anecdotes or χρεῖαι, which he has transformed into fables.

Within the fables, the most important group is that in which Phaedrus is accompanied by Babrius and, possibly, by other versions. There are later some cases in which he goes with Plutarch or with some other version.

The fables that are common to Phaedrus and Babrius are, in two cases, from a secondary model. The first is constituted by not-H. 8, in Phaedrus "The Shepherd and the Goat". It is a fable with a very complex tradition, but the summary is that there is a primary version, long, and a reduced, secondary one: belonging to this line are the two versions of *Tetr.* and that of Phaedrus. The fable has been reduced to a short situation fable, with a closing statement, and it is difficult to gauge the originality of the version by our poet, which is in four verses that are very comparable to the two versions of *Tetr.*, sometimes to one, sometimes to the other, according to the different points. In any event, this confirms that Phaedrus sometimes

follows a secondary version. Babrius, in this case, follows the primary one.

Likewise in the case of not-H. 128, in which, surprisingly, only Aphthonius represents a primary model, reduced in the secondary, from which depend Babrius, Phaedrus, Par. (two versions), Dod. and an allusion in the *Ass* by Lucian. In this reduced version we go from the war horse to the race-horse that has ended up old in a mill. The theme is the same, that of fortune. Phaedrus emphasizes the Roman environment and gives a more lively image of the two moments in the life of the horse.

Of the fables with a single model, not-H. 62 is in Babrius and Phaedrus; not-H. 88 in Babrius (in fact in the ms. G, as I have said) and three versions of Par.; and not-H. 118 in Babrius, Phaedrus, *Tetr.*, Par. and Dod. The difference with respect to other fables of a single model, studied above, is that they were not collected in AnF. We are dealing, in our case, with one agonal fable, one aetiological and another of situation, the first of medium length, the other two short.

We can see some innovations by Phaedrus that prove characteristic. In not-H. 62 the argument for not forgiving the weasel given by the man who captured it is, in Phaedrus, that if it killed mice, it was for its own benefit, a theme that is absent from Babrius; to this closing statement Phaedrus adds a moment of action, the death of the weasel, and an epimythium on those who only seek what is privately useful to themselves. In not-H. 118, an aetiological fable with the deputation to Zeus, it is transformed in Phaedrus into a situation fable; one of the trees understands that those that have produced the handle are cut down by the axe: the intention is the same, but the modification enters within what we already know. Likewise in not-H. 118 "The Frogs in the Sun": now it is narrated in the second grade by Aesop, it is an exemplum that is applied to a thief; on the other hand, the closing statement is now by Zeus, not one of the frogs or a toad.

There are, then, a series of fables for which, besides Phaedrus, there is another appearance coming from collections of fables. This is the case of not-H. 164 "The Faithful Dog", of which there is another version that has ended up in the two Syriac versions (that of Sister Lefèvre and that of Syntipas); and of not-H. 165 "The Bitch that gave Birth", we have already referred to its presence in *PColon.* 64,

a fragment of a collection of fables. This testifies that not only is it true that the semiprosified Hellenistic collections did not cross over in full to AnF., in spite of the fact that this collection was expanded over time, but those that did not enter AnF. also did not cross over in full to Babrius. There are some in other collections, as we see, and in the indirect tradition; and there are fables that are only in Phaedrus and that undoubtedly come from the ancient tradition.

As regards the two to which we are referring here, it is difficult, there being only two appearances, to see which innovates. The small story of the dog and the thief who offers him bread is told in very close terms, only the "closing statement" of the dog varies; perhaps that of Phaedrus is an innovation, which discusses blame or desire for financial gain, while in the other version the dog only shows his discomfort at so much sudden affection. As regards the fable of the bitch, it gives the impression that the version of the papyrus, with remnants of verse, is more traditional than that of Phaedrus; it contains a much longer closing speech by the bitch that is the object of abuse than that of Phaedrus. Yet its conclusion with a quotation from Theognis is undoubtedly an innovation: as is, certainly, in Phaedrus the fact that the long closing statement by the bitch, full of lamentations, is reduced to a plea in indirect style followed by the answer of the bitch that gave birth: "I will leave you the place when you are stronger than I and my offspring". This is the Phaedrian theme of the abuse of the strong. It is likely that the version by Justinus derives from here.

Phaedrus, as always, tends to introduce his themes particularly in the final part of the fables, and to make these more tight and direct.

Another series of fables, which has been noted by the critics,[14] contains a version by Plutarch, together with the Phaedrian one. Let us study them before attempting to draw conclusions. There are five fables.

It is most practical to begin with those fables that in Plutarch show remnants of verse and that, therefore, are clearly not derivations from Phaedrus, but from the ancient tradition. This is the case, initially, of not-H. 37, which in Phaedrus III 3 is entitled "Aesop and the Rustic". In Plutarch it is a long fable with important remnants of verse:

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[14] Cf. Perry, "Demetrius of Phalerum", p. 321, who quotes Crusius.

⏓ – ⏑ –] ἔοικε τεταράχθαι σφόδρα
μίασμα καὶ κηλῖδα [⏑ – ⏓ – ⏓ ⏓
⏓ –] τίνος δεινοῦ καὶ μεγάλου συμβάντος;
"τί δ'" εἶπον "οὐ μέλλω; στάσεως γάρ, ὦ Θαλῆ,
καὶ διαφορᾶς" [⏓ – ⏑ – ⏓ – ⏓ ⏓
ἀφεὶς ὁ Θαλῆς με καὶ λαβόμενος [– ⏓ ⏓

among others. In it Thales is introduced as the person who, in dialogue with Niloxenus and Periander, solves the claimed prodigy of the boy with the body of a horse. Phaedrus has reduced the fable—in any event, quite lengthy—giving it the form of a story finishing with the closing statement of the new sage, Aesop. The agreements are almost literal; it is very clear that Phaedrus modified the model extensively, based on a growing suspense and the resolution of the problem of Aesop. We have already seen that he is very keen on introducing the fabulist.

Not-H. 303 also presents verse in Plutarch and is also very altered in Phaedrus; in Phaedrus, *App.* 23 it is "The Walker and the Crow". It is from the source of Plutarch that the version of the ms. F comes; it is a literal repetition of the former. In it there is a situation with various parts—the warrior stops various times on hearing the crow's caw—followed by the closing statement: "you can caw all you like, but you are not going to enjoy the taste of me". From the epimythium it is deduced that the warrior is returning home. This situation fable has been expanded by Phaedrus. The soldier has been replaced by a walker and there is suspense that culminates when he discovers that the *ave* greeting is from a crow. The closing statement varies: the walker curses the bird for making him waste time. The theme of superstition disappears (as at other times in Phaedrus), we now have the equally Cynic theme of effort.

In three other fables it is not possible to find metrical remnants in Plutarch. This is the case in not-H. 17 "The Fox and the Crane" (in Phaedrus the stork, which is the only significant difference); not-H. 221 "The Woman Giving Birth"; and not-H. 288 "The Sister to the Brother".

It is possible that in these fables we move into another territory. The last one is clearly an anecdote whose telling is attributed to Socrates not only by Plutarch, but also by Diogenes Laertius. It undoubtedly belongs to the group of Cynic anecdotes, sometimes attributed to Socrates, which Phaedrus occasionally takes. However,

in contrast with the fable of Thales, referred to above, there is no indication that leads us to think that this anecdote has been versified and included in the collections of fables. It is likely that Phaedrus takes it, simply, from the collections of χρεῖαι with Cynic tendencies, and the same must be said of three Cynic anecdotes (although one of them is older), to which we have already referred: that of Simonides in Phaedrus IV 26, which is also in Cicero, Quintilian and Valerius Maximus; that of the wolf and the fox, judged by the monkey (Phaedrus I 10), which we already said corresponds in terms of its theme to an anecdote that was attributed to Diogenes; and that of "Aesop Answers a Chatterer" (Phaedrus III 19), which is the anecdote of Diogenes looking for a man with a lamp in the main square in the middle of the day (in Diogenes Laertius II 41 and Plutarch, *Sept. Sap. Conv.* 149 C), transposed to Aesop; cf. an antecedent in *Life of Aesop* 65, when Aesop finds just one man at the baths.

A different case is that of the other two fables that are in Phaedrus and Plutarch, with the verse lacking in the latter. It could be, certainly, that the two fables of the fox and the crane and of the woman giving birth come from a collection, but neither can it be ruled out that here Plutarch simply follows Phaedrus, since no great difference is to be found between the two. On the other hand, the fable of the fox and the crane (or stork) is a derivative, secondary fable: the fox, clever, finds somebody cleverer, the bad finds punishment.[15] If this is an innovation by Phaedrus, then Plutarch does no more than follow it. There may be some relation between this fable and not-H. 143 "The Crow and the Hydra": present are the bird that cannot drink from a narrow recipient and its cunning. In any event, reasoning by analogy, it seems more likely that Plutarch and Phaedrus date back to the same model.

We must also mention the three fables that we list with χρεῖαι or proverbs: that of the two bald men, that of the mountains giving birth and that of the dog addressing the lamb. The truth is that we cannot decide whether they are really fabulizations of proverbs or whether the latter came about from the respective fables.

We see, then, in short, that Phaedrus has used fables in verse from a single model disregarded by AnF., fables sometimes in Babrius, sometimes in other collections or in the indirect tradition. Yet he

[15] The reasons offered by Perry, "Demetrius of Phalerum . . .", p. 321, to favour the antiquity of the fable, are not convincing.

has also used fables from a secondary model, common to Plutarch. Occasionally, it seems, he has also used collections of anecdotes of a Cynic character, not versified; also in collections of χρεῖαι, although this is less certain.

He had, then, at his disposal collection I, which we discussed above, based on single models and other primary fables; he also had other collections that included secondary fables or fables from a single model disregarded by AnF. and included by Babrius. And he added material not strictly fabulistic, which had become fables for the first time.

These are mixed fables, in which human anecdotes and situation fables predominate; the agonal ones are more rare and perhaps that of the fox and the stork is an original of the poet. Phaedrus introduced innovations in them of the type that we already know: abbreviating, drawing a moral "point" from his favourite themes in the ending, preferring narration and suspense to the ancient types of fables. As regards the themes, they are already familiar to us: that of the bad, their abuses, their punishment, their inability to hide; that of selfishness, falsehood and, alongside these, virtue and piety; that of the wretched fate of the weak or the old; that of reality and appearance; sexual jokes.

IV. *Fables Found only in Phaedrus*

There are, in the first term, as we have already suggested, some fables that are a derivation from other previous ones. If we repeat these here, more than to return to the characteristics of form and content of the fables of Phaedrus, although we will also take this viewpoint into account, it is to show that our author knew a number of ancient fables, of those that reached AnF. and of those that did not reach it, more than might be thought at first sight.

The list we give below presents some fables whose tradition is not very different from some of previous lists. Simply, the difference with respect to the models is greater, they may be considered new fables. Also in the case of some that we consider contaminated. Moreover, the list with the models may be of various types. Sometimes the change of protagonists respects the same scheme of subject and content. In others there exists, on the contrary, a strong variation in this direction, which may be combined with a variation in the protagonists.

Or a basic theme, such as that of the court of the lion or that of the uncovered rear of the monkey, may receive new developments.

There is also only a difference of degree with respect to fables that we will consider later and which continue general fabulistic themes, but in a more independent manner, without our being able to make reference to specific fables used as model.

We present below, following the order of Phaedrus, but adding the numbering of our Appendices in brackets, the fables that seem to us most clearly derived from other already known ancient ones; in some cases, some authors had already made similar proposals.

I 21 "The Old Lion" (not-H. 200) develops the theme of the sick lion (in H. 147) in a different direction: it is the kick of the ass that hurts the lion most.

I 30 "The Frogs Fearful of the Fighting between the Bulls" (not-H. 274) develops the theme of H. 143 "The Hares and the Frogs". The hares, who are going to commit suicide, decide not to when they see the panic of the frogs. The theme of Phaedrus seems derived from this: a frog says to the others that, whatever the result of the fight between the bulls may be, the defeated one will squash them when fleeing. The theme of power passes into the first term.

I 31 "The Kite and the Pigeons" (not-H. 172). The theme of the pigeons that choose the kite as king to defend them and are victims after him, seems to contaminate with themes from H. 238 "The Boar, the Horse and the Hunter" and H. 158 "The Wolves and the Sheep".

II 4 "The Eagle, the Cat and the Boar" (not-H. 46) describes how the cat, with its malicious intrigue, destroys the friendship of the eagle and the boar and ends up devouring them and their offspring. There is contamination from H. 1 (broken friendship of the eagle and the fox) and not-H. 184, in which a lion destroys the friendship between two bulls.

II 6 "The Eagle and the Crow (included in H. 259). Development of the fable of the eagle and the tortoise: now the crow takes part, advising the former of the way to break the shell of the tortoise to eat it. Added to the theme of nature are those of cunning and wickedness.

II 8 "The Stag to the Oxen" (not-H. 169) develops the theme of H. 22, except that here the fox is hidden by a woodcutter who reveals it, while in Phaedrus it is the master that uncovers the stag (theme of the eye of the master).

III 6 "The Fly and the Mule" (not-H. 221). The fly offers to stimulate the mule that is ploughing, the latter says that the one he fears is the master who holds the plough. A probable contamination of motifs from H. 140 "The Mosquito and the Bull" and H. 242 "The Bull and the Wild Goats" (theme: "it is not you whom I fear, but . . .".

IV 13 "The Monkey King" (not-H. 283). Anecdote of extended structure: it is dangerous to tell the truth to the powerful (to say to the monkey that he is a monkey). This derives from the two fables of the fox and the monkey, H. 14 and 83.

IV 14 "The Lion King" (not-H. 200) presupposes fables with the theme of the lion in the Augustana and Babrius, but more specifically H. 269 (in III), in which the sick lion makes another animal die (the wolf, at the instigation of the fox, in III; the monkey in Phaedrus).

IV 16 "Prometheus Drunk" (not-H. 268). The fable explains that there are homosexuals and lesbians on account of the intoxication of Prometheus, who put the changed sex on them. There is possibly the influence of the Platonic fable of spherical men, later divided and needing to unite with one of the same sex (*Symp.* 189 ff.).

IV 25 "The Ant and the Fly" (not-H. 112). Cf. H. 114: Phaedrus has developed the theme of this fable, but takes it further, praising the ant, while criticizing the impudent and idle fly. There is contamination with fables of the fly.

V 2 "Two Soldiers and a Thief" (not-H. 92). With other characters, the theme is identical to that of H. 66 "The Bear and the Walkers".

App. 1 "The Monkey and the Fox" (not-H. 282). The request by the monkey to the fox to lend him a piece of his tail to cover his rear depends on the theme of H. 83 "The Fox and the Monkey".

App. 19 "The Wolf and the Sow". The theme of the false doctor from whom the patient flees derives from H. 7 "The Cat and the

Hens". The closing statements are practically the same, although the characters are different.

App. 32 "The Woodlark and the Fox" (not-H. 299). The theme of the woodlark, who flies to prevent the fox devouring him on the ground, seems to come from the eagle and the fox in H. 1.

In these fables Phaedrus changes either the characters or the intention of the original fable to make this more expressive and direct; he sometimes contaminates to give relief and emphasis to certain themes. The traditional Phaedrian themes dominate, such as that of the powerful who abuse without scruples (I 30, IV 13, 14); that of the evil who abuse trust (I 3), divide friends to put an end to them (II 4), give perverse and clever advice (III 16); that of the animal who behaves in a vile manner, such as the ass (I 21), the fly (IV 25), the monkey (who nevertheless does not escape ruin, *App.* 1). There are, clearly, other traditional Cynic themes, although less well represented: that of the boasting of the stupid (III 6), the cowardice of the unfaithful friend (V 2), nature (*App.* 32), falsehood (*App.* 19). The fable II 8 (it is the master who really does the work) has to do with the praise of *ponos* or toil; the aetiology of homosexuals in IV 16, with the rejection of these by the Cynics.

It proves significant that, both when he slightly alters the traditional fabulistic material (whether it reaches our AnF. or not, either from one collection or another) and when, on the basis of it, he creates really new elements, Phaedrus repeats the same themes. Without scorning the other ones of which the Cynics approve, he prefers those in which the themes of the strong without scruples, political power and wickedness are allied. It is significant that in this series of fables created by him, we do not even find one example in which the clever weak defeat the powerful, as sometimes occurs in the fables of more traditional origin, thus tempering a little the bitter vision of political life in our poet. Yet there is the theme of the clever bad who fail in their intentions (the monkey in IV 14, the wolf in *App.* 19, the cat in *App.* 32).

As regards the form, Phaedrus maintains the traditional types, with certain modifications, but introduces developments of these. I call the simple verbal *agon* in short fables (III 6, V 2, *App.* 1, *App.* 19, *App.* 32) a traditional structure: it is closed with the generally ironic words of the victor. A similar case is II 6, except that here there is

no opposition, the speech of the crow (direct + indirect style) leads to the action of the eagle, who dashes the tortoise against the rocks. The story in an aetiological fable (IV 16) and the theme of the *eris* or confrontation between two animals, with two counterposed speeches, is also traditional. This occurs in IV 25 "The Ant and the Fly": and it is significant that it applies to a derivative of a fable that originally had a different structure. It is a form, on the other hand, that we have not found until now in Phaedrus: it is proof that he knew fables of this type.

At other times Phaedrus constructs relatively lengthy fables, which include, after the situation, a long narration, with agonal elements or speeches or an increase in tension by means of repeated actions. In I 21, 30, 31 fables of this type are closed with a lament: we may describe these as expanded situation fables, more or less contaminated with the agonal type. On the other hand, other complex fables, II 4, 8 and IV 14, finish with an element of action, which is frequent in the agonal fables of Phaedrus, as we already know.

It is not true that these altered fables entirely lack parallels in other collections, but they represent, in general terms, an innovation of our poet with respect to the Hellenistic collections. In a certain sense, they are within the fables of Phaedrus a vein different to another we have seen, which consists in reducing the traditional material and making it more concise and forceful. In these there is a search for this final "point", but after a story that tends towards the novellesque and complicated.

At this point let us move on to give the final list of fables of Phaedrus: those that we do not find appearing anywhere outside of him. This does not mean that they are inevitably all originals of his: we have already said that I 19 "The Bitch has Pups" has recently appeared in a papyrus, and that I 24 "The Frog that Burst and the Ox" depends on a model prior to Horace (cf. above, p. 58). However, it seems clear that in most cases we must be dealing with creations by Phaedrus only remotely inspired by known fabulistic themes; at other times they are anecdotes or novelettes unknown by other sources, although we cannot reject the possibility that sometimes Phaedrus re-elaborates already known material, as in the cases studied above.

In short, the criterion for establishing this list is to a certain degree our own ignorance. Yet I repeat that I think that most of their entries testify to the creativity of Phaedrus, they are *Aesopiae* fables,

not *Aesopi*, to use the same terms as the fabulist does. Characteristics of content and, particularly, of form of these show us this. First, however, we will give the list in question.

I 9 "The Sparrow Giving Advice to the Hare" (not-H. 258). The sparrow makes fun of the hare, who is hunted by the eagle, only to be captured in turn by the hawk: the hare consoles himself over his destiny and mocks his situation.

I 14 "From Shoemaker to Doctor" (not-H. 111). The false doctor is uncovered by the king, who reproaches those who trusted him: he was not even a good shoemaker and claimed to be a doctor.

I 15 "The Ass to the Old Shepherd" (not-H. 50). The ass refuses to flee from enemies, they are not going to put two saddles on him. Theme of the freedom of the poor.

I 16 "The Sheep, the Stag and the Wolf" (not-H. 241). Theme of the eternal suspicions of the weak against the tricky ones stronger than they are (how is the sheep going to claim back a loan from the wolf and the stag?).

I 17 "The Sheep, the Dog and the Wolf" (not-H. 240). The dog, a false accuser, and the wolf, a false witness, have the innocent sheep condemned. The wolf dies and the sheep affirms that it is the work of the gods.

I 24 "The Frog that Burst and the Ox" (not-H. 273). The frog swells to make itself as large as the ox, until it explodes. Theme of envy.

I 25 "The Dogs and the Crocodiles" (not-H. 160). The crocodiles reassure the dogs, but the latter do not trust them.

I 27 "The Dog, the Treasure and the Vultures" (not-H. 163). The dog that found the treasure dies of starvation as he guards it, as punishment for finding exhuming human bones. The vulture gives the lesson.

I 29 "The Ass that Made Fun of the Boar" (not-H. 52). The boar declines to retaliate against the insolence of the ass, as he is too short.

II 1 "The Calf, the Lion and the Thief" (not-H. 133). The lion is benevolent to the man, as opposed to the thief, as a reward for his modesty. Yet the epimythium says that in fact things are the other way round, the greedy are rich and the modest poor.

II 5 "Tiberius Caesar to the Servant" (not-H. 300). A long anecdote directed against those who claim to do useful things when in fact they do nothing. Against the hypocrisy and the tricks of the ambitious.

II 7 "The Two Mules and the Thieves" (not-H. 220). The thieves kill the mule loaded with coins and leave alone the one loaded with barley, whom they reject.

III 1 "The Old Woman to the Amphora" (not-H. 43). The old woman, on smelling an ancient amphora that had contained Falernian wine, thinks how much better it would have smelled at other times.

III 2 "The Panther and the Shepherds" (not-H. 256). The panther, who has been saved from the well where he fell, will only treat as enemies those who throw stones at him, not those who give him bread. Theme of gratitude.

III 4 "The Butcher and the Monkey" (not-H. 198). The monkey tastes as bad as it seems, says the butcher—which is contradicted by the epimythium, the face is not always the mirror of the soul.

III 5 "Aesop and a Villain" (not-H. 36). The evil man is not going to obtain more from Aesop than a small coin: so throw the stone at the rich man. This he does and is crucified. Mixture of the Cynic theme of II 7 and the theme of the punishment of evil.

III 9 "Socrates to His Friends" (not-H. 286). To the person who complains how small Socrates' house it, he answers that he wishes he could fill it with true friends.

III 10 "The Poet on Believing and Not Believing" (not-H. 263). A very long anecdote with a complex structure. Trusting and not trusting is dangerous.

III 11 "The Eunuch to an Evil Man" (not-H. 110). It is no crime to suffer what fortune imposes on us, it is only dishonourable to suffer what is deserved.

III 12 "The Chicken to the Pearl" (not-H. 271). Another will value the pearl a great deal, not the chicken. This is the Cynic theme of ἄνοια or foolishness, the significant aspect is that it is developed by the chicken itself.

III 13 "The Bees and the Drones Judged by the Wasps" (not-H. 44). Praise of work.

III 14 "Rest and Severity" (not-H. 205). Anecdote of Aesop: a bow needs to be loosened; a man, entertained.

III 16 "The Cicada and the Owl" (not-H. 170). The cicada, who does not want to cease in its reproaches, is deceived with flattery by the owl and dies. Punishment of those who do not have consideration for others.

III 17 "The Trees Protected by the Gods" (not-H. 48). Athena justifies the fact that the olive is her tree, on account of its usefulness. Theme of usefulness and the disdain for useless beauty.

III 18 "The Peacock to Juno" (not-H. 259). To the peacock, who complains about its voice, Juno says that each animal has its ability: we must be satisfied with what nature gives us.

IV 5 "An Enigmatic Testament" (not-H. 262). A long anecdote with structural innovations. Interpretation of a mysterious will, the product of the ingenious idea of the testator.

IV 11 "The Thief and the Lamp" (not-H. 113). Religion announces a punishment for a sacrilegious thief who stole the light from the lamp lit on the altar of Jupiter; and she establishes that from now on lamps are not to be lit on altars. Theme of the punishment of the impious mixed with another aetiological theme.

IV 15 "Prometheus" (not-H. 267). Aetiology of the virulent language of women.

IV 17 "The Bearded She-Goats" (not-H. 167). The she-goats complain to Zeus about not having beards, and the he-goats tell them that it would be a pointless ornament if they do not have their strength. Theme of nature together with that of reality and appearance.

IV 19 "The Dogs Send Ambassadors to Zeus" (not-H. 161). A long scatological aetiology about why dogs smell each other's rears, in the form of a lament or complaint to Zeus.

IV 21 "The Fox and the Snake" (not-H. 306). The insults of the fox against the snake, who spends his life guarding a treasure. Against misers.

IV 23 "On Simonides" (not-H. 284). Anecdote of Simonides, who takes all his goods with him (that is to say, his wisdom) and, when shipwrecked, is honoured and made wealthy in Clazomenae. Cynic theme.

V 1 "King Demetrius and the Poet Menander" (not-H. 90). Pseudo-historical anecdote: praise of Menander by Demetrius. Theme of spiritual beauty.

V 3 "The Bald Man and the Fly" (not-H. 159). Insults by the bald man against the fly: on condition that they punish the bad, they even accept suffering.

V 4 "The Ass and the Pig's Barley" (not-H. 51). The ass does not want the barley of the sacrificed pig. Better life than riches.

V 5 "The Clown and the Rustic" (not-H. 280). A long anecdote with a lax structure: mockery of those who consider appearance more truthful than reality.

V 7 "The Flute-player Princeps" (not-H. 265). Long anecdote based on a play on words in which the vanity of a flute-player is punished.

V 8 "Time" (not-H. 298). Description of time that passes and does not return: pure allegory that describes the statue of Καιρός, a work of Lysippus.

V 9 "The Bull and the Calf" (not-H. 297). Theme of experience: "I know it before you were born", the bull says to the calf.

V 10 "The Old Dog and the Hunter" (not-H. 166). That the hunter praises what the dog was when young, instead of reprimanding it now. Themes of humanity and nature.

App. 3 "You Must not Ask for More than is Right" (not-H. 54). To each animal Jupiter gave a different capacity; to man, intelligence. If he had everything, he would abuse it. There is no fabulistic story.

App. 4 "Mercury and the Two Women" (not-H. 216). Theme of the foolishness or ἄνοια of women.

App. 5–6 "Prometheus and Deceit" (not-H. 269). Aetiological theme, with the conclusion that deception brings bad consequences in the end.

App. 7 "We must Rely on the Meaning, not the Words" (not-H. 55). Interpretation of myths, which only the sage can perform. There is no fabulistic story.

App. 8 "On the Oracle of Apollo" (not-H. 239). Pious exhortation of the Pythian, without any action; epimythium that affirms the uselessness of her words.

App. 9 "Aesop and the Writer" (not-H. 38). Simple joke: Aesop approves of the writer praising himself, since no one else praises him.

App. 10 "Pompey and the Soldier" (not-H. 264). A long anecdote in which Pompey makes fun of the false oath of the soldier.

App. 11 "Juno, Venus and the Hen" (not-H. 131). Burlesque myth on the lecherousness of women.

App. 12 "The Calf and the Old Ox" (not-H. 132). Aesop tells a father a fable from which it is deduced that he must educate his son in virtue.

App. 13 "Aesop and the Victor in the Games" (not-H. 40). Mockery of the athlete: he should boast if he had triumphed when less strong, not more so.

App. 14 "The Ass to the Lyre" (not-H. 49). The ass finds a lyre and says that it would delight its ears if somebody skilled in playing it is found. Theme of ignorance.

App. 15 "The Two Pretenders" (not-H. 93). Long erotic anecdote in which Venus favours the poor man against the rich man.

App. 17 "Aesop and His Owner" (not-H. 35). Aesop is hit for criticizing his owner for her luxury: let her not expect him to tell the truth.

App. 18 "The Cock and the Cats Carrying Him in a Litter" (not-H. 74). As was predicted by the fox, the cats ended up eating the cock. Theme of nature and the dangers to which the powerful are exposed.

App. 20 "Aesop and the Fugitive Slave" (not-H. 39). Aesop advises the slave not to flee, it is going to be even worse than the present situation.

App. 22 "The Hungry Bear" (not-H. 304). Ingenious procedure of the bear to fish. Theme of Natural History, not a fable except for the epimythium: hunger sharpens the ingenuity.

App. 25 "The Snake and the Lizard" (not-H. 281). The lizard saves itself from the snake thanks to its ingenuity.

App. 26 "The Crow and the Sheep" (not-H. 174). The crow knows how to respect the strong and attack the weak, that is why it lives a thousand years.

App. 27 "Socrates and the Useless Slave" (not-H. 287). Theme of the evil man, who pleases those he does not have to, and vice versa.

App. 29 "The Prostitute and the Young Man" (not-H. 217). The young man exposes the lies of the prostitute.

App. 31 "The Butterfly and the Fly" (not-H. 257). An animal *agon*, which shows that the important thing is what we really are, not what we were.

We must place on record that this list does not include a series of prologues and other poems in which the author speaks directly, without the help of fables (see below).

It is easy to see that in these fables the animals appear in themes more or less closely related to those of the traditional fable: they face each other in action or words, there are also echoes of debates of animals or plants to establish who is superior. At other times, we have the lament of the defeated animal or the conclusion by a witness present. Yet we also have anecdotes attributed to characters such as Aesop, Demetrius, Simonides, Socrates, while others are placed in Roman environments or introduce anonymous characters. There are also burlesque myths, sometimes with an aetiological character.

However, some pieces can only be considered as fables in a very debatable manner. I refer not only to the prologues and epilogues, but also to pure statements by the author supported by small myths (*App.* 3 and 7), novelettes (*App.* 15), allegories (V 8), stories of Natural History (*App.* 22), speeches by allegorical characters (IV 11, *App.* 8). On the other hand, Phaedrus has recourse to innovations, as are fables that in fact have more than one intention, as well as to epimythia that are rather forced, when not contrary to the fable to which they are applied (II 1, III 4, *App.* 8).

If we move on to discuss the content, we must recognize that the distance with respect to the traditional range of themes of the fable is extended even more in relation to that of our previous list, that of the fables derived by Phaedrus from other ancient ones. Certainly, as in this list, the traditional themes continue, but the accent is displaced in the same direction as in this list, and even further.

As already occurred, the type centred around the ingenuity of the weak who triumph over the powerful, so frequent in the Classical fable, tends to disappear: in fact, we only find one example, that of the ingenious lizard of *App.* 25. Weak animals' mistrust of the stronger ones who want to capture them with their subtle deceptions certainly has ancient roots.

On the other hand, there are frequent fables with a Cynic character, mounted on animalistic, vegetable or human schemes (these are now more frequent); sometimes with a traditional structure, some-

times with a modified one, as we will see. It is difficult to classify the fables, since they may contain various motifs, as we have said. Here are the main ones:

Abuses of the powerful: I 9, I 16, I 17, *App.* 26.
Advantages of poverty: I 15, II 7, III 5, *App.* 15.
Power of nature: III 1, III 11, V 7, *App.* 3.
Appearance and reality: II 4, IV 17, V 5; the truth: I 14, *App.* 17, *App.* 31.
Boasting and greed: I 14, I 27, II 5, IV 21, V 7.
Ignorance: II 2, *App.* 14; wisdom: IV 23, V 1, *App.* 7.
Usefulness, useless beauty: III 17, III 18.
Praise of work: III 10.
Primacy of life: V 4; resignation: *App.* 20.
Scepticism with respect to friendship, distrust: III 9, III 10.
Need to enjoy yourself: III 14.
Sexual and scatological themes, misogyny: IV 15, IV 19, *App.* 4, 11, 15, 19.
Against athletes: *App.* 13.
Gratitude of the animal: III 2.

Together with this continuation of the Cynic fable, the theme of wickedness—already present, moreover, in some of the previous ones (and, to a limited extent, in the Hellenistic fable)—is characteristic of this sector of the fables of Phaedrus. Whether it is simply wickedness that prevails, whether it is wickedness punished.

There is, initially, a series of fables that describe the conduct of the evil man as totally opposed to that of the good man. Yet those that describe the punishment of evil are more interesting. The false witness is punished (I 17), the lion gives part of his prey to the walker and not to the thief (II 1), the thief is crucified (III 5), the miser starves to death (I 27), the panther only attacks those who have treated it badly (III 2), the inhuman cicada is killed by the owl (III 16), the sacrilegious thief is punished (IV 11), the vain impersonator is driven away from the theatre (V 7), the lie is always punished (*App.* 5–6). This theme is linked to the rather unfabulistic one of virtue rewarded: this is the case in II 1 and III 2, but curiously the epimythium of the first fable denies that it happens this way. Just as *App.* 8 denies that men follow the piety that the fable recommends.

Phaedrus praises virtue (*App.* 12), attacks the baseness of certain

characters (I 29, III 5). Yet he is rather sceptical of the idea that the moral world that he recommends exists in practice; such as in III 4, the epimythium denies that things are what they seem, the affirmation of the fable. In short, Phaedrus takes the moralization of the fable even further than any fabulist, adding to the traditional Cynic themes that of the sharp division between good and bad people and the punishment of the latter, characteristic of the moralism with Stoic roots. It is significant that in these original fables the theme is rather dissociated from that of power and politics, treated more closely in the inherited ones. And the poet is not totally at ease on an ambiguous terrain: that of affirming the prevalence of good when not only the traditional fable that he continued to cultivate, but also his personal experiences show that this is very often not the case.

Phaedrus is also a great innovator in another aspect: in the introduction of various anecdotes, many of them contemporary, which, although they deal with themes connected with the traditional ones, are to a large extent new. Frequently Phaedrus, in these long stories, moves away not only from the fabulistic style but also from the intention of the fabulist. He is pleased to simply relate amusing matters or an erotic novelette that ends well, such as *App.* 15. In these free themes, with human characters, Phaedrus dares to go further than in the others, to extend the boundaries of the genre, moving it closer to the romance and the tale. Although, certainly, there were points of support in his models to proceed in this way.

Also from the standpoint of the form we find an ambiguity in this sector of the Phaedrian fable. We find, once again, the traditional types, but also others, evolved or simply new.

The most characteristic element of the form of these fables is, in my view, that schemes of very different length, short, medium and long, are maintained, making the long ones much longer than before; and the traditional types of situation plus direct speech (sometimes, in their place, action), situation plus simple *agon* (verbal or of action, or mixed) and situation plus double *agon* are also maintained, creating different variants alongside each other: simple situation or story, modifications of the types of simple or double *agon*, "free" expanded structure with a mixture of speeches and stories.

These forms, partly traditional, partly modified, do not always correspond, however, to their ancient contents.

Specifically, the type of situation plus direct speech was traditional

in the fables that we called precisely situation fables. Now a continuation may be found, for example, in *App.* 14 "The Ass to the Lyre", III 12 "The Chicken to the Pearl", but more often the type conceals a more or less agonal theme, the "closing statement" may contain a satire or an answer; cf., for example, III 11 "The Eunuch to an Evil Man", V 9 "The Bull and the Calf". It may be the case that even an aetiological fable takes this form; cf. IV 11 "The Thief and the Lamp". Or that a simple story has it, as is the case with *App.* 8 "The Oracle of Apollo".

That is to say, the types of fables tend to lose their formal boundaries and to be mixed. On the other hand, the type that we are discussing experiences variations. Sometimes it becomes a simple short story; cf. V 8, an allegory; *App.* 22, Natural History; *App.* 5–6, aetiological story. Of course here an ancient tradition has an influence on this. At other times, without modifying the structure, the situation tends to be converted into a more complex story, for example in I 24 "The Frog that Burst and the Ox", with à story with a climax, as in other stories we have seen. Or the final closing statement may be replaced with an action that culminates the situation, as is the case in *App.* 25 "The Snake and the Lizard", *App.* 18 "The Cock and the Cats Carrying Him in a Litter" (where the situation includes a speech of the fox).

The second of the types we have discussed is very frequent, the one that includes situation plus *agon* of various sub-types; although, due to this tendency towards the blurring of the types we have discussed, sometimes there is not precisely an *agon*, but a simple dialogue or commentary. It usually ends with an ironic or amusing closing statement. For example, the dialogue of the wolf and the sheep in *App.* 26 is nothing more than an explanatory comment on the situation; cf. also III 4, V 3, for example. Yet there is a verbal *agon* in *App.* 13 "Aesop and the Victor in the Games", for example. In any event, every time there is more of a change from the true confrontation to the more or less amusing discussion or to the simple comment.

Occasionally, on the other hand, this scheme expands in one way or another: either by complicating the situation or narration or by adding some further element. This is the case in II 7 "The Two Mules and the Thieves", the story consists of an *agon* of action (the thieves attack, a mule dies) followed by the comment of the mule that survives. In III 18 "The Peacock to Juno", the verbal *agon* is followed by a new intervention by Juno, who appeals to the fates. In

III 13 "The Bees and the Drones Judged by the Wasp", everything becomes complicated on account of two interventions by the latter.

The fables with double *agon* are very frequent, with the intervention of verbal elements and action, depending on the case. There is usually more agonal content in them, of the type of the debate: we have already seen that this is common in Phaedrus. This is the case in the fable of the ass and the boar, I 19, in the debate of Jupiter and Athena on the usefulness of trees in III 17, etc. The type is used, in more or less varied form, in new fables such as that of "Tiberius Caesar to the Servant" (II 5). The scheme, moreover, may end up as a simple open dialogue, such as in III 15, or be used with a total breakage of the continuity of the story, as is the case in "Aesop and a Villain" in III 5: Aesop says to the villain that he will get more from a rich man and, when he throws a stone at him, what he obtains is to be condemned to death. Once again, form and content do not agree exactly.

And it also happens, of course, that there are formal variations. Thus, in *App.* 17 "Aesop and his Owner", the first *agon* multiplies into a series of retorts and rejoinders, and at the end a new speech by Aesop is added. A similar expansion is to be found in III 2. And we could continue.

This is the path, with ancient precedents, moreover, through which Phaedrus has reached his "free", very long fables, in which there is a long story into which speeches are inserted and which usually finishes with an action or a culminating closing statement. These are usually his newer fables, sometimes contemporary anecdotes, to which we have already referred. I 14 "From Shoemaker to Doctor", *App.* 4 "Mercury and Two Women", *App.* 10 "Pompey and the Soldier", IV 13 "The Monkey King", may be good examples.

To all the above-mentioned we must add that also in the fables that are probably or almost certainly originals of Phaedrus, the poet maintains the ancient recourse of presenting them within a setting, as an exemplum for somebody in a given circumstance. This is the case in *App.* 12, in which Aesop tells a father the fable of the calf and the ox, to illustrate the theme of the education of his son. In III 10, the fable, which illustrates that both trust and distrust are dangerous, begins with a learned discourse by the poet, who introduces the fable, closing this with no less than three epimythia. And this also occurs in other fables. Also in this sector of fables, Phaedrus has allied the tradition with audacious innovations.

V. *Conclusions*

We have been able to see during the course of this study how we must imagine Phaedrus' models and how he used them. By way of the selection or introduction of innovations or by pure and simple creation, he accentuates in a certain sense the features of content of the ancient Cynic and Cynic-Stoic fable, which he adapts to fit his Roman moment and his situation of political and moral criticism. As regards the types of fables and the form in general, Phaedrus is eclectic, also in terms of content. The tradition of the "mixed" collections continues: but also in this he introduces modifications. In his hands the ancient sub-types of the fable tend to be blurred and to make this a more flexible and lively instrument. Occasionally it surpasses the boundaries of the fabulistic genre as such.

Phaedrus, in short, works on a collection of fables that contains mixed material. This collection is also the ancestor of the AnF.s, more specifically, of the Augustana, with two exceptions. In general, Phaedrus is more innovative, but the case also occurs that it is the Augustana that has innovated and Phaedrus who preserves the ancient version. Yet this collection also contained fables that were not included in AnF.s (sometimes, only sometimes, they later ended up converging within the general current of the AnF.s) and that, on the other hand, ended up in Babrius, the Syriac versions, Plutarch, etc. This is what we will call (cf. p. 278) "Ancient Augustana": an antecedent of our Augustana with far fewer fables (but some extra ones too) and a more archaic text.

The fables of this collection were sometimes single models, which also crossed over into other collections, specifically, to the one followed by Babrius. Yet at other times he (and other fabulists) presents independent versions: sometimes primary also, sometimes secondary. They linked up with those others in a different collection from the one habitually followed by Phaedrus (and AnF.). We have discussed collection II in comparison with collection I, stressing that the two, to a large extent, have common fables in identical versions or derived from identical versions.

There are cases in which Phaedrus follows a secondary version, the same one as Babrius. He knew collection II then—although he used it less frequently—or else he knew a small partial collection that merged with II at some point. And at the same point he took from collection I fables that the AnF.s did not take, from this or

from II he took fables that Babrius did not take and which, on the other hand, appear in other fabulists. Yet fables that are also in Plutarch or that were later collected by AnF. III or by the ms. F may very well come from small marginal collections.

Other fables of Phaedrus, certainly very numerous, are only found in him. Sometimes they may be fables from the collections disregarded by the other fabulists. At others, they are contaminations of known fables or more or less close derivations from them.

However, Phaedrus also used two other recourses: the creation of fables starting from anecdotes and χρεῖαι that are unlikely to have been fabulized (and versified) before him; and the pure and simple creation of new fables inspired by general features (of content and form) from the traditional fables, as well as on different real or imaginary events. From his first book, Phaedrus mixes fables from both origins. Although we will see a certain evolution.

Whether the origin of the fables is one or the other, the tendencies of Phaedrus force their way through. We have already indicated these. It is with regard to the content that there is greater community in his cultivation of traditional Cynic themes, and in his accentuation of the political and moral themes that most interest him in (the abuse of the powerful, the villain punished, avidity and greed). If at all it can be said that in the "free" fables there is an opening towards the fable that is pure amusement and story.

With regard to the form, we have seen, on the other hand, that there are certainly some constants, but the more the Phaedrian fable distances itself from the specific models of the Hellenistic collections, the more it tends to make itself original. He confuses the traditional sub-types of fables, he tends to abandon some, to create open and unpredictable structures.

Phaedrus is the most original of all the ancient fabulists, both for the creation of new fables and for his tendency to concentrate on certain contents and for his formal innovations. We will now attempt to see if by examining his books one by one we can find the trace of an evolution or not. We must warn the reader that the task is not easy, due to the state of the transmission of the poet. The five books have a very unequal length, due undoubtedly to reductions that we can only save to a certain extent by means of the *Appendix Perottina*: to a certain extent because we do not know from which book each of the fables of the *Appendix Perottina* comes and because

it is not complete. We have said that in the Medieval tradition there are more fables of Phaedrian origin, which we will not study now, as, of course, we do not know from which book they come. We do not even know whether the fables that we find in each of the five books belonged to them in ancient times (their existence is certain, on account of the prologues and epilogues). While there is no data against this, we must therefore believe it. Let us study them, then, to draw some conclusions.

This study has two parts. One, to see the distribution of the different types of fables in the books, as regards the origin, which we have established: whether it is significant or not. Another, to study these books from the standpoint of the content and form of the fables, also to see if there are significant facts in this respect.

We will begin with the distribution by books. Taking into account that, apart from the prologues and epilogues, we leave out of consideration II 9, IV 7 and 22 and *App.* 2, since these are not really fables, and that *App.* 5–6 are a single fable, the number of these is 122: 31 from book I, 8 from II, 19 from III, 24 from IV, 10 from V and 30 from the Appendix. As was already indicated, the fables known only through the Medieval tradition are left out.

We are going to distribute these fables, book by book, in six sections, which have already been indicated: Ia (fables in Phaedrus and the Augustana), Ib (idem in Phaedrus and the Accursiana); IIa (fables in Phaedrus and in other collections, not in AnF.), IIb (idem in Phaedrus and anecdotes or χρεῖαι); IIIa (fables derived, in the broad sense, from other well known ones), IIIb (idem new). We repeat that there are links between the groups, in which it is sometimes our lack of data that is reflected in the classification:

	I	II	III	IV	V	*App.*	Total
Ia	12	2	–	11	–	2	27
Ib	–	–	1	–	–	1	2
IIa	6	–	1	–	1	3	11
IIb	1	–	3	2	–	–	6
IIIa	3	3	1	4	1	3	15
IIIb	9	3	13	7	8	21	61
Total	31	8	19	24	10	30	122

If we now go into the analysis of this table, the first thing we notice is that the number of fables freely invented is as high as the sum of all the other groups: 61 fables. If free derivations of ancient fables and fabulizations of anecdotes and χρεῖαι are added, we see that the fables that derive very directly from other traditional ones, whether they are in AnF. or not, are quite limited in number.

A second analysis, relative to the books, requires certain prior clarifications. Even supposing that the original distribution in what is preserved in books from I to V has been preserved, it is clear that some of these books were significantly "lightened", with their fables crossing over either to the *Appendix* or to the Medieval tradition; others were simply lost, undoubtedly. This means that the conclusions that may be drawn are less reliable for the books that kept a small number of fables, specifically, II and V. On the other hand, it is not possible to attempt to obtain conclusions for the *Appendix*. This is none other than what remains of the collection of fables published by the humanist Niccolò Perotti once the fables known through other sources (fundamentally, the *Codex Pithoeanus*) and those of Avianus were subtracted. Perotti, evidently, knew some manuscripts of Phaedrus that contained fables that have only reached us through him, apart from the ones known: he selected, it seems, from both. Yet we cannot say to which books the fables of the *Appendix Perottina* originally belonged. It is obvious, in any event, that mainly "new" fables were collected in it, those eliminated from the *Pithoeanus* and the rest of the tradition.

Once matters have been presented in this way, however, some hypotheses may be made on the evolution of Phaedrus. If the six sections we have established are reduced to two, that of the fables with ancient documentation (Ia, Ib, IIa) and that of the fables freely derived or without documentation (IIb, IIa, IIIb), it is shown that the first group dominates in book I (18 compared with 13); in III, the second (17 compared with 2); in IV they are about equal (11 compared with 13), and in V the second dominates again (1 compared with 9). In any event, the results are less reliable for the latter, given the short length to which it has been reduced for us, and even less for II, although its proportion is, moreover, similar (2 compared with 6).

Judging by the prologues and epilogues, the books of the collection were published separately; and we must indicate a critical moment, the persecution of the poet by Sejanus, mentioned in the

prologue to book III, which some interpret as crystallizing in a censoring or prohibition of I–II. On the other hand, and returning to these prologues, some statements are made in them that are of interest in our context:

I. Phaedrus attributes to himself only the fact that he "refined" into senarii the "material" that Aesop discovered; and he justifies the genre because it causes laughter and gives wise advice.

II. He does not add anything new. The fable aims to correct the error of mortals.

III. Phaedrus says that he wrote this book "in the style of Aesop" and adds the incident with Sejanus (motivated by I–II), linking it to the explanation of the origin of the fable as a genre which, in a time of slavery, stated figuratively what the author did not dare say directly. This book, undoubtedly written after the death of Sejanus, speaks more clearly on the intention of the fable and, more specifically, undoubtedly, than I–II.

IV. More clearly even that in the previous prologue, Phaedrus says that he calls his fables "Aesopic, not of Aesop, because he created few, while I compose more using the ancient genre but with new elements".

V. Phaedrus emphasizes that if he entitles his fables with the name of Aesop, it is, after recognizing what he owes him, to give these authority. He compares them with those who attribute their own works to Praxiteles or to Zeuxis.

Phaedrus is increasingly aware of his originality; and at a given moment, in the prologue to III, he concentrates the interest of I–II in the political theme. Let us compare these statements with what we may deduce from a direct study. Initially, on the problem of the tradition or innovation of the fables.

If, within the group I–II, we leave II out of our consideration for reasons already stated, it is clear that in I the fables with ancient documentation exceed the others in number, but that the latter already exist. And it is no less clear that in III, published later, after the death of Sejanus, there is an evolution: the "new" fables and the fabulizations are more numerous. Later, in IV, a certain balance is re-established. V turns again towards the new fable, but we have already said that the book has been very reduced.

In short: from the very beginning Phaedrus knew all the procedures for fabulizing, which he was to use throughout his career. Yet

there is a quantitative difference: the "new" fables are introduced first in limited numbers, in a tentative way, and in gradually increasing numbers, a fact of which the poet is very conscious. On the other hand, we have seen that the derived and new fables are created in formal terms based on the ancient models, but that they are formally more original. Logically, the proportion of fables that are more independent as regards the tradition, the form, and even the content, increases book by book.

As regards the themes, some considerations may be made that are not very different from these. The wide range of Cynic themes is developed by Phaedrus from the first book, but it seems clear to me that the political and related themes (abuse of power and greed in general), which, as we have already seen, are the ones favoured by the poet, dominate in this more than in the other books. This irrespective of whether these themes involve that of punishment or not—some do, some do not—the poet hesitates between his moralistic conceptions and the tradition of the fable, confirmed on too many occasions by the spectacle of contemporary life. This also has to do with the progressive entrance of the derived fables and, particularly, the free ones, which occasionally innovate thematically, as has been said. We must emphasize, on the other hand, the fact already noted that throughout Phaedrus' work the theme of power that is abused tends to be replaced with that of wickedness in general terms. The traditional Cynic themes are maintained with a certain consistency.

It is interesting that in book I, but not only in this one, the order in which the fables have been transmitted to us often agrees with groupings relative to the tradition of these fables and even to the theme. It is significant, for example, that the first eight fables of I are of the types Ia and IIa (traditional fables). Later there is an alternation of groups of derived or new fables (9–10; 14–17) and traditional fables (11–13; 18–20). Although this is not always so. This theme merits a special study, as does that of the division into the formal sub-types. Yet it gives the impression of a search for variety with respect to the sources, with differences according to the groups, as there is variety in other respects (length of fables, types of composition, etc.).

Book I emphasizes more than any, as has been said, the theme of the abuse of power, principally expressed by means of traditional fables. We have already seen how the theme, although it has ancient roots, becomes more piercing and incisive in Phaedrus. This is the

case in I 1 "The Wolf and the Lamb", with its epimythium against those who "with fake causes oppress the innocent"; 2 "The Frogs Asking for a King", with explicit reference to the tyranny of Pisistratus; 3 "The Proud Rook and the Peacock", which is contaminated with two fables to present the spectacle of the foolish who despises his own (the underlying theme is the "kingdom" of the birds); 4 "The Dog that Carried a Piece of Meat", theme of voraciousness; 5 "The Cow, the Goat, the Sheep and the Lion", in which the culminating theme is that of "the lion's share"; 6 "The Frogs in the Sun", on the risk of the perpetuation of tyranny. Later, starting from 7, there is something of a change of theme, but the one that concerns us appears again occasionally, although with less insistence. It would be possible to make other observations on the fables of the other books: it is easy, we believe, after this study.

Phaedrus is the most original of the ancient fabulists. We have already said this; we have also said that he resuscitated the ancient function of the fable as a popular expression against the dominant classes and abuses of all orders. It seems that we must take Phaedrus completely seriously when he says in the prologue to book II what he did not dare say before: the root of his fabulizing lies in the satirical and moral intention against the powerful and, more specifically, against Sejanus. Phaedrus used more or less altered traditional fables to this end, as we have seen: with a more lively, more rhetorical, more piercing composition. And he used them, as we have also seen, following various collections, not only the one that is the model for the Augustana. Yet he immediately expanded both the theme (also taking others from the fabulistic tradition and particularly emphasizing that of wickedness, sometimes triumphant, sometimes punished) and the inspiration for his fables, sometimes only slightly connected with the traditional models.

With the passage of time, Phaedrus moved more and more freely in the world of the fable, both as regards themes and as regards materials and form. He always remained eclectic, but to different and changing degrees. This is, at least, what we may imagine on the basis of the remnants, which are quite reduced and disintegrated, of his collection.

Supplement to Part two, Chapter one

On the role of the fable in the Roman period, cf.:

B. F. FISCHER, *A History of the use of Aesop's Fables as a School Text from the Classical Era through the Nineteenth Century,* Ann Arbor 1991, pp. 28 ff.

Nothing of interest has been published on the relationship between Phaedrus and the Aesopic tradition. There are, however, some good discussions of the fabulist:

M. J. LUZZATTO, *Fedro. Un poeta tra favola e realtà.* Turin, 1976;
P. L. SCHMIDT, "Politisches Argument und moralischer Appell: zur Historizität der antiken Fabel im frühkaiserzeitlichen Rom", *Der Deutsche Unterricht* 31, 1979, pp. 74–88;
H. Macl. CURRIE, "Phaedrus the Fabulist", in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* II 32,1, pp. 497–513;
C. CHAPARRO GÓMEZ, "Aportación a la estética de la fábula greco-latina: análisis y valoración de la *brevitas* fedriana", *Emerita* 54, 1986, pp. 123–150;
A. ÖNNERFORS, "Textliches und Sprachliches zu Phaedrus", *Hermes* 115, 1987, pp. 429–453;
S. JEDRKIEWICZ, "Fedro e la verità", *QUCC* 63, 1990, pp. 121–128;
S. KOSTER, "Phaedrus: Skizze seiner Selbstauffassung", in: P. NEUKANN (ed.), *Die Antike im Brennpunkt,* München 1991, pp. 59–87;
N. HOLZBERG, "Phaedrus in der Literaturkritik seit Lessing. Alte und neue Wege der Interpretation", *Anregung* 37, 1991, pp. 226–242;
N. HOLZBERG, *op. cit.,* 1993, pp. 43–46;
M. MAÑAS, *Fedro/Aviano. Fábulas,* Madrid 1998, pp. 19–165.

On the *Appendix,* see:

G. MILANESE, "Due note all' 'Appendix Perottina'", *GIF n.s.* 12 (33), 1981, pp. 231–233;
S. BOLDRINI, "Perotti e le favole di Fedro (la formazione dell'*Epitome*)", *Res Publica Litterarum* 8, 1985, pp. 9–20;
S. BOLDRINI, "Il codice di Fedro usato da Niccoló Perotti", *Res Publica Litterarum* 12, 1989, pp. 9–16;
S. BOLDRINI, "Una testimonianza delle 'favole nuove' di Fedro prima di Perotti: Gualtiero Anglico XLVIII", *Res Publica Litterarum* 13, 1990, pp. 19–26.

There are some articles that study specific fables.

On Phaedrus 1.1, see S. IUVARA, "Fedro 1,1: 'demistificazione' della favola?", *Atti e Memorie dell'Accademia Patavina di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti* 86.3, 1973–1974, pp. 339–354.
On Phaedrus 1.2, see O. ZWIERLEIN, "Jupiter und die Frösche", *Hermes* 117, 1989, 182–191.
On Phaedrus 1.3, see P. HAMBLENNE, "Le choucas chez les paons (Phaedr., 1, 3): Phèdre, Séjan ou Pallas?", *LEC* 49, 1981, pp. 125–133.
On Phaedrus 4.7, see A. CAVARZERE, "La trama allusiva di Fedro IV 7", *Atti e Memorie dell'Accademia Patavina di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti* 86.3, 1973–1974, pp. 99–119.
On Phaedrus 4.24, see A. GUAGLIANONE, "De Phaedri fabula IV 24 quaestiuncula", *RFIC n.s.* 35 (85), 1957, pp. 253–255.

CHAPTER TWO

BABRIUS

I. *General*

Also in the case of Babrius, our study is going to attempt to complete and move forward the advances of Vol. I of this work. It will be recalled, indeed, that on pp. 100 ff. I indicated what is the approximate state of the question in relation to the Babrius of the Athous manuscript, the other choliambic fables preserved (which the compilers include in their editions of Babrius, numbered starting from 124) and the paraphrases and dodecasyllables derived from the choliambic tradition. And that later, on pp. 594 ff., I advanced some conclusions on the relationship between the fables of Babrius and the other collections: in short, on their origin and situation in the *stemmata* of the ancient fable. Of course, I worked on various antecedents collected in my work, repeatedly mentioned, "La tradición fabulística griega . . .",[1] and taken further in that volume, particularly with the assistance of the comparison with paraphrases and dodecasyllables. Among these antecedents, we must make special mention of that of Nøjgaard.[2] I also refer to works of mine relative to the fables of the Rylands Papyrus that are also in Babrius or in the paraphrases.[3]

Neither is it significant that my statements on the aforementioned pages left numerous questions open and that, as in the case of Phaedrus, some of my provisional conclusions (and those of other authors, where I did not take sides in the places cited) will now be rectified. In fact I must say that my chapter on Phaedrus, insofar as it studies fables common to this fabulist and Babrius, has already advanced along the road along which we will now continue.

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[1] I, pp. 264 ff.; II, pp. 2 ff.

[2] *Op. cit.*, II, pp. 370 ff.

[3] Fables of "The Wild Boar, the Horse and the Hunter" and of "The Owl (or Swallow) and the Birds". The works to which I refer are "El papiro Rylands . . .", "La fábula de la golondrina . . ." and "De nuevo sobre la fábula de la golondrina . . ." (cf. also above, Vol. I, pp. 589 ff.).

Specifically, it has established that if it is true that very often Babrius is aligned within a diverging tradition from that of Phaedrus and AnF., this is not always the case. That chapter is going to serve us, partially at least, as a model for this one and those that follow.

Nothing new is to be added with respect to the dating of the work of Babrius and to the character of Babrius himself, if it is not a reference to an article by J. Vaio,[4] in which he shows that the name of Valerius Babrius, attributed by some to the poet on the basis of an initial indication of a manuscript, is due to a simple confusion; the name of Babrius is the only one of which we are certain.

Perhaps it is not superfluous here to offer a short exposition of the unresolved problems relative to the *stemma* of Babrius, revealing, from the beginning, that they cannot be definitively resolved in this chapter on Babrius, since we must wait for the in depth study of the paraphrases and dodecasyllables (and even of other material). On the subject of this, we must advance that certain conclusions that I drew on paraphrases and dodecasyllables in Vol. I, pp. 109 ff. (on the basis of my previous publication "La tradición fabulística griega . . ."), certainly represent an advance on the previous state of the question, but must to a certain extent by completed or rectified.

If we recall, although the compilers of Babrius add to the fables of the Athous (1–123 of Babrius) various choliambic fables coming from the manuscripts G and Mb, of the Assendelft Tablets, of the Pseudo-Dositheus and of Tzetzes, the study of these sources and of the paraphrases and Byzantine dodecasyllables leads to the conclusion that the Babrius of the Athous comes from an alphabetization that destroyed the ancient organization of the work of the poet into two books (known through the existence of two prologues and through a reference from Avianus). Also, we are not sure that the alphabetizer did not introduce choliambic fables not in Babrius and leave some of these out (apart from those of the end of the alphabetical order, starting from the letter O, which were lost). A second conclusion is that the fables of G, Mb and the paraphrases and dodecasyllables come from a second alphabetization that sometimes contained identical fables to those of the Athous, sometimes others not known by it, sometimes different versions of the same fables. Both alphabetizations show traces of contaminations, but in themselves they are

[4] New non-evidence for the name of Babrius", *Emerita* 48, 1980, pp. 1–3.

independent: they do not contain duplications. I advance, in any event, that the concept of a second alphabetization is too simplistic, sometimes, depending on whether the mss., have integrated different models in it.

This state of things makes doubts arise on precisely the concept of what "Babrius" is. Of course we only know the first alphabetization incompletely (due to the mutilation of the Athous) and the second only indirectly, for the most part; also, the case of the isolated choliambic fables (in T.Assend., Pseudo-Dositheus, etc.) is not clear. Even so, we may form an adequate idea of these. And it may be deduced with all certainty that if there exist, sometimes, two versions of the same fable, this means that some choliambic fables are not from Babrius: that in the vast group of "Babrian" choliambic fables (we have already elucidated this concept with the help of statements by Babrius himself on the existence of imitators of his), there was sometimes one, sometimes a number of versions of the same fable, and that some of these versions were from Babrius, others not. The alphabetizers chose freely: sometimes the same fables, sometimes other different ones or ones in different versions. And they followed the principle of not repeating themselves.

This takes us, firstly, to the problem, already posed in Vol. I, and even in my previous article, on the Babrian authenticity of choliambic fables of G, Mb, T.Assend. and the others published by Crusius and Perry as Babrius 124 onwards. Since the fact that some fables of these sources agree with those of the Athous does not mean that they come from the same alphabetization that is at the basis of this ms., whose identification with Babrius is, moreover, a mere hypothesis. Specifically, G and Mb come, as we have said, from the second alphabetization. There is no argument to support the idea that the fables of these sources that are not in the Athous are all from Babrius insofar as they are choliambic. And even less if we note that there are prosaic fables and fables in iambic trimetres in these sources.

In any event, it is appropriate to show that the facts are even more complicated than what may be deduced from this scheme. If we start with the second alphabetizer, as the model for the paraphrases and dodecasyllables, we must note that:

a) This alphabetizer had collected fables that also entered the Athous, but not all those that entered it: he sometimes selected other

fables or other versions of these. In one case, that of B. 43, we have the second version in T.Assend. 12, which gave rise to one paraphrase, on a date undoubtedly prior to the creation of the second alphabetization. On the other hand, the paraphrases and dodecasyllables sometimes testify to the existence of more than one ancient model.

b) The inclusion, hastily, of G in the second alphabetization, lends itself to doubts, because this manuscript includes the versions of the Athous of four fables where the paraphrases follow another variant. If we do not wish to admit that there were duplicates in the second alphabetization, we must conclude that G could have been contaminated either with the tradition of the Athous (first alphabetization) or with a stage prior to the two alphabetizations. Yet the idea that there were various versions of a same fable and that the alphabetizations were created starting from that mass is more likely.

In short, G, Mb, T.Assend. must be investigated to see to what extent their fables not equal to those of the Athous present the same *stemma* as those of the latter and to what extent not.[5] Likewise, in other chapters, the paraphrases and dodecasyllables, and also other traces of choliambic fables of a Babrian type that underlie our other sources must be investigated.

We are initially going, then, to study the fables of the Athous, without making prior judgements on their descent from Babrius or not: it is a question of seeing their homogeneity with regard to the *stemma*, comparing it with their homogeneity with regard to length, structure and theme, which also present problems. After this, we must attempt to form an idea on the rest of the choliambic tradition, to which we are referring. Of course, the study of this tradition will only be finished in other chapters. Because it is clear that our collections are all mixed, as we have seen, but the problem is to what extent this mixed character is independent from that of Babrius, and derives from different sources of the fabulistic tradition and to what extent it is derived from the initial state of the collection of Babrius, later reorganized in various collections and subcollections (with the addition, if what we believe is true, of extraneous material).

So far, in Vol. I, pp. 532 ff., and in the chapter "Phaedrus" of this same volume, we have predominantly dealt with the Babrius of the Athous; although we have already expressed our doubts on the Babrian authorship of the choliambs from other sources (and even

[5] Cf. "La tradición fabulística griega . . .", II, p. 37.

of some of the Athous), in practice we have dealt with the problem of the sources of both as the same. Now we must refine our discussion further. Yet we let us indicate the current state of our research and what we presume we must rectify from the previous treatment.

In Vol. I, pp. 594 ff., we showed that Babrius preserved traces of Hellenistic metre, particularly in the formulas; and we proposed that it derived from the versified collection coming from Demetrius, the same from which later, once prosified, came the Augustana. This was a tentative proposal, which more or less fitted in with the Nøjgaard's hypothesis that Babrius comes from a different line from that of AnF. and Phaedrus: if that proposal were admitted, the line from which comes Babrius would be prior to this and coming from the other, a choliambic one.

Throughout this volume, the study of the typology of the relationships between the collections has enabled us to arrive at a more complete and realistic knowledge of what the proliferation of collections in the Hellenistic Age was, whether metrical and not. We have seen that there are different cases: those in which there was only one metrical version (this is the case for many fables) and those in which there were two or more primary metrical versions or there were even secondary metrical versions. The problem of the *stemma* of Babrius and of the rest of the Babrian tradition is therefore more complicated. And even more so if we add the existence of prosified versions derived from the metrical versions. It does not seem sustainable today that Babrius always and strictly derives from metrical versions and, specifically, from a single metrical version of each fable. Although it is clear that both Babrius and the Babrian tradition in general derive conclusively from the same tradition as the rest of the fable: a tradition different from that of *PRyl.* and more or less far removed from or close to that of AnF., as the case may be.

To restrict ourselves now to the Babrius of the Athous, in our chapter on Phaedrus we have obtained some conclusions for the fables appearing in Babrius, Phaedrus and AnF. I or else in Babrius and Phaedrus, being absent from the version of AnF. I. Of course, in that chapter we have not entered into the study of fables of Babrius that are absent from Phaedrus, whatever the other appearances are (nor, of course, of the fables that are only in Babrius). We have given a report on those that are in Babrius and absent from Phaedrus and AnF. I, sometimes being found in another source, in Vol. I, pp. 532 ff.

The study in question has partially rectified conclusions of Nøjgaard

that are undoubtedly valuable but nevertheless based on an incomplete study of the dossier of the fables and without taking the metrical data into account. It is true that often the version of Babrius is set in opposition to another that has left traces in Phaedrus and AnF. I; but this is not always the case. In fact, we have only found one fable (the one corresponding to H. 154 "The Lion, the Ass and the Fox") that is the exception to a rule that we formulate as follows: when there are two models, whether of the same or of different hierarchy, Phaedrus goes with AnF. I against Babrius; and if the models are of different hierarchy, AnF. I and Phaedrus depend on the primary version and Babrius on the secondary one. On the other hand, in fables not appearing in AnF. I, but which are in Phaedrus and Babrius, it is easy to see that the versions of these two depend on a single model, sometimes a secondary model.

We have postulated, in short, the existence of a collection I or "Ancient Augustana", from which AnF. I and Phaedrus fundamentally derive, and a collection II, from which Babrius derives. These collections partly have identical fables in identical versions: a phenomenon that is repeated later, within the Babrian tradition, with the two alphabetizations. Yet we have seen that Phaedrus also knew collection II and introduced fables of various origins and even invented ones. It is the moment, then, to investigate Babrius' position.

But to investigate this taking into account the situation within the *stemma* of very different collections, including the paraphrases and dodecasyllables, which, however, must later be the object of a special study. And distinguishing between the Babrius of the Athous, that of the other small collections and that of paraphrases and dodecasyllables. Taking into account that the second and third groups may partially not be Babrius and that we have even proposed that it is not certain that his does not also happen in the first.

This study of *stemmata* must be accompanied, as was the parallel one on Phaedrus, by a literary study showing the modifications that Babrius contributed to his model. In fact, this study has a precedent in the careful literary study to which Nøjgaard submitted Babrius' collection (the one published by Crusius and Perry, that is to say, the set of the first and second groups together). It is an interesting and sensitive study, but it has two starting handicaps: that of lacking a sufficient basis of *stemmata*, as we have said; and that of not distinguishing between the Babrius of the Athous and the other

Babrius (and not taking into account the Babrius of the paraphrases and dodecasyllables).

We cannot give a sufficient idea of the literary study mentioned here: it is more practical to refer the reader to Nøjgaard's book.[6] In any event, we must say that for Nøjgaard Babrius is fundamentally a formalist aesthete who, even preserving many elements of the Aesopic fable, transforms it to a certain extent. Its moral and critical function is devalued, while the important element is now description and action, accompanied by comic and ironic elements. The confrontation, more than between two characters around a moral theme, is the internal one of a character in a situation. Sometimes this conflict and this situation break down into a series of conflicts and situations. The purpose, in short, is to arrive at the description of the character of the figure starting from a narration and, often, from a debate. Nøjgaard reaches the point of talking about an "epic" fable.

All this, as has been said, is interesting and penetrating, but leaves a series of doubts. For example, the fables of Babrius range in their length between four verses and 102 and have types that are very different in terms of form and content. Nøjgaard does not place too much emphasis in this, although he devotes some pages to what he calls "minor genres" (anecdote, myth, aetiology). He does not distinguish, on the other hand, between agonal fables of various types and situation fables. In short, we would need to see to what extent the literary tendencies of Babrius are consistent, since he works on mixed materials that are traditional and to a large extent he must respect, as do Phaedrus and the other fabulists. And which are the types that he prefers, how does he modify them formally and in terms of content, etc. We must see, also, of course, when what appears to us to be the originality of Babrius is a simple archaism, as is, for example, the optional existence of the epimythia. And, particularly, to what extent the data on the *stemma* and the literary data are capable of shedding light on the Babrian authenticity of fables of the Athous and that of the other sources. If this is not possible, it will at least be feasible to establish a hypothesis relative to the group of the Babrian tradition (Babrius and his imitators) rather than to the poet himself.

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[6] Pp. 195-365.

We believe that the method of working can be the same that we have used for Phaedrus: separating three groups of fables, those common to Babrius and AnF. I; those that are in Babrius and others or another source, but not in AnF. I; and those exclusively in Babrius. Within each group the treatment on the basis of the *stemma* will be followed by the properly literary study on the basis of the modifications introduced by the poet or the archaisms preserved. And, possibly, of conclusions on the homogeneity or not of the material studied, with possible consequences with respect to the authorship or other more limited ones on the basic materials and their modifications.

II. *Fables that are in Babrius and in the Anonymous Fables*

This chapter overlaps with the corresponding one in the study of Phaedrus inasmuch as that one has already been studied, together with other material not interesting for Babrius, that in which Phaedrus, Babrius and AnF. I present versions of the same fable; but of course it does not include the versions common to Babrius and AnF. I that are absent from Phaedrus. It seems opportune to review first the material already studied, adding conclusions of literary and other types that were not considered there as they only concerned Babrius. We will begin with what is common to the three collections (AnF. I, particularly I, Phaedrus and Babrius) and possibly others. We will add later the new material with respect to Babrius and AnF. I and, possibly, to other collections, but not to Phaedrus.

1. *Fables that are also in Phaedrus*

Reviewing our study of Phaedrus, we see that, firstly, six fables exist (I will spare the repetition of the list) in which both Babrius and Phaedrus and AnF. I derive from a single metrical model (in one case, B. 143, it is a fable of G): there is direct access to the model, not intermediate versions common to two of our three sources. There are, then, three fables in which Babrius comes from one primary metrical model or a semiprosification and AnF. I and Phaedrus from another; five in which Babrius comes from a secondary model derived from the one that produces AnF. I and Phaedrus; and one in which, as has been said, AnF. I belongs to the primary model and Phaedrus and Babrius to the secondary. Yet another fable is added in

which Phaedrus and Babrius depend on the primary model and AnF. (ms. F) on the secondary: and another in which B. and AnF. III depend on the primary model and Phaedrus and AnF. I on the secondary one.

Let us begin with those fables in which Babrius, according to our summarized study in Appendix I, has direct access to an ancient metrical model, the same one at which AnF. I and Phaedrus arrive independently (in addition, sometimes, to other witnesses). Here it is significant that the position is different with respect to that model of the five fables that we can most safely call from Babrius (four from the Athous and one, B. 141, attributed to Babrius by Tzetzes and also, curiously, by Natalis Comes in his *Mythologia* in 1551) and the one that, published as B. 143, in fact comes from the manuscript G.

Of the first five, three are, substantially, expansions of the model, with the addition of descriptive and picturesque elements, including initial *ecphrases* and modifications of the ending. This is the case of H. 22 "The Fox and the Woodcutter" (B. 50), in which Babrius alters less than Phaedrus, but he increases the use of the direct style, adds picturesque details (the fox hides in a black poplar tree), gives emphasis to the final words of the fox, making him threaten the intervention of Horkos, the Oath. It is an archaic fable, with double debate. Together with it, H. 76 "The Stag and the Lion" (B. 43, the hunters take part, instead of the lion, as in the whole tradition except in the innovation of AnF. I) is in fact of a situation fable, though with an agonal element. Babrius expands it with the help, particularly, of an initial *ecphrases*, the image of the stag drinking from the spring and contemplating his horns; and he emphasizes the ending, using verbs in the active voice instead of the passive (his feet save him, his horns lose him). H. 173 "The Travelling Magicians" (B. 141) in Babrius presents the (mutilated) beginning of an expansion: a long description of the pilgrimages of the magicians with the ass.

Things are a little different in H. 81 "The Cat and the Mice" (B. 17) and in H. 229 "The Two Knapsacks" (B. 66). In the first, while Phaedrus has substantially modified the fable (the theme of the *mustela* or floury weasel), Babrius respects the original theme, but transforms the agonal fable of the cat/mice confrontation into a situation fable in which a "survenant", the cock, makes a sarcastic comment on the cat who is made to pass through a sack to devour, in this case, the hens. Note that, while the fables that we have just

reviewed come to have, in Babrius, about 20 verses and possess a final epimythium (B. 141, you will recall, is fragmentary), here we encounter something different: the fable changes to the situation type, with six verses. Yet there is something common with the other fables, the search for a dramatic picturesqueness: instead of a mouse that speaks in the closing statement on behalf of the mice, we encounter the cock that speaks on behalf of the hens. Something similar happens in H. 229 "The Two Knapsacks" (B. 66), an aetiological fable: as we can see, the fables taken by Babrius from the original single model are of the most diverse types. Here it cannot be said that there is reduction, but neither is there expansion: the verses of Babrius come to be the same length as the model. Yet there is, at the beginning, a detailed description of the myth of the creation of men and throughout the fable the poet emphasizes the character of a mythical narration of this fable and the subjectivity of his interpretation. The attempt is made to draw the reader's attention by these procedures.

This narrative technique of the picturesque and descriptive type, which on the other hand adds nothing to the content of the fables, nor does it modify it profoundly, is very different from the one applied in the fable of "The Farmer and the Serpent", of which we know that there are two versions in AnF. I (H. 62 and 186) and one in B. 143. It is a situation fable, with a closing statement by the farmer, who complains when bitten by the ungrateful serpent. It derives from an ancient fable to which various collections have access (the Augustana twice) directly, occasionally summarizing it. This is precisely what "Babrius" does (manuscript G). It is a summary of five verses, which partially preserves the original verse and does not add any descriptive detail: it is a totally dry and sanitized version. A fable is not sufficient to establish a theory, but there is a significant difference with respect to Babrius' procedure, both where he expands and where he does not do so or does so only with regard to some elements of the fable. The effort to draw the attention with narrations, the use of direct style, changes of animals, accentuation of the mythical character, the passage from one fabulistic sub-genre to another, is absent here.

Things happen in a more or less similar way for three fables of Babrius that follow a different tradition from that of AnF. I and Phaedrus, whether there are two primary metrical models or two semiprosifications (sometimes there are more) of a single metrical

model. In H. 15 "The Fox and the Grapes" (B. 19) there are certainly (cf. p. 33) two semiprosified derivations of a same model that is quite restorable; it is a situation fable, short, therefore, with a closing statement by the victim. Babrius clearly expands it, taking it to eight verses (as in some previous cases): this in order to give a picturesque description of the vain attempts of the fox to reach the grapes.

There is also an expansion in the case of H. 31 "The Middle-Aged Man and the Two Hetairas" (B. 22), in which there are very probably (cf. p. 94) two metrical models. Comparing the different witnesses of model 2 (Par., Dod. and B.) as well as those of 1, we see that the version by Babrius, in 15 verses and ending in an epimythium, expands the middle, describing how the two women pulled out the protagonist's hair. There is also a descriptive expansion at the beginning and there is an inversion at the end. The two women appear three times (in other versions two), always in the order young/old woman. In short, in the case of an anecdote with a complex *agon* (two characters against one), Babrius follows his customary procedures, and it is in the situation fables that they find less scope to develop.

The expansion is even greater in a clearly agonal fable, H. 103 "The Rook and the Birds" (B. 72). And this without arriving at contamination, as Phaedrus does. In this fable there are two semiprosified models, with complementary verse, and there is also the version of Libanius, derived from the original. The fact is that Babrius constructs a long fable of 24 verses, ending with an epimythium directed at the recipient of the collection. In it the beginning is expanded: Iris is introduced, calling for the beauty competition, a picturesque description is given of the competing birds. And it is not the birds in general that prevent Zeus from making the error of rewarding the rook, but rather, the swallow is introduced for this purpose. And it ends with a description of how the birds strip the rook of the feathers that he had appropriated. The narrative and dramatic elements prevail once again.

Let us now move on to another group of fables: those in which Babrius comes from a model that is secondary, derived from the one that gave rise to Phaedrus and AnF. I. There are, as we have already said, five fables.

H. 126 "The Crow and the Fox" (B. 77) is an agonal fable in which the cunning of the fox prevails over the ἄνοια or foolishness

of the crow, with the fable ending with the sarcastic comment of the former. If, as I believe, Babrius comes from a line derived from the main one and with partially complementary verse, a line that is shared with Par., it is not too easy to separate the innovations of Babrius, because certain elements of Par. may come from this model or from contamination with Babrius. If this contamination exists, then we must admit that the flattering praise of the fox in this constitutes an expansion by him, a further picturesque description. Yet it may also be an archaic echo, cf. Appendix I.

Yet the expansion is not considerable either here or in H. 136 "The Dog that Carried a Piece of Meat" (B. 79), in which Babrius derives from a "second step" that introduced a few small modifications that did not alter the content significantly. The most he does in his fable (of eight verses, including the epimythium) is to introduce a small modification of the ending: the dog that has lost the meat must cross the river again, hungry. A small "touch", in short. Moreover, we have already seen a similar procedure in situation fables: it seems that this sub-genre did not allow a length of more than the eight verses.

H. 160 "The Wolf and the Lamb" (B. 89) is the well-known fable of agonal debate that finishes with the wolf eating the lamb, in spite of the innocence of the latter. On p. 57 we have argued in favour of the idea that Babrius comes from a secondary line. He expanded the dialogue, introducing some innovations.

H. 161 "The Wolf and the Heron" (B. 94) he shows us the ancient theme of the strong and the weak: a kind of *agon* with a final satire against the strong. Although the fable could also be conceived as one of situation. In any event, Babrius comes from a "second step", together with Par. and Dod. (cf. p. 53). The step is characterized by minor modifications and, within it, Babrius does not contribute any major innovations (the fable has 10 verses, including the epimythium).

On the other hand, in the case of H. 174 "The Mice and the Weasels" (B. 31), we have already said (cf. p. 49) that in the second step, which introduces a new verse, there is a change of theme, which is therefore in both Dod. and Par. and in Babrius. The horns of the primary version have disappeared. In this fable Babrius does indeed expand, giving a version of 24 verses (included the epimythium). This length is obtained by means of a series of descriptions of the different phases of the conflict between the mice and the weasels, of

the deliberation of the former and of their final defeat in which each weasel takes a mouse general prisoner.

We have already seen above (p. 56), finally, that in H. 154 "The Lion, the Ass and the Fox" (B. 67), Babrius and Phaedrus come from a "second step". This, which was significant in the case of Phaedrus, is nothing new in that of Babrius. Yet we have already seen that the latter, in turn, introduced the small modification of reducing the animals to two (the wild ass and the lion), undoubtedly by contamination with H. 156 and without realizing that he was falling into contradiction when continuing to talk about three shares. In fact, what the fabulist is attempting with this is to place the whole emphasis on the share of the lion; and this without appreciably modifying the length of the fable (10 verses with the epimythium). It cannot be said that new resources are introduced into this descriptive fable, as the words of the lion practically reproduce the model.

It is also appropriate to mention a fable, H. 294 "The Wolf and the Dog" (B. 100), in which we have seen that it is AnF. ms. F., and not I, that follows a secondary version together with the primary one of Babrius (and Phaedrus and *Tetr.*). Yet the truth, in this case, is that we have few possibilities of finding anything out about Babrius's way of proceeding. Since Ph. does no more than paraphrase a version of four verses preserved in *Tetr.*, which is a summary of an older version (it preserves some elements of the model, Archilochus) that is in turn the model for Babrius and Phaedrus. It is undoubtedly the latter that has expanded the fable in a disproportionate manner, as we have already indicated: the fable of Babrius, with its 10 verses (without epimythium), is certainly closely related to the original. It is a fable of debate, with two interventions by the wolf and the dog and a closing statement by the latter. It is likely that there are slight expansions by Babrius in the first question of the wolf, the answers of the dog and the closing statement of the wolf, since they contain descriptive and emphatic elements that are absent from Phaedrus.

H. 143 "The Hares and the Frogs" (B. 25) is similar to a certain degree; in it the primary model is reflected in B. and AnF. III, while there is a secondary model, from which AnF. I and Phaedrus derive and even a tertiary one from which Aphthonius comes. It is significant, in this case, that the primary model reached Byzantium, where it was taken by AnF. III with few alterations. It can be seen in this case that Babrius—if it is indeed Babrius—created a fable of 10

verses from it that practically repeats it with simple alterations of a lexical and phraseological type. This is a data item that needs to be considered in the investigation of the collection of the Athous.

Let us now see, making a summary of what has been stated so far, to what extent we may compare the modifications of the ancient fables by Babrius with those that were introduced by Phaedrus: after all, they are the two personal poets that converted the fable into a properly literary genre, with a short chronological distance. We have said that Phaedrus emphasized action and drama, quickly seeking the outcome of the former, underlining the critical and moralistic aspects of the fable and, sometimes, looking for a break with its traditional structure. A part, only a part, of these tendencies is common to Babrius.

This part that is shared is the emphasis on action and the underlining of this by means of incisive or picturesque touches. Yet Babrius does not place special emphasis on the critical and moral themes, nor does he aim to break with schemes. He delights in descriptions of the situation or the action, the characters of the protagonists: it is in this that he stands out. This frequently leads him, particularly in the agonal and debate fables and the anecdotes, to expand the fables; also, to make some expansions or slight modifications to situation or aetiological fables. In structure, as we have said, he is quite traditional; he preserves equally the different inherited genres, tending to maintain them within their characteristics and, at most, going so far as to convert an agonal fable into one of situation; he maintains the two types of fable ending (with closing statement or action) and the double possibility that there may be an epimythium or not.

We have found sufficient examples of expansion in agonal fables and other related ones: in the description of the initial situation, of the various phases of the confrontation, of certain answers; this must be linked, sometimes, with minor modifications to the subject (the entrance of Iris and the swallow in the fable of the rook and the birds, of the hens and the cock in that of the cat and the mice, etc.); and to certain picturesque and expressive underlinings of the endings, closer to irony than to virulence or sarcasm. Babrius loves presenting the beauty competition of the birds, the fights of weasels and mice, giving, in direct style and with certain expansions, the debates of the woodcutter and the fox, the wolf and the dog, the lion and the ass.

Agonal fables, fables of debate, anecdotes, thus arrive at an aver-

age of 20 verses: this is the case of those corresponding to H. 22, 76, 173 (fragmentary, but the rhythm of the narration led to this length), 31, 103, 174. The situation and aetiological fables do not usually go beyond eight verses: we have seen that, even within that margin, there are sometimes small expansions, which is not strange, since an ancient type of those fables existed with only four, without an epimythium, of course. In any event, irrespective of the length as such, Babrius finds a way to give picturesque descriptions, such as that of the fox jumping to reach the grapes (H. 15), the dog, frustrated, crossing the river a second time (H. 136) and others already mentioned in the fable of the cat and the hens (H. 81) and the two knapsacks (H. 229).

That is to say, the tendency is the same, although Babrius bends the material to a greater or lesser extent. We must say, however, that things are not always exactly like this. In the agonal and debate fables there is a model that comes to have 10 or 12 verses, in which the expansions and picturesque details are fewer and, sometimes, difficult to establish. This is the case in the fable of the crow and the fox (H. 126), that of the wolf and the heron (H. 161), that of the lion and the ass (H. 154). These are fables in which everything is centred on the action and the debate and which, in a certain sense, are linked with those of situation. They are not without, in any event, the Babrian features of concentrating on the description and the character, although with less breadth. On another occasion, curiously, Babrius transforms a fable that was originally agonal, that of the cat and the mice, into a situation fable (summarizing it in six verses, without an epimythium) though not failing to make the story more lively than the original.

There do not seem, in short, to be differences, other than of degree, in the Babrian production, although conditioned by the sub-genre on which Babrius works (or from which it is derived). We have thought the same in the case of H. 294 "The Wolf and the Dog", in which the fable is not in the Augustana, but in the Accursiana. Yet there is an exception to all this: that of H. 62 and 186 "The Farmer and the Serpent", a situation fable that Babrius maintains in this sub-genre with a length of six verses (without epimythium), but in a dull way, without those details that constitute the pleasure and the characteristic of the Babrian narration. Even more, it is a summary of the original, is something that we have not found in Babrius until now, other than in the case of H. 81. Yet we have

seen that, in fact, it is a fable from the manuscript G. Let us leave this data item, to see whether it has any significance later on, when our panorama on Babrius and the Babrian tradition in general is expanded. At that moment it will be necessary to take into account, at the same time, the case of the fables in which Babrius practically does not expand the model, whether this ends up, on the other hand, either in AnF. I or in AnF. III (or ms. F).

Another viewpoint that we should introduce is that regarding the *stemma* of the various fables mentioned. We have seen that just as, in spite of there being a short number of fables, we find representations in them of almost all the sub-genres of the fable, it is equally true that we find various *stemma* sub-types: fables derived directly from the single primary metrical model, others from a second primary metrical model or from a secondary one, semiprosified, so it would seem, others from a secondary one derived precisely from a previous, primary step, that is at the basis of AnF. I and, generally, of Phaedrus. Does this have any relation with the treatment of the fables?

Our information is not, perhaps, sufficient to answer this question, which, on the other hand, would automatically receive a negative answer if our hypothesis is confirmed that Babrius (at least as his main source) followed a collection that we have called II, which, together with fables from I, contained other different ones, sometimes variants of those of the latter. The fact is that among the fables derived directly from a single metrical model, it is the agonal, expanded ones that dominate; but Babrius summarizes one, when transforming it into a situation fable (and G summarizes a situation fable). In the second group Babrius also expands agonal fables and very slightly a situation fable (that of the fox and the grapes): it does not seem that there is a difference when Babrius works on a secondary semiprosified model, as seems to be customary in this group. And there is no reason for there to be one when, in the third, it is a model derived from another followed by other collections: from the viewpoint of our fabulist, this is immaterial. The presence in his work of some agonal or debate fables of the type of medium length does not seem to be especially significant.

That is, it seems that Babrius applies the treatments to which we have referred, with differences of degree dependent particularly on the themes of the fables and the sub-genres of these, to the whole material with which he works, irrespective of its situation in the *stem-*

mata of each fable. What happened with Phaedrus was no different. In any event, the knowledge of these *stemmata* proves useful to be able to establish, partially at least, what is new in Babrius. This innovation proves to be, in agreement for the most part with what Nøjgaard already intuitively grasped, the result of a conception of the fable as a narrative and dramatic genre, with a tendency towards the picturesque and the ironic, the description of situations, actions and characters. This without modifying significantly either the themes or the structures, but conditioned, we emphasize, to the characteristics of each sub-type of fable or of each fable. There is not a unique recipe, in spite of everything, the genre maintains its internal differences underlying the literary tendencies of our poet, who never reaches the point of forcing it violently.

2. *Fables that are Absent from Phaedrus*

α) Direct Derivation from a Single Primary Model

In this case subdivisions or sub-types must be introduced, if we want to continue to pay attention to the *stemma.* A first one will be that in which Babrius derives from a primary single model, together with AnF. I in most cases and from Ib or III in others. For the purposes of the study of Babrius, it will be perfectly immaterial for us that a secondary model is also deduced from this primary model, or even two (directly or in cascade). In Appendix I this point may be confirmed, as well as details only mentioned here without explicit justification.

A first group of fables will be that constituted by those which, in parallel with others seen above, expand the original model considerably: either in the descriptions of the initial situation or the central action, either in the direct speeches or, even, in the closing statement (sometimes varied). As always, an epimythium may be absent or present. The list of these fables is:

H. 2 "The Eagle, the Rook and the Shepherd" (B. 137, this is T.Assend. 2), H. 18 "The Fisherman and the Anchovy" (B. 6), H. 39a "The Swallow and the Birds" (B. 12), H. 45 "The Oxen and the Axle" (B. 52), H. 47 "The Boy who Vomited his Entrails" (B. 34), H. 53 "The Farmer's Sons" (B. 47), H. 93 "The Dog and its Master" (B. 129), H. 106 "Zeus and Apollo" (B. 68), H. 107 "The Horse, the Ox, the Dog and the Man" (B. 74), H. 112 "The

Man and the Hero" (B. 63), H. 148 "The Lion and the Bull" (B. 97), H. 168 "The Wolf and the Lamb" (B. 132, in fact from the ms. Mb), H. 191 "The Ass Full of Salt" (B. 111), H. 208 "The Bird-catcher and the Stork" (B. 13), H. 232 "The Shorn Sheep" (B. 51), H. 239 "The Trees and the Reed" (B. 36), H. 242 "The Bull and the Three Goats" (B. 91), H. 255 "The Swallow and the Snake" (B. 118), H. 262 "The Woodcutters and the Oak" (B. 38), H. 263 "The Pine and the Bramble" (B. 64), H. 270 "The Heifer Calf and the Ox" (B. 37), H. 284 "The Man that Broke an Image" (B. 119). In total, 22 fables. Babrius goes with AnF. I in all except in H. 262, 263, 291, in which he goes with Ib and in H. 270, 284, in which he goes with III (with one or more of its subcollections). In the derivative branch there may be versions of AnF., thus H. 239 has a derivative version in H. 71, also from AnF. I.

As regards Babrius, there are indications to lead us to suspect that he comes from an intermediate semiprosification, a common model of other versions. He often preserves lexicon, phraseology, metrical remnants; and the structure is usually not very far removed. As regards the expansions, these are very variable. An initial fable of four verses may be expanded to eight (H. 45), or reach a length of 10 to 12 (H. 106, 232, 262, 263, 270). We must consider the epimythium factor: H. 45 comes from an original with four verses, but with an epimythium, which Babrius seems to know when he expands the fable to eight verses; on the other hand, at other times he preserves the same length in these fables with or without the epimythium. Usually, in these cases, they are situation fables or small debates with final χρεῖαι; one or two are mythical.

At other times the model is an agonal fable or an anecdote of greater length. Here too the expansion is variable: some are up to 28 verses. One very expanded one, for example, is H. 191: the two acts of the story of the ass, framed between the initial situation and the final punishment, are the same, but the description of the thoughts and adventures of the ass who wants to shirk his work and, due to ἄνοια, suffers punishment when his sponges swell up, comes to have a double length. Or see H. 39a, where B. 12 is a practically new fable. At other times, the expansion is much less. On the other hand, there may be variations, although it is sometimes doubtful where they are (in the fable cited, in AnF. the ass drowns, in Babrius he does not). Without arriving at this length, a good expansion can be

seen in H. 18 (initial description of the fishing, direct speech of the fish). The structure is more altered in, for example, H. 191, in which in Babrius there is a complex dialogue besides a modification of the ending, which is frequent (H. 242, 263 and others). The expansion is doubtful in H. 2: B. 137 (which is T.Assend. 2) are incomplete.

At other times we find in Babrius a similar length to that of the model, just as we observed in fables on the previous list, that is to say, of those also known by Phaedrus: specifically, in H. 11 "The Fisherman" (B. 9), H. 24 "The Fox whose Stomach Swelled" (B. 86), H. 49 "The Oxherd" (B. 23), H. 89 "The Goose of the Golden Eggs" (B. 123), H. 100 "The Wolf and the Kid" (B. 96), H. 142 "The Camel" (B. 80), H. 199 "The Ass and the Lionskin" (B. 139, this is T.Assend. 11), H. 205 "The Bird-catcher and the Partridge" (B. 138, this is T.Assend. 5), H. 237 "The Worm and the Snake" (B. 41), H. 261 "The Parrot and the Weasel" (B. 135, in fact, from the ms. Mb), H. 285 "The Mule" (B. 62), H. 288 "The Sick Crow" (B. 78). In total, 12 fables, among which some are of the average type of between 10 and 14 verses and others of that of situation with χρεία of four (or six with epimythium).

Among these fables there are some that, in spite of not surpassing, approximately, the length of the model, show traces of the Babrian taste for descriptions, direct speech, minor alterations of endings, within a respect for the fundamental structure. This is the case, for example, of H. 11 (description of fishing), H. 24 (description of the banquet that is given the fox, which makes his stomach swell), etc. At other times (such as in H. 49) it may be said that there is more vivacity and picturesqueness in the story. Yet it also happens that we meet with a similar or identical length to that of the model, but with hardly any features of the Babrian style, with the schematism proper to the fable of the main Hellenistic tradition. This is the case in fables of medium length (H. 89, seven verses; H. 205, 8 verses; H. 261, 12 verses), and in other small ones of the situation type (100, six verses including the epimythium; H. 142 and 237, four verses without and with epimythium, respectively; H. 285, six verses without epimythium; H. 288, five verses with epimythium).

These fables, although choliambic, do not give the impression of being by Babrius. Note that there are some in common with AnF. I and with III: this has no influence, sources that belonged to the same collections were handled by Babrius and by this other versifier in very different ways. Neither has it any influence that we are

dealing with the Babrius of the Athous or of the ms. Mb. On the other hand, there are four cases comparable to one of the ms. G. seen above: in H. 14 "The Fox and the Monkey" (B. 81), H. 73 "The Dolphins and the Gudgeon" (B. 39), H. 114 "The Ant and the Cicada" (B. 140, it is Ps.-Dositheus 17), H. 149 "The Lion and the Farmer" (B. 113), "Babrius" offers a summary of the original model. They are summaries of, respectively, 6, 4, 8 and 4 verses in length; but if we take away the epimythium in the first fable, it is reduced to the 4 verses of the second and fourth, which do not have epimythia. These summaries are achieved, in two cases, by abbreviating the descriptions and the action (H. 140, H. 149); in another two, by cutting out the final closing statement (H. 14, H. 73).

Thus, the Babrian choliambic fables of whatever type and from whatever transmission had as models sometimes fables of medium length, predominantly agonal, sometimes others of reduced length (generally of four verses) predominantly situation fables with the accent on the final χρεία. Yet two treatments exist: both the fables of medium length and those of reduced length may be expanded by underlining the descriptions, the dialogue, introducing final modifications; or they may be maintained at their original length and in the dry and schematic tone of the tradition that comes from Demetrius. Furthermore, fables of the first type may cross over to the second and even fables of the second, somewhat longer than four verses, may be reduced to four, even at the cost of eliminations. They are not only two different fabulistic styles, but also two different ways of proceeding with the models. I find the conclusion obvious: Babrius in one thing, his imitator or imitators are another.

Note that the model collections sometimes present epimythia, sometimes not. And Babrius does the same. Yet he sometimes allows himself the freedom to preserve them, sometimes to add them, sometimes to suppress them, sometimes to modify them, sometimes to even include them within the length of four verses. In any event, his epimythia are in verse, whereas in the model they were, as we already know, in prose. Sometimes the content is so similar that it seems clear that Babrius operated exactly on the models that passed on to the Augustana and other collections.

In any event, the theme of reductions has not been exhausted here, because the hypothesis may be established that they were the work of an intermediate source. In the cases that we have seen, that intermediate source is not a demonstrable hypothesis. Yet in others

that we will see, it clearly has existed: in fact, throughout this whole volume, we have had the opportunity on various occasions to talk about a derived source, used by the later fabulists, including Babrius. It is appropriate to study here to what extent the two types of alterations to which Babrius and his imitators subject the primary model (we believe) are his affair or of that intermediate source. In the fables that follow that study, which so far remained as a mere possibility, may be performed.

β) Derivation from a Secondary Model

Using our Appendix I once again, on which our affirmations are based and where the examples of the Babrian alterations that we give here can be multiplied and seen in detail, let us move on to point out the fables of Babrius (in the broad sense of the editions of Crusius and Perry, as stated so far) which come from a secondary model derived in turn from a primary metrical one.

A first group, the most numerous, is that of those fables that do indeed come from a derived version which, generally, they expand or, at least, subject to modifications within the line of the style of Babrius. We exclude, to treat it as a second group, the case of a few fables that present the curious phenomenon that the derived version is a summary later expanded by Babrius.

The group of the type that we will call general is that of the following fables: H. 102 "Zeus, Prometheus, Athena, Momus" (B. 59), H. 139 "The Dog and the Hare" (B. 87), H. 145 "The Lion and the Farmer" (B. 98), H. 147 "The Old Lion and the Fox" (B. 103), H. 164 "The Wolf and the Sheep" (B. 53), H. 178 "The Shipwreck and the Sea" (B. 71), H. 179 "The Licentious Youth and the Swallow" (B. 131, in fact, in the ms. Mb), H. 192 "The Ass and the Mule" (B. 7), H. 198 "The Ass and the Wolf" (B. 122), H. 243 "The Children of the Monkey" (B. 35), H. 249 "The Peacock and the Crane" (B. 65). In total, 11 fables.

As on other occasions, the treatment of the model by Babrius is not totally uniform, but it does show a clear tendency. For example, in H. 139 Babrius offers a version of six verses with epimythium that varies the derivative version slightly, giving it greater vivacity; there is also a slight expansion, for example, in H. 164 (Babrius with eight verses). Yet there are major expansions at other times. Such as in H. 145, where Babrius creates a fable of 22 verses with a long

rhetorical speech by the father of the young girl to the lion in love, a description of how the latter has his claws filed down and is later killed, an ending in which a Homeric passage is imitated. There is also a major expansion in H. 179 (Babrius with 18 verses, long descriptions of the life of the licentious youth), in H. 102, H. 147 and in other fables besides. At other times there is a treatment that we would call intermediate, for example, in H. 151, with an initial expansion and a final modification.

Instead of pursuing the detail of the modifications, we are going to study what I have called a second group, in fact the same as the previous one but with the curious characteristic that the model of Babrius, in turn derived from the primary, is a summary of the latter, that Babrius has expanded again. The referred fables are H. 151 "The Lion that was Scared of the Mouse" (B. 82), H. 155 "The Lion and the Mouse" (B. 107), H. 158 "The Wolf and the Sheep" (B. 93), H. 163 "The Wolf and the Old Woman" (B. 16), H. 184 "The Walker and the Fortune" (B. 49). In total, five fables.

Of course, I cannot expound here the whole argument that leads to the postulation of a reduced model later followed by Babrius: I refer the reader once again to Appendix I. Yet let us see, for example, how in H. 163 the derived line is characterized by the lack of the beginning (the opposite technique to Babrius' customary one), while, starting from here, our poet is distinguished by elements proper to him, as is the final closing statement of the wolf. Or how in H. 184 the second, derived line, substitutes the walker with a boy (AnF. II, Dod.), sometimes later changed (Par. τις, B. ἐργάτης) and reduces the fable to 4 verses (the primary version is of 7), which Babrius later extends again to seven verses.

Evidently, Babrius and the Babrian poets sometimes relied on primary versions, sometimes long, sometimes reduced (of four verses), as we have seen; and at other times on versions also derived from the two types. In these secondary versions there may have been a passage from one type to another: the expansions and reductions of fables have been common from ancient times. Just as a primary short version was expanded, a version was also expanded that was only shortened secondarily. The stylistic tendencies of Babrius applied to all his sources, whatever their history. This is logical.

When these sources were primary, they were written, of course, in Hellenistic choliambic verse. When they were secondary, it may be demonstrated in some cases that they were also in verse: in a

derivative verse. Such as, for example, in that of the fable just mentioned, H. 184. The immediate model of Babrius was, as we have just said, a version in four verses with independent verse: but it maintains an identical fragment to that of the model, τῆς τύχης δ' ἐπιστάσης. Later there was a modification starting from the previous verse.

Insofar as we may judge, the version derived from the one that proceeds Babrius was a version in verse, the same as the primary one (the exception are the occasional epimythia, as we have already said).

We still have two fables in which Babrius comes from a derived version and in which his behaviour is very different. In H. 7 "The Cat and the Hens" (B. 121), Babrius comes from a second metrical version of the one that has remnants in Dod. and *Tetr.* 1 and which, moreover, partially maintains the verse of the model. This derived version is reduced by Babrius to four verses: to a fable of the well-known type of the question of an animal followed by the answer with a "point" by another. The other case is H. 177 "The Fly" (B. 60): here both the primary model and the secondary and Babrius himself are of four verses, the fable is maintained practically intact, except with regard to the new metrics. In the derived version there remain traces of the primary verse; and Babrius adds two verses of the epimythium, which is now versified, to the four of the fable proper.

That is to say, in short: if reduced fables are sometimes expanded, while at other times certain fables are reduced or, when they are short, their length is maintained, we have reasons to believe that also in this case we are dealing with at least two poets: Babrius, with his descriptive, literary style, with dialogue; and one (or more?) imitator, who follows his metrics, but prefers the plain and sharp style of the ancient situation fables with final χρεία.

And a further, important conclusion: the doubt that we have established as to whether certain reductions of fables of "Babrius" were his or of his model, is solved in the direction that they are his. It is not that the model does not include reduced fables: it is that these were habitually expanded by the true Babrius, while the long ones of the model are reduced by his imitator. The fact that there was a reduced model did not imply anything: Babrius and his imitator treated it with their own criteria, different in each case. Thus, when in the case of certain fables derived from the primary model we

doubted if, perhaps, there was a lost intermediate one, we may now affirm that, of course, this is a hypothesis that may be offered, although it is not demonstrable on account of the absence of data, but neither the expansions nor the reductions of Babrius and his imitator may be taken as proof of this.

γ) Derivation from a Primary or Secondary Model Independent of that of AnF

We already know from the initial study of this volume that occasionally the tradition of the anonymous fables is not unitary, at least since the Hellenistic Age. There are occasions in which different collections or groups of these reveal the ancient existence of two primary metrical versions; and there are others in which from a single primary metrical version have come two semiprosifications, which are the origin of two series of subsequent fables. We must study the situation of Babrius in both cases. In fact, both have already been studied when they are fables also represented in Phaedrus; we add here those others that do not appear in the Latin fabulist or, at least, in the collection that has reached us from him.

We find the first case, that of two primary metrical models, in H. 6 "The Wild Goats and the Goatherd" (B. 45), H. 46 "Boreas and Helios" (B. 18), H. 211 "The Snake and the Crab" (B. 109). In all these cases, as may be seen in Appendix I, Babrius belongs (generally together with Par. and Dod.) to the model different from the one followed by AnF. and, occasionally, by some other collections.

The cases are different in the detail, although the summary is that in three of these Babrius represents an expansion with alterations of the type that we already know, while in the other (H. 211) it is, on the contrary, a reduction by four verses of the previous model, a procedure that we have attributed to an imitator of our poet.

In H. 6, the second version includes the death of the domestic goats and the escape of the wild ones, plus a lament by the greedy goatherd; Babrius, who expands this model considerably, removes the lament and adds his own conclusion. Similar things may be said of H. 46, in which a reduced version of the second primary version is again expanded. However, on the other hand, we have the fact that in H. 211 the two primary versions are very different, in reality, two fables, although in short both come from the well-known Attic scolium in *Carm. Conv.* 892 *PMG*. The second version is not

only from Babrius, it also appears in Aphthonius with traces of four verses, but different. This version was later transferred, without major alterations, to the Babrian verse. There is not really reduction, this is from the model: only the maintenance of a reduced length and a type that we know well (dialogue with an intervention by each speaker, "point" by the second). We are dealing, undoubtedly, with an imitator of Babrius.

On other occasions the two lines to which we refer are, as we have said, semiprosifications of a single primary model. We believe that this is the case of H. 266 "The Two Cocks and the Eagle" (B. 5) and of H. 259 "The Tortoise and the Eagle" (B. 115). For the first fable, see above, p. 50: in the second model Babrius introduces some touching-ups, the cocks are from Tanagra, at the end there is a kind of epimythium that begins with a vocative. The second case is rather special, since together with the line that produces AnF. I, which preserves extensive metre, there is another, from which come Babrius and Avianus: in this case the latter seems to derive from Babrius. It is not possible to see whether the basis is in a semiprosification or in a new verse: what is clear is that Babrius expands the beginning and the dialogue.

In fact, the latter fable prepares us to interpret two others in which the nature of our sources does not allow us to elucidate whether the intermediate models between an ancient one that we may postulate and the fables of the collections were semiprosifications or versions in verse: in any event, they derived from a single primary model. There are two fables in which this single remote model is of Oriental origin and was adapted differently.

In H. 132 "The Stomach and the Feet" (B. 134, from the mss. Mb) we are dealing with an Egyptian fable to whose *stemma* we referred on pp. 106 ff. It was possible to see there that the whole tradition comes from a model, we do not know whether in verse or prose (our sources are Livy and Romulus) and from which, in turn, comes one in verse that is the source of AnF. I. We have proposed that Babrius, who offers a long fable of 19 verses with a very varied theme (now it is the serpent's head and tail), comes, conclusively, from the same source. With the precedent of an intermediate source (cf. H. 291), he created a very original fable, with long narrations and dialogues.

The case of H. 140 "The Mosquito and the Bull" (B. 84) is different. Here the line that comes from the Oriental original, without

our being able to establish whether it is based on an intermediate model and whether this was in verse or not, is that of the poet of the Imperial Age, Mesomedes, who preserves the elephant, as in the Assyrian fable. The other versions, including that of Babrius, come from a Greek metrical derivative. This derivative was slightly expanded and modified in Babrius: the whole dialogue is direct, it has greater breadth and picturesqueness than the other versions.

All these cases in which Babrius follows a different line from that of AnF. (which, moreover, already sometimes happened in the fables also appearing in Phaedrus) are found, conclusively, in the same situation as the others. Irrespective of the source, Babrius modifies his models in the way we have already mentioned, but alongside them there appear fables of a different style. It was a matter, in this case, of a single one, but that is sufficient. We have supposed that these other short fables, generally situation fables of four verses, either practically the same as the model or more reduced even than those of the latter, belong to another poet. It may be appreciated that whatever the position in the *stemma* of a fable and the representation of this was by Babrius, we find the two possibilities: certainly, the "non-Babrian" treatment is exceptional. Neither do the two treatments of the models have any relationship with the subsequent transmission: we have found both in the Athous, in the mss. G and Mb and in the Assendelft Tablets.

These Tablets, with their mixed character, already illuminated, in fact, from the 3rd century, what happened with the choliambic fables and even the iambic fables: choliambic fables were brought together of different types and of different origins in each collection. It is not at all strange that the alphabetizer whose work ended up in the Athous had this origin, and likewise the other that is at the basis of the rest of the tradition. That is why all choliambic fables were "Babrius".

III. *Fables by Babrius that are not in the Anonymous Fables*

1. *Fables that are in Babrius and Outside of Him (excluding derivatives)*

Below we will study a series of fables that appear in Babrius and in other sources, but not in the Anonymous Fables (or only in IIIγ and

IIIδ, as derived precisely from Babrius). Here too it is a matter of establishing the *stemma* and, as far as possible, the fabulist's way of proceeding. We must see whether also in this case fables exist that can probably be attributed to an imitator of our poet. And we must complete our knowledge of his sources.

Of course, nothing is added either way by the existence of derivations of Babrius in Par., Dod., Avianus, etc. When a fable only appears in Babrius, and in one of these derivatives, it moves over to the following section, that of the fables that are only in Babrius. Although occasionally is not totally easy to decide whether they are really derivatives.

In most cases Babrius derives from a primary model, as in most of the fables that we have studied so far. We call primary models those from which Babrius and other versions derive, all directly from what we may deduce; sometimes there is also a secondary version. When Babrius depends on the primary model in question, it is immaterial to us, from our standpoint, whether there is or not a secondary version (or various ones). We have reasons in many cases for establishing that this primary model is a metrical model: the only ancient versified version that is proven. At other times this is doubtful, as is the case when there is only one derivative, which is Babrius, and at the same time a secondary version exists, for example, in the case of not-H. 6 (the verse that is restored for the secondary version may or do may not come to a certain degree from the primary). In other cases (such as in not-H. 32) it may be established that there was an intermediate prose between the primary model and the derivative.

We will first look at these fables, to then go on to those others in which Babrius depends on a secondary model and, finally, to those in which two or three lines of derivation exist, primary or not.

Babrius appears as dependent on a primary version that does not produce versions in AnF. I (in Phaedrus these may be produced or not) in the following fables: not-H. 6 "The Athenian and the Theban" (B. 15), not-H. 8 "The Goat and the Goatherd" (B. 3), not-H. 32 "The Bear and the Fox" (B. 14), not-H. 62 "The Captured Weasel" (B. 27), not-H. 66 "The Farmer and the Fox" (B. 11), not-H. 96 "The Sick Stag" (B. 46), not-H. 118 "The Sun and the Frogs" (B. 24), not-H. 124 "The Ignorant Doctor" (B. 75), not-H. 183 "The Lion and the Three Bulls" (B. 44), not-H. 191 "The Wolf and the Lion" (B. 105), not-H. 209 "The Country Mouse and the Town

Mouse" (B. 108), not-H. 243 "The Youth, the Woman and the Husband" (B. 116), H. 283 "The Banquet of the Dog" (B. 42), H. 287 "The Frog and the Fox" (B. 120). In total, 14 fables.

In our Appendix II it can be seen in detail that in most of these cases Babrius' version represents an expansion of the one that we can restore by comparison for the primary model. They are fables that range between 10 and 32 verses. It is easy to see the expansion, even in a fable of 10 verses, specifically, in not-H. 96, in which the comparison with Syntipas (habitually so close to the conservative type of the Augustana) very clearly shows the innovations of Babrius in the descriptions of the illness of the stag and of the visits he receives, in the use of adjectives, etc. Yet it can be seen better in the long fables, such as in not-H. 124 in connection with the version of the Pseudo-Dositheus (change of theme at the beginning and the end, abundant dialogue and descriptions), in not-H. 209 (expansion of a text also close to that of the Pseudo-Dositheus).

Things are different in other fables, that is, in not-H. 32, not-H. 62, not-H. 118, not-H. 190, H. 283 and H. 287, all in the previous list. In not-H. 32 "The Bear and the Fox", Par. and Dod. derive from the same model as Babrius, but have independent metrical elements and also common prosaic elements: the hypothesis seems to gain ground that there has been an intermediate semiprosified version. Its length was approximately identical to that of Babrius, which has five verses (four and one for epimythium); and it is of the well-known type in which there is an intervention by each of the two speakers (the first in indirect style), with a "point" by the second. It is clear that "Babrius" has respected what in fact was an independent and abbreviated version of H. 66 "The Two Friends and the Bear". And this because his model had already reached the minimum length. Also in not-H. 62, in which the only appearances are in Babrius and Phaedrus, there seems to be a preservation (in 7 verses) on the part of the former, of the length of the model of the fable of the weasel, which in Phaedrus is altered and slightly expanded at the end. Its structure is similar to that of the previous fable, although the greater length and certain descriptive details do not make the hypothesis that it is a choliambic version not from Babrius so sure in this case. We find identical structure and a length of six verses in not-H. 190 "The Wolf and the Lion", where Babrius offers an identical length to that of the other appearance, in Syntipas (who, moreover, christianizes the ending). On the other hand, in not-H.

118 "The Sun and the Frogs", Babrius abbreviates and alters the common model of Par., Dod. and Phaedrus. Similar things may be said of two other fables, although it is less clear.

It is very likely that in these fables we are dealing with versions not of Babrius, but of his imitator, who preserved the approximate length of fables of the structure already mentioned. On the other hand, once again we must emphasize that models of this type and of longer agonal fables were mixed up throughout the ancient tradition: in the one that reached AnF., Syntipas, Phaedrus, etc.

In two other fables, Babrius depends on a derivative, secondary model. It is not-H. 128 "The Old Horse" (B. 29) and not-H. 308 "The Toad that Burst" (B. 28).

In the latter fable, together with the primary version an echo of which remains in Phaedrus, there is a secondary one in Babrius, Horace and *Tetr.* Of course, it is impossible to establish whether it was metrical or semiprosified; in any event, it is clear that it is a pre-Horatian version derived from the model of that of Phaedrus (*rana rupta et bos*, Phaedrus I 24) and very altered as regards the theme. The comparison with Horace and the style of the fable itself suggest a slight expansion of the description of the scene (the toad swelling in front of its children, who want to stop it) on the part of Babrius, whose fable, without epimythium, has 10 verses.

On the other hand, in not-H. 128 the comparison of Babrius and Phaedrus (who now goes with the secondary version, while in the previous fable he depended on the primary one) shows that they depend on a summarized fable of the version that produced the fable of Aphthonius. Yet this secondary version was again reduced by Babrius until it reached the length of four verses plus two of the epimythium. From the long dialogue of the original version we have arrived, in stages, at a short situation fable with a closing statement of lament.

That is to say, each one of the two fables presents one of the two typical situations that we are studying, the one characteristic of Babrius and the one characteristic of his imitator.

Finally, three fables exist in which Babrius represents one of the two or three existing branches, which offer quite differentiated versions of a model that is difficult to reconstruct: they are not-H. 60 "The Ox and the Ass Ploughing" (B. 55), not-H. 125 "The Kite that Neighed" or "The Kite and the Swans" (B. 73) and not-H. 141 "The Lark and the Farmer" (B. 88). For a study of these, we refer

the reader below, pp. 266 and 377 f. In any event, in the first and third fables Babrius seems to come independently from the model, the same as in H. 132 "The Stomach and the Feet", studied above; of course, we cannot know whether there was an intermediate version or not, although there is no proof of this. Rather, these seem to be cases in which Babrius altered the model (for literary reasons, not of moral intention, which is the same). Surprisingly, here too we find the same duality that we have observed elsewhere: not-H. 60 is in Babrius a short fable of six verses with a situation and an oral intervention by each of the two characters, with a "point" by the second; not-H. 141 gives a very expanded fable (19 verses) in Babrius: a long initial description, action in various episodes with dialogue, rhetorical recourses. As regards the second fable, there are two lines—we cannot see whether primary or secondary—that are quite differentiated thematically and Babrius comes from one of them, which he summarizes.

Note that H. 39 has four different lines, but the one in Babrius (B. 12) is the same as AnF. I; for this reason it was not studied above, cf. p. 110 ff.

Thus, the conclusions of this section confirm those of the previous ones. In the models followed by the choliambic fabulists of the Babrian type that may or may not agree with those of AnF. and those of Phaedrus and be primary or secondary (in both cases, of a unique type or not), there existed agonal fables of medium length or long and short situation fables. However, on this material, the proceeding in our Babrian choliambic collections (not only that of the Athous) is in two opposing ways: by expansion based on descriptions, dialogues and rhetorical recourses; or by reducing the length of both types of fable, sacrificing their descriptive elements and reducing them to repeated schemes, or, at the most, respecting the short length of the fables of four verses (sometimes an epimythium of one or two verses is added to them, derived from the epimythium in prose of the model or replaced by this). We have proposed that the first technique is that of Babrius and the second that of an imitator of his (or perhaps various imitators).

2. *Fables that are only in Babrius or in Babrius and his Derivatives*

These fables are exclusively Babrian, although sometimes there may be doubt as to whether Par., Dod., etc., derive from Babrius or from

his source: we keep to the proposals of Appendix II, sometimes given as only probable. They are fables that present serious problems, as is logical, since only occasionally can we consider them as derived from other known fables: the absence or shortage of references of *stemma* makes it logically difficult or impossible to discover the literary techniques used by Babrius or by the fabulist who sometimes, undoubtedly, hide behind his name. It is probable *a priori* that in this section we encounter, as in Phaedrus, a maximum number of very altered or totally new fables, from whatever source. A study of the structure and content of these fables or, rather, of their types of structure and content, will prove interesting. On the other hand, the hypothesis of the existence in our collections of fables that are not from Babrius will have to rely here exclusively on likelihoods based on the analysis of his own fables. We suggest that this likelihood exists in various cases.

We give, to begin with, as on previous occasions, a list of the fables in question, leaving aside the documentation external to Babrius, derived from this if our ideas are right (the details can be seen in Vol. III). They are the following: not-H. 13 "The Truth" (B. 126, ms. Mb), not-H. 14 "The Fisherman and the Fish" (B. 4), not-H. 29 "The Arab and the Camel" (B. 8), not-H. 58 "The Oxen and the Butchers" (B. 21), not-H. 59 "The Oxherd and Heracles" (B. 20), not-H. 64 "The Farmer who Lost a Pick" (B. 2), not-H. 67 "The Farmer and the Crane" (B. 26), not-H. 69 "The Farmer and the Birds" (B. 33), not-H. 82 "The Man Bitten by the Ant and Hermes" (B. 117), not-H. 85 "The Slave and Aphrodite" (B. 10), not-H. 88 "The Oaks to Zeus" (B. 142, ms. G), not-H. 95 "The Stag and the Lion" (B. 95), not-H. 99 "Hermes and the Sculptor" (B. 30), not-H. 100 "The Pillar of Hermes and the Dog" (B. 48), not-H. 101 "Hermes' Chariot and the Arabs" (B. 57), not-H. 106 "The Eunuch and the Sacrificer" (B. 54), not-H. 115 "Zeus and the Barrel of Goods" (B. 58), not-H. 116 "Zeus the Judge" (B. 127, ms. Mb), not-H. 129 "The Horse and the Groom" (B. 83), not-H. 130 "The Horse and the Soldier" (B. 76), not-H. 135 "The Camel in the River" (B. 40), not-H. 149 "The Cowardly Hunter" (B. 29), not-H. 150 "The Hunter and the Fisherman" (B. 61), not-H. 153 "The Dog and the Master" (B. 110), not-H. 154 "The Dog and the Hare" (B. 69), not-H. 156 "The Dog that Wore a Bell" (B. 104), not-H. 179 "The Kingdom of the Lion" (B. 102), not-H. 180 "The Lion, the Fox and the Monkey" (B. 106), not-H. 181 "The Lion and the

Eagle" (B. 99), not-H. 184 "The Rabid Lion and the Fawn" (B. 90), not-H. 186 "The Fight between the Wolves and the Dogs" (B. 85), not-H. 189 "The Wolf among the Lions" (B. 101), not-H. 190 "The Wolf and the Fox Coming to a Trap" (B. 130, ms. Mb), not-H. 197 "The Lamp" (B. 114), not-H. 212 "The Mouse and the Bull" (B. 112), not-H. 226 "The Sheep and the Dog" (B. 128), not-H. 230 "The Ass and the Man" (B. 125, ms. Mb), not-H. 233 "The Ass that Ate Thorns" (B. 133, ms. Mb), H. 279 "The Son, the Father and the Painted Lion" (B. 136, this is T.Assend. 1), H. 281 "The Lion and the Archer" (B. 1), not-H. 237 "The Bird-catcher, the Partridge and the Cock" (B. 124, ms. Mb), not-H. 247 "The Mother of the Monkey" (B. 56), not-H. 250 "War and Violence" (B. 70). In total, they are 43 fables of the mss. Athous, G and Mb and T.Assend., that is to say, 30 per cent of the 143 fables of Perry's edition. Comparing with our conclusions on Phaedrus (pp. 167 ff.), it can easily be seen that Babrius follows the traditional models directly with much greater frequency than the Latin fabulist. This in spite of the fact that Phaedrus is habitually closer than Babrius to the AnF. where the three versions have been preserved for us. However, it is necessary to specify that both our Phaedrus and our Babrius are incomplete and that the latter contains, if our proposals are correct, elements that were extraneous to Babrius himself.

I believe the above inventory of fables corresponds quite well with reality and that only in a few cases, in which the *stemma* is challengeable (not-H. 85, 149, 183), is it subject to doubt. And the truth is that it presents, with a few exceptions, a real uniformity that allows a series of conclusions that we will develop below, leaving the theme of the possible existence of fables of Babrius and of others by an imitator or imitators for the end.

Firstly, as always, we must place on record that, together with fables of the Athous (only in the Athous or in the Athous and Mb or G), there are others that are only found in Mb (not-H. 13, 116, 190, 230, 233) or in T.Assend. (H. 279). Once again we must reveal that there are no differences in content or structure found in the fables that are linked to these differences in tradition.

Secondly, as regards the originality of the fables in question, we must say that undoubtedly part are originals of Babrius, which does not mean that their thematic orientation or their structure is not within the tradition. A few are from the Oriental environment, particularly those that mention Arabs (not-H. 29, 101) as a joke or crit-

icism, without a special Cynic accent. Perhaps also H. 289. Those that we may consider as distant derivatives of a previous known tradition are few in absolute number and, proportionally, much less than in the parallel group of Phaedrus. Strictly speaking, we may cite not-H. 59 (B. 20) "The Oxherd and Hermes", perhaps inspired by H. 30; not-H. 69 "The Farmer and the Birds" (B. 33), perhaps from the fable not-H. 67 (= B. 26), in turn from not-H. 141; not-H. 88 "The Oaks and Zeus" (B. 142), from H. 262; not-H. 95 "The Stag and the Lion" (B. 95), from Archilochus, *Ep.* III; not-H. 115 "Zeus and a Barrel of Goods" (B. 58), from *Iliad* 24, 527 ff.; not-H. 180 "The Lion, the Fox and the Monkey" (B. 106), from the theme of the "lion's share" in H. 154; not-H. 190 "The Wolf and the Fox Coming to a Trap" (B. 130), from the theme by Archilochus of H. 83; not-H. 212 "The Mouse and the Bull" (B. 112), from H. 267; not-H. 226 "The Sheep and the Wolf" (B. 128), from the well-known fable by Xenophon; not-H. 230 "The Ass and the Man" (B. 125), from H. 93. These are only 10 fables out of 43: I, at least, am unable to find more.

That is to say, when they do not close follow the ancient tradition, Babrius (and his imitator) generally invent or else collect Oriental fables; only in a few cases do they profoundly modify a fable of the tradition (in one case, from the Babrian choliambic tradition itself). It is significant that, as the agonal fables within this group of 43 "new" fables are very scarce, all of them, exactly four, belong to the subgroup of the derived fables: not-H. 95, 189, 211 and 226. In some cases, simultaneously or not, in these fables there is an alteration of the intention of the model: not-H. 69 refers to the theme of wickedness (absent from not-H. 67). H. 179 to that of the hypocrisy of the powerful (totally absent from the model), not-H. 189 to that of betrayal (more than to that of deceit).

At this point let us move on to the main question: in the "new" fables, including most of those derived from ancient models, a range of themes dominates that to a large extent continues that of the previous fable, but which bound it within certain limits.

For example, it is not the theme of the cunning with which the weak animal defeats the strong that dominates. If the fox appears in this traditional role, it is only in the "derived" fables not-H. 95 and not-H. 189, also in not-H. 179, equally derived and with the fox added, playing the role of "survenant" (cf. also not-H. 188, not-H. 233). The erotic (not-H. 85) and scatological themes (not-H. 136),

and those of the death (not-H. 58) are limited. Another rare theme is that of ἄνοια (in not-H. 156), as is that of power (in not-H. 179, which we have just mentioned, also derived; not-H. 183), including that of φύσις or nature (not-H. 180, 188); that of greed is non-existent. The difference with respect to Phaedrus, to his "new" fables particularly, could not be more obvious. And all the more when we observe that these differentiating Babrian fables may sometimes centre on innovations that dominate the traditional theme: this is particularly the case of not-H. 95, the long fable of the stag and the lion, in which it is the art of the description of scenes and the dialogues that dominate.

In general terms we must say that the "new" fables of Babrius (including the "derived" ones) concern themselves with Cynic and moralistic themes and, predominantly, with a portion of those we already know. For example, the theme of human wickedness (not-H. 69, 115, 116, 156, H. 281) and other vices such as cowardice (not-H. 149), and *hubris* (not-H. 186, 250), cf. also not-H. 88; that of truth and reality compared with appearance (not-H. 13, 67, 106); that of πόνος or toil (not-H. 59, 196), the inalterability of ἔθος or custom (not-H. 130, 150, 230, 250); that of φιλοζωΐα or appreciation of life (not-H. 130, 154, 237); that of religious criticism or jokes (not-H. 64, 85, 99, 100). And there appear, as an innovation, simple jokes (not-H. 29, 101, 186). Surprisingly, the theme of the abuse of power is treated "in reverse" in the story, which we believe ironic, on the original golden age (not-H. 179). The criticism of human wickedness is counterbalanced with the existence of providence (not-H. 82, cf. H. 279, a dream that comes true).

As in the case of Phaedrus, the "new" fables, in which the poet works with freer hands than in the traditional ones, are very useful to us for the study of his true tendencies. We have already seen that he seeks descriptions and lively and dramatic dialogues, without the virulence of the Latin poet. He presents us an ideal of concord and morality; excesses, superstition, are criticized in a smiling and ironic manner. The violence of those who fight for an ideal or the sarcasm of the strongly committed man do not exist. Babrius is a writer who takes the more humane parts from the Cynic and Stoic doctrines, those more compatible with the ideal of an amiable, not disrupted life.

This is in agreement with the proportion of the sub-types of the fable that we find in him. We have already said that, strictly speaking,

there are only four agonal fables, all derived; it is true that in many of the others there is an agonal basis, although not an agonal treatment. Outside of them, we find aetiological fables (not-H. 13, 88, 115, 116, 250), various of which are re-encountered in the lists of the "derived" fables. There is later a myth (not-H. 179), a clearly ironic parody of stories on the golden age, starting from Hesiod.

Yet the great mass of fables belongs to another sub-type. These are fables that we may call in principle "situation" fables, many of them anecdotal (man/god, man/animal, very rarely man/man). They are fables in which many times a scheme appears in which an initial situation (with the intervention, in general, of two characters, A and B, sometimes also of a third C) is followed by a "closing statement" by A or B: the very type of the situation fable. At other times, very often, after the "situation" we have Aact., dir. or ind./Bdir. (or vice versa): it is a scheme of agonal origin transferred to the situation type. An exception are the aetiological fables and the myth, which consist of a story, sometimes finishing in a direct speech. Some exceptions refer to fables with various episodes or a complex dialogue: we will return to these. Yet we have not failed to note previously that there are rare exceptions in these fables in which the final "closing statement" is missing: not-H. 14, 101, 115, 116, 135, 190, 250, seven out of 43 fables and almost all agonal or aetiological.

There is, then, a very clear Babrian style in the "new" fables, but traces of which may be found in the others. It is the debate, not strictly agonal, ironic, that dominates, as we have already seen. An appropriate form is being sought.

This form is not described above if we do not add that the existence of descriptive expansions is very frequent, sometimes in the initial situation, sometimes in certain speeches. Leaving aside the short fables, there are some in Babrius of very different length, from 8 to 102 verses. Yet it is in those of medium length that we most clearly find those descriptive expansions to which we are already accustomed. And, of course, in the long ones.

I refer to expansions of the situation, such as that of not-H. 85 (B. 10): the story of the slave woman who, full of luxury, gives thanks to Aphrodite and to her apparition. It is a fable of the situation type that we have described above; we may add to this many other similar ones, also with similar expansions (cf., for example, H. 154 and 156). At other times the expansion relates particularly to the speech as a closing statement (cf., for example, not-H. 185); but it may also

refer to two elements, for example, in not-H. 188 (of only eight verses). It is frequently the case that the initial situation (and the story in aetiological fables and others) breaks down into various successive episodes, as is the case in not-H. 67, fables of the farmer and the crane.

This tendency is so strong that in a minority number of fables we must re-construct the scheme and instead of postulating an initial A/Bsit., we must say simply that the beginning is an episodic story, sometimes with various speeches inserted. Such as, for example, in not-H. 69 "The Farmer and the Crane", derived from the fable mentioned above; and in others such as not-H. 99, 130, 179: it is only a question of degree. The result may be extremely complex fables, pure stories of the romance-like type, as in the case of the very long fable of the stag and the lion (not-H. 95).

The latter is a tendency already present in Phaedrus, as we have seen, but that in any event is in the minority. It must not be confused with the presence of an agonal fable with two acts (not-H. 211), a traditional element, imitated in a situation fable (not-H. 237). On the other hand, we must note that the expansions are of variable lengths, and we even find them in fables of eight verses where, logically, they cannot be very large.

And with this we have arrived at the last problem: that of whether also in this group of fables there is any indication of some that are not from Babrius. Since we have said that, in general terms and with one or two exceptions, the whole group shows a significant homogeneity.

This homogeneity is based on thematic and structural grounds that, moreover, are not unrelated to each other. The type of pure situation dominates, with a closing statement, and the other in which, after the situation, there is an intervention by both characters, also with a closing statement; we have declared that this type was originally contaminated with the agonal type. It is very clear that this type (or these types, if you prefer) are favoured by Babrius: the difference is that, while the fables that we are studying habitually show expansions in the situation and the final speech (or the final speeches), and the same occurs in the "episodic" type which derives from it, some "new" fables exist whose theme and structure are the same as those of the situation fables studied, but they do not show expansions. They are short fables, normally of four verses (sometimes with an epimythium). Let us list them:

Not-H. 29 (4 verses, without epim.), 106 (4, without epim.), 153 (4, idem), 154 (6, idem), 181 (5, idem), 184 (4, idem), 197 (6, idem), 230 (6, idem) 233 (4, idem). They are all, as we can see, fables without an epimythium: some, in spite of their shortness, seem to show expansions, such as not-H. 196 "The Lamp"; conversely, not-H. 14, 129 and 250, with their 8 verses, of which three are for the epimythium, form an ambiguous and doubtful zone.

We cannot easily see, then, where we must place out cut-off point. Yet given that when Babrius finds fables of 4 verses in his models, he expands them, whereas his imitator reduces longer fables (even to 4) and maintains the length of the reduced ones, it clearly seems to be deducible that fables of four or a few more verses whose *stemma* we do not know and which are probably new creations, are by the imitator.

The reader must bear in mind that what Babrius did was to choose certain themes and types of composition in his models; to choose in most instances, clearly, since he was not always consistent. He added other fables of his own crop and of the same types; but both in those he took and in those he derived freely and in those he invented, he introduced expansions of the types that we have stated. The imitator (or imitators) took from his models fables of the same range of themes and structural orientation and invented other similar ones; but in both cases, he maintained the traditional length of this type of fables.

IV. *Conclusions*

We refer, as in the rest of the chapter, to the "Babrian" choliambic fables that appear in the Athous, the ms. G or Mb, the Assendelft Tablets or the Pseudo-Dositheus or in more than one of these sources: in short, to the 143 fables attributed to Babrius in Perry's edition. We have left aside the fables only reconstructed starting from the paraphrases and/or the Byzantine political dodecasyllables; and we will reserve the discussion of those of the T.Assend. and the Pseudo-Dositheus for elsewhere.

This whole group of fables shows a series of consistent characteristics, apart from the type of metre; and some inconsistent characteristics, that is, they belong to two types, that of the "extended"

and literary fables that we have attributed to Babrius and that of the short and schematic ones that we have attributed to an imitator of his.

The consistent characteristics refer to both of the two groups which, on the basis of the features mentioned, we have attributed to two different authors. Whatever the situation of a fable from those studied here may be in the *stemma* of the fable of the Hellenistic and Roman Ages, it may belong to one or the other of the two groups. The lesser frequency of the "summarized" fables among those common to Babrius, Phaedrus and the Augustana must be a chance occurrence or be due to the fact that these are very popular fables and, therefore, collected by Babrius himself; and we already know that the alphabetizer avoided duplications. Equally, both the fables of the Athous and those of the other manuscripts and sources indicated may belong to the two groups. Finally, the different sub-types (situation, aetiological, agonal fables; more or less long fables) also ended up in the two groups. That is to say, a short fable was maintained more or less with its length by the pseudo-Babrius, who had to summarize a longer one. Yet both were in his sources, as well as in those of Babrius.

In short, Babrius and his imitator (and we cannot rule out the possibility that there was more than one) encountered a "mixed" collection or series of collections, as Phaedrus did. Our Augustana also derives from mixed sources: we know that this mixing was customary from the age of the Cynic fables in verse and that the precedents of this go back even further. This, on one hand. On the other, the later collections of fables written in the new choliambic verse, whether that reflected in the Athous, or the others, mixed the fables of Babrius with those of his imitator or imitators. Their compilers considered as a block all the fables written in the new Babrian choliamb with the accent on the penultimate syllable, only take care not to introduce duplications in the alphabetizations.

That is to say, Babrius and his imitator or imitators had access to the same type of sources: in fact, in those sources they found the stimulus sometimes to "expand" the fable and give it a narrative character, sometimes to reduce it and adapt it to suit the type of the short situation fable. Babrius and his imitator sometimes restricted themselves to modifying those sources within their characteristic styles; at others, they created "derived" fables starting from them, with the theme varied substantially; at others, they created new fables, always

following their respective structural models. And later both the Athous and the other collections whose remnants have reached us in turn had access both to Babrius' collection, in his two original books, and to that of the imitator or imitators (imitator as regards verse, not as regards style).

With respect to the first point, that is to say, the sources of Babrius and his imitator, we must summarize some elements, to present a parallel with what we have stated above with respect to Phaedrus.

Like Phaedrus, Babrius (and we are now referring to the whole of Perry's edition, so as not to repeat the duality that we have been discussing, as this is not necessary) separates himself from the fabulistic line of the Rylands Papyrus and belongs to the main current. We have already seen that, occasionally, Babrius depends on a single model, the same one as Phaedrus and AnF. I. or only the same as AnF. I. We have added that, sometimes, the echo of this model in AnF. is found in groups of mss. of the Augustana (Ia, Ib), that is to say, that this is a synthesis of different traditions. The same occurred with the models of Phaedrus. And on some occasions not AnF. I but AnF. III (or the ms. F) is the collection that outside of Babrius (and possibly of Phaedrus) continues the single model: a primary metrical model.

On other occasions Babrius is, together with versions not in AnF. and Phaedrus, the only evidence of a model that we consider unique; this may also be true in the case of fables only present in Babrius, since the eventuality cannot be discarded that other versions have been lost. If the line of Babrius is generally different, in certain fables, from that of AnF. I and Phaedrus, while in others it agrees simply because there never was more than one single model of the same fable, this means that the fables from a single model present in AnF. I and Babrius (and possibly Phaedrus) appeared in the sources of both lines of the tradition: we have talked of Collection I and Collection II), though this is perhaps too risky a way of expressing the idea, because, more than two collections, it may be a matter of two sets of collections. In any event, when there is a single model not present in AnF. I, it cannot be known whether it appeared in Collection I, through not being liked by the drafter of AnF. I, in addition to in Collection II; or whether it was only in the latter. Moreover, we have already said that Phaedrus also knew Collection II.

This Collection II, or group of fables from a single model, plus

others coming from a second model or a secondary derivative of the one that appeared in I, plus other fables, which we do not know whether they were in I or not, is the main source of Babrius. When in this chapter we have completed the study of the *stemmata* of the fables in AnF. I, Phaedrus and Babrius with that of the *stemmata* of those that are only in Babrius and Phaedrus, it has been confirmed that it is customary that, when there were two lines of tradition, Babrius was in opposition to that of AnF. And that at other times AnF. and Babrius date back to the single ancient model. We have also seen the existence of these other fables from a single model not present in AnF.

We must return to the study of this Collection II—a derivation of the "Ancient Augustana"—as one of the two principal lines into which the fabulistic tradition split and which is known, among others, by the authors of the paraphrases and Byzantine dodecasyllables. The other principal line is that of the Augustana, inasmuch as it considerably expanded, independently, its model. Yet this expansion had, for the moment at least, a lesser echo: the "Ancient Augustana" and its continuation, Collection II, were the most well-known in the first Imperial Age.

We have also indicated an exceptional and curious case in which Babrius and AnF. III depend on the primary model and AnF. I and Phaedrus on the secondary one; and another in which the ms. F is secondary and Phaedrus and Babrius primary. This reveals the multiplicity of sources.

I would like to add that, in spite of the fact that Babrius evidently knew fables in Hellenistic verse, whose metrical characteristics he modified, his models are already semiprosified fables: this we see from the existence of intermediate steps before him, which we have sometimes attempted to reconstruct.

We now have an idea of what the model or group of models on which Babrius depended was like. We have already said that it contained mixed fabulistic material as regards themes, sub-types of fables, length. We must add that in general terms there were fables in verse: we have found remnants of the primary metre on occasions, of the secondary on others; and remnants that are complementary with others found in versions parallel to those of Babrius. However, in a few cases we have found that the immediate precedent of Babrius was not a metrical fable, but one that had already been semiprosified. This is a problem that remains pending resolution. Did Babrius sup-

plement a Hellenistic metrical collection, which already contained secondary metrical fables, with some semiprosified fables, also Hellenistic? This is very likely.

In any event, what is indubitable is that the basic collection (or group of collections) presented epimythia in a sporadic manner: in absolutely the same way as Collection I, partially agreeing, the model for Phaedrus. We have already indicated (Vol. I, p. 458) the archaic character of this process, which Babrius followed, as well as his imitator. And also (p. 451) the arbitrary character of Perry's edition inasmuch as he sometimes respects the epimythia of Babrius, sometimes he excludes them.

Comparing Babrius with the collection in question, we already know that he sometimes varies its fables slightly, altering their style in search of a greater descriptive scope, in terms of dialogue, etc., and, also, he sought an accentuation of the comic and humorous elements, particularly in the final "closing statement". That at other times he created "derived" fables. And that at others, he invented new fables.

However, a process is prior to all this: that of selection. Babrius almost eliminates the purely human anecdotes, he reduces the agonal fables considerably, he is sparing with the aetiological ones and certain others. He favours the fables of medium length of the purely situation type or, more often, those of situation with a certain agonal character, with two oral interventions by the two characters. He also favours the long type of fable, in which the initial situation is transformed into an episodic one. He tends to make general use of the final "closing statement", without making this an absolute rule.

The elimination of various fables by Babrius clearly depends on this process of selection. Yet others must have been lost later in our mss.: this is clear for not-H. 30 = 204 Cr., the fable of the spider and the lizard which the Suda attributed to Babrius and, in contrast with other citations of his, is missing from our mss. with choliambic fables.[7]

Note that Phaedrus sometimes also expands his fables, but that neither expansion nor reduction (which sometimes exists) are systematic: they are at the service of the dramatic presentation of the action. Here, on the other hand, in a long series of fables, slight

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[7] More doubtful, although not impossible, is the attribution of frs. 205 and 206 Cr.; the "doubtful" fragments that follow are in fact those of AnF.

expansions of Babrian style and more extensive expansions are the norm: Babrius reaches the point of expanding fables that had been summarized by an immediate model of his, derived from the primary one. And this at the service of those literary values that we have discussed: not of an almost theatrical dramatic quality such as that of Phaedrus, together with derision and moral repression, but of one we would call romance-like or rhetorical, of pure visual presentation.

On the other hand, nothing is more different than the selection they make of the themes. Of course there is an area of agreement, since, after all, both fabulists like to present the most well-known and characteristic fables. Yet we have already said that certain Cynic or Cynic-Stoic themes of Phaedrus are here rarely touched: that of greed, ἄνοια or foolishness, power, wickedness. And certain traditional fabulistic themes, such as that of the triumphant deception of the weak, too. On the other hand, Babrius likes to present short stories that illustrate a human vision of life: themes of toil, telling the truth, custom, religious criticism, situations treated humorously, are, among others, the recourses that he uses to present a conflicting society to us, but, in short, one less bitter, less polarized than that offered by Phaedrus. We have already discussed this.

We must place on record that Babrius' imitator more or less follows his range of themes and his typology, although reducing the fables to four or six verses. They are schematic fables, situation or agonal situation fables, with one or two oral interventions; with or without a closing statement, with or without an epimythium. There are also different ones, small *agones* or myths or aetiologies. Yet the style is very different.

We wish to close this chapter with two statistics that will help us to establish the relationship between Babrius and Phaedrus. First we will give a table, parallel to that of p. 169, in which the fables of Babrius are classified in the same six groups: fables in common with the Anonymous Fables (Ia with the Augustana, Ib with the Accursiana); fables that are not in the Anonymous Fables (IIa in common with other collections, IIb anecdotes); new fables (IIIa derived, IIIb own creations). Of course, it is not possible to make a classification book by book, with the intention of detecting an evolution, since the two books of Babrius that have reached us depend on a secondary alphabetization. Included in this table is the whole of Perry's "Babrius": we have already said that Babrius and his imitator are similar, in the respect in which we are now considering them. It is the com-

parison of the whole block with Phaedrus that now interests us. Later we will give the second table: that of the fables that, with greater or lesser certainty, must be attributed to the imitator.

Ia	(in B., Ph. and AnF. I)			
	Single primary model	6		
	Second primary model (Ph. and AnF. I, from the primary)	3	15	
	Secondary model (Ph. and AnF. I or F, from the primary)	6		
Ia	(in B. and AnF. I)			79
	Single primary model	38		
	Secondary model (Ph. and AnF. I, from the primary)	18	64	
	Model primary or secondary indep. of that of AnF. I	8		
Ib	(in B. and AnF. III)			
	Single primary model (with Ph.; IIIδ, from the secondary)	1	2	
	Idem, idem (with III; Ph. and AnF. I, from the secondary)	1		
IIa	(in B. and other sources)			
	Single primary model	14		
	Secondary model	2	19	
	From one of two or three branches	3		
IIb		0		
IIIa	(only in B., derived fables)	10	43	
IIIb	(only in B., new fables)	33		
Total				143

If we compare with Phaedrus, there are various significant elements. While in the latter the group IIIb, that of the new fables, is exactly the 50 percent of the total, here do they not reach 25 percent: there is less originality. On the other hand, the group IIb, that of the fables derived from anecdotes and χρεῖαι is totally absent. In reality, both data combine, since many of the new fables of Phaedrus are precisely of this type.

Babrius, who is further removed from the Augustana than Phaedrus where two versions of a fable exist, limits himself, however, more than the latter to the central line of the Greek fable, whose main expression is in the Augustana. While in Phaedrus the fables that are also in the Augustana are 27 out of 122, an do not reach 25 percent, here they are 63 out of 143, 44 per cent. The proportion of the traditional fables not in the Augustana (IIa) also goes up (although slightly). Moreover, and returning to the primary ones, we have already said that quite a lot of them reached Phaedrus through a second model or a secondary version, that is to say, from a collection different from the one that lies at the basis of our Augustana (and, generally, of Phaedrus).

Babrius uses a Hellenistic collection in verse (perhaps in some cases semiprosified versions too), or a series of collections. Sometimes that collection contained the same versions as those followed by AnF. I and Phaedrus, sometimes other different ones. It added fables perhaps known and scorned by them, perhaps absent from their models. On this basis Babrius selected in terms of themes and structures in the way we have already explained. He eliminated a series of themes, types of fables, or else reduced them, favouring others. He added derived fables, created other new ones: but to a lesser degree than Phaedrus.

He is a less innovative poet than the Latin fabulist, although he tended to generalize a series of recourses of fabulistic style and structure, discarding another. He is, as has been stated various times, a writer, a writer who is fond of the description of situations, the story, the humorous "point". He is not a scathing moralist like Phaedrus. Continuing many of the ancient characteristics of the fable, he aims to teach, certainly, but also to entertain, to make you smile.

All the aforementioned also refers, I emphasize, to Babrius' imitator, with the exception, of course, of the latter section regarding style, the expansions. I have already referred to this question and it is not necessary to repeat it. These new fables by the imitator tend to have the same thematic and typological orientation, but a different style: the plain and schematic style of the ancient situation fable. To differentiate these fables, there is no more than one main recourse: checking, by means of the reconstruction of the models with the help of the *stemma*, that their author has respected ancient short fables of the same character or has abbreviated other long ones, aiming to adapt them to meet his own characteristics. This approach

may be completed with attention to length and style; when the data on *stemma* are imprecise, this attention is the only one that may help us. On the other hand, the conclusion that a fable is by Babrius or is by his imitator is more or less certain depending on the occasion: sometimes the subjects of *stemma* and style are more or less ambiguous. We have already shown this in each case. Summarizing, these have been our proposals:

Pseudo-Babrius: H. 7, 62, 66, 73, 86, 89, 100, 140, 142, 149, 177, 205, 211, 261, 285, 288; not-H. 29, 32, 60, 62, 106, 118, 128, 153, 154, 180, 183, 190, 196, 233. Total: 30 fables.
Idem, with doubts: not-H. 14, 129, 250, 283, 287. Total: 5 fables.

There are, conclusively, less than 20 per cent of the fables of Perry's edition.

Evidently, the alphabetizers missed, in Babrius, the short fables that were in the collections from the beginnings of the Cynic fable: they saved this inconvenience by combining Babrius with the Pseudo-Babrius. And when I say alphabetizers, I am not only referring to the collection of the Athous. Leaving the problem for later on, when we will concern ourselves with the paraphrases and other collections, what has already been advanced is the fact that not only in the Athous, but also in G, Mb and T.Assend., there were both fables of the true Babrius and those of his imitator. The fables of Babrius and his imitator (or imitators) were both available and were combined in the new collections, with which, in a certain sense, the ancient mixture of types of fable characteristic of the Hellenistic collections was restored.

Supplement to Part Two, Chapter Two

There is a new edition of Babrius, that of M. J. LUZZATTO and A. LA PENNA in the Biblioteca Teubneriana, 1986, on which see A. LA PENNA, "Di una mia pretesa proposta ametrica. A proposito della recente edizione di Babrio", *RFIC* 116, 1988, pp. 502–504, and my review in *Emerita* 57, 1989, pp. 179–181: it suffers from the lack of knowledge on the part of the authors of the internal relationships within the Babrian tradition as they are explained in this book.

By the same author, cf.:

"La cultura letteraria di Babrio", *ASNP*, s. III, 5, 1975, pp. 17–97;
"Fra poesia e retorica: la clausola del 'coliambo' di Babrio", *QUCC n.s.* 19 (48).1, 1985, pp. 97–127;
"Babriana", *Prometheus* 15, 1989, 269–280.

See in *Prometheus* 18, 1992, pp. 139–149 my polemic with Luzzatto on the verse of the fables in prose of the various collections (in her view, of Byzantine origin). See also my polemic with J. Vaio on the same topic (in *La Fable*, Geneva-Vandoeuvres 1984, pp. 221 ff.)

The following general studies can be consulted (along with that by Luzzatto-La Penna in their foreword, pp. VI–CV and that by J. Vaio already cited):

F. WAGNER, "Babrios" in *Enzyklopädie des Märchens* 1, Berlin/New York: De Gruyter 1977, cols. 1123–1128;
J. VAIO, "New non-evidence for the name of Babrius", *Emerita* 48, 1980, pp. 1–3;
N. HOLZBERG, *op. cit.* 1993, pp. 57–69;
G.-J. VAN DIJK, "Babrius", in: G. Speake (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Greece and the Hellenic Tradition*, London: Dearborn 2000 (forthcoming).

There is an index, that of F. MARTÍN GARCÍA – A. RÓSPIDE LÓPEZ (eds.), *Index mythiamborum Babrii*, Hildesheim/Zürich/New York: Olms-Weidmann 1990.

On Babr. 88, see:

C. W. MÜLLER, "Ennius und Äsop", *MH* 33, 1976, 193–218;
F. MENNA, "La ricerca dell'adiuvante: sulla favoletta esopica dell'allodola (Enn. sat. 21–58 Vahl.[2]; Babr. 88; Avian. 21)", *MD* 10, 1983, pp. 105–132.

CHAPTER THREE

THE PSEUDO-DOSITHEUS

I. *General Remarks*

In Vol. I, pp. 117 ff. of this work we discussed the collection transmitted as being from Dositheus and which from its date (undoubtedly, from the 2nd century AD, in any event, prior to 207) we attribute to a Pseudo-Dositheus. It is a short collection of 17 fables, in Greek and in the Latin version, whose mixed character we have already also indicated: we have said that it was usual to relate these fables with the Babrian tradition and, although we have indicated that this was a point needing a detailed study, we personally placed the Pseudo-Dositheus within the section corresponding to this tradition. Today we must say that this is a hypothesis that must decidedly be discarded: the Pseudo-Dositheus does not have any particular relation with this tradition, although one of its fables is the prosification of a choliambic fable that Perry publishes as number 140 of Babrius and which we must attribute, rather, to the Pseudo-Babrius (cf. above, p. 194). Nor is anything indicated in this direction by the fact that there are very close versions of two of its fables, no. 2 "The Mouse and the Lion" (= H. 155) and no. 6 "The Old Lion and the Fox" (= H. 147), in the Assendelft Tablets (nos. 9 and 8 respectively): in this case too, we are dealing with a mixed collection, which includes elements of Babrius and others besides.

The Pseudo-Dositheus offers a collection of fables in prose that, as usual, show traces of ancient verse. In one case, "The Cicada and the Ant", already mentioned, the prosification is slight and easily shows that beneath it there is a choliambic fable of Babrian type published as being from Babrius by Crusius and Perry. In other cases the verse is more far removed and its remnants are fewer; they are, in any event, remnants of iambic verse of Hellenistic type, as is the one we usually find.

This is not the only element that confers a mixed character upon the collection. We must note that this is transmitted in two manuscripts, the Leidensis Vossianus 7 (V) and the Parisinus Latinus 6503

(P), from the 10th and 9th centuries, respectively,[1] and that these manuscripts give the fables in a partially different order: that of Hausrath's edition, followed by us, gives that of the Vossianus. In spite of the differences in order between the two mss., there are also certain agreements and among these the fact that the two give three especially anomalous fables as the last three: 15 (V 15) "The Man and the Lion" (= H. 264), 16 (V 17) "The Field Mouse and the Town Mouse" (= not-H. 209), 17 (V 16) "The Cicada and the Ant" (= H. 114). The anomaly of this last fable has already been mentioned; that of the other two consists in the fact that they are long fables, of a very different style from the abbreviated one of the rest of the collection. It is something dating back to the models, as we will see. It seems, then, that a first collection, with certain models of a certain stylistic intent, have later been expanded.

In any event, we have already said that they are always versions in prose, even in the case of "The Cicada and the Ant". This cannot be clearly seen in Perry's edition, which reconstructs the choliambs with the help of H. 114 III, which is another derivation from the same original; but it can be seen by consulting the text of V and P in Goetz's edition. What we cannot guarantee, for the moment, is the date of the prosification.

However, let us dwell a moment on certain characteristics of the prosaic fables of the Pseudo-Dositheus, which give us a first orientation (or a second, after what has been stated above on their mixed character) on this collection. They are fables in prose that represent alterations of fables in older prose, intermediates between the verse and the prose that has reached us.

We find a first proof of this in the two fables that are common to the Pseudo-Dositheus and the Assendelft Tablets, which have already been mentioned. The agreement between the two versions, specifically, in the prosaic elements (I am not referring now to the remnants of verse) is significant. Yet there are also minor differences in almost all the lines. In one case, such as that of H. 155, the beginning of the Pseudo-Dositheus 2 and Assendelft Tablets 9 Μῦς ἐπάνω λέοντος κοιμωμένου, compared with that of H. 155 λέοντος κοιμωμένου μῦς, certifies that we are dealing with two prosifications and that one of them is the basis of both the Pseudo-Dositheus and

[1] Published by G. Goetz, *Corpus glossariorum latinorum*, III, pp. 40–47 and 95–102.

the Assendelft Tablets. This is proven again and again. Yet later the study of the small differences between the two sources shows that it is sometimes one, sometimes the other that alters an ancient prosaic original: since sometimes one sometimes the other show agreements with the rest of the tradition. For example, compared with the γελῶν of the Pseudo-Dositheus, the γελάσας of the Assendelft Tablets agrees both with AnF. I and with Babrius. On the other hand, when the mouse gnaws the net that has trapped the lion, the τρώγων of the Pseudo-Dositheus is more faithful to the ancient tradition (AnF. I περιέτρωγε) than the διαλυσάμενος of the Assendelft Tablets.

There was, then, a prosaic collection prior to the 3rd century AD (the date of the Tablets), which was slightly altered by a Greek author and translated into Latin by the author who hides behind the name of Dositheus. To simplify, we call the author of the Greek version Pseudo-Dositheus, as is customary.

What has been stated so far is not the only proof of our hypothesis. There are others of two different orders.

One of them is that the prosification of the Pseudo-Dositheus clearly dates back to a previous one also known by other fabulistic sources. To give an example, we may cite the case of "The Field Mouse and the Town Mouse", a fable conclusively derived from a single primary model in Hellenistic verse. The ametrical beginning Μῦς ἀρουραῖος is common to Pseudo-Dositheus and to Aphthonius, later coming from a common source that prosified this verse. There are other similar cases. However, on the interplay of prosifications and versifications, we refer the reader below.

The other argument is that in one fable, no. 9 "The Crow and the Fox" (= H. 126), the versions of P and V are sufficiently different for Hausrath to publish them independently. Yet both come from a prior prosification, remnants of which remain, for example, the beginning κόραξ τυρὸν ἁρπάσας. Some of the differences, in this case, come from ancient times, since they even contain verse (P ἔκραξε καὶ τυρὸν κατέβαλε[,]τοῦτον ἰδοῦσ' ἀλώπηξ[, perhaps V ἤνοιξε τὸ στόμα[ ), at other times both seem to deform the same ancient verse.

Since both versions are accompanied by Latin translation, it seems clear that both date back to the 2nd century AD. Yet they undoubtedly come from a model in prose from not long before. In this and the other cases the investigation of a Hellenistic poetic model is the real problem.

This investigation must be carried out, as always, on the basis of

the examination of the *stemma* of the respective fables. Advancing the results in a certain sense, we will say that, with the exceptions already mentioned, we are dealing with derivations of metrical versions of the Hellenistic type with an abbreviated character, sometimes without the original closing statement, sometimes with it. It gives the impression of a quite homogeneous collection followed by the prosifier. Yet the individual fables of this collection have their own particular history and, on the other hand, this history is reconstructable to a greater or lesser degree, depending on the case. Sometimes the metrical version, which is more or less reconstructed, is the only one we know of the fable in question; at other times, it is a derivative from a single primary original or from a secondary original. The original verse is perfectly recognizable, occasionally "remodelled" with new verse. And occasionally intermediate stages may be reconstructed.

Of course, as on previous occasions, the original fables, in short, those that form the basis of the collection, may have produced representatives in AnF. or not, as the case may be; in both cases they may or may not be continued in Babrius. There is not any special community with this author: our fable may come from the secondary branch and Babrius from the primary, or vice versa; and when we start from a single primary model, the derivations of the Pseudo-Dositheus and of Babrius are independent, without any special relationship. At other times the fable is represented only in Pseudo-Dositheus and outside of AnF. and Babrius or, even, exclusively in Pseudo-Dositheus (possibly, also in some derivatives, specifically in Romulus). In the latter case, it is impossible to say whether the metrical original from which the fables preserved come is a summary of an earlier longer one or was created, with the fable (of derivative type), by the author who created the collection of summary-fables derived from the ancient models.

II. *Analysis of the Fables*

This scheme makes it easier to follow the classification of materials that are to follow. Leaving for the end the exposition of the three anomalous fables from the end of our two manuscripts, we have the following groups:

1. *Fables Common to AnF. and Pseudo-Dositheus*

a) *Common also to Babrius*

There is a series of fables in which the metrical summary from which the Pseudo-Dositheus derives comes from the primary metrical version.

Thus, in 9 "The Crow and the Fox" (= H. 126), the two versions of the Pseudo-Dositheus (see above) date back to a model in prose that comes from a single primary metrical model: see in this case, as in those that follow, the exposition in our Appendix I. Pseudo-Dositheus makes possible, together with other witnesses (AnF., Ph., Aphth.) the reconstruction of a beginning Τυρὸν κόραξ ἥρπασε κἀπί τινος δένδρου | ἐκάθισε. Τοῦτον ἰδοῦσ' ἀλώπηξ[, etc. The model was followed before it suffered alterations such as those introduced by AnF., which replaces cheese with meat (κρέας), ἰδοῦσα with θεασαμένη etc., and others from the other witnesses; it suffers alterations proper to the two versions of the Pseudo-Dositheus, on the other hand. It is significant that here the final closing statement, present in the rest of the tradition, is absent. And that there is an agreement with AnF.: the Adir. of the other versions (the words of the fox to the crow) is replaced by the indirect style. We will see that also in other cases there is community with the AnF.s, but prior to the last drafting of these. On the other hand, this fable does not show whether our abbreviated version, which preserves part of the ancient verse (the same as or complementary to that of the other versions), also introduced new "remodelled" verse: perhaps it did, cf. ἤνοιξε τὸ στόμα[and ἔκραξε καὶ τυρὸν κατέβαλε[. What is clear, as we have already said, is that a metrical version was prosified prior to the date of the two versions of the two mss. And that Babrius, like Par. and Dod., comes from a secondary metrical version, with partly new verse.

That is to say, from a primary metrical version there came, in fact, two secondary versions, the one that is at the basis of the Pseudo-Dositheus (a summary) and the one that is at the basis of the Babrian tradition. They have nothing to do with each other.

The same occurs in 2 "The Lion and the Mouse" (= H. 155): apart from the secondary version of Par. and Babrius, there is another from the Pseudo-Dositheus which, as in the previous case, changes the speech of the animal protagonist, the mouse, into indirect speech, and eliminates the closing statement, although it refers to it. In both cases it agrees with the Codex Brancaccianus, in the first with AnF.

Moreover, we have already said that two different prosifications underlie AnF. and the Pseudo-Dositheus (and T.Assend.).

In any event, in these two fables there are no data to prove the existence of a new, remodelled verse, in the model of the Pseudo-Dositheus: the one that there is in this collection is the same as or complementary to the other witnesses of the primary model. Plainly, it may be thought that the abbreviation is by the prosifier. This is not the case, however, in 3 "The Mice and the Weasels" (= H. 174), where, once again, there is a primary version (with AnF., Ph., Syr., Synt.) and a secondary one with Par., Dod. and Babrius. They are very different, since the second eliminates the theme of the horns on the helmets of the mice generals. The Pseudo-Dositheus comes from the primary model, which it abbreviates greatly: it is a simple story of situation and action, but in which the abbreviation of the Pseudo-Dositheus shows a verse at least partially new. The beginning, very abbreviated, leaves no trace of the verse that is well preserved in AnF. I; on the other hand, it shows choliamb endings not present there (perhaps remodelled verse):]μετ' αὐτῶν πυκτεῦσαι,]χρυσέοις κέρασιν ἐκόσμησαν.

This way of operating of the model of the Pseudo-Dositheus is also to be found where it starts from a secondary verse.

In 1 "The Stag and the Lion" (= H. 76) there is a good example. Here Par., Dod. and Babrius represent an older model than that of the other appearances, such as AnF., Pseudo-Dositheus and probably Aphth. To restrict myself to this, I will say that AnF. presents verse complementary to that of Par., as can be seen in Appendix I. Yet it can also be seen there that it also presents new verse and, particularly, some innovations in the presentation of the fable: the beginning ἔλαφος δίψῃ συσχεθεῖσα παρεγένετο ἐπί τινα πηγὴν (whose original verse is difficult to see), the genitive absolute τῶν κεράτων . . . ἐμπλακέντων τοῖς κλάδοις (partially metrical and replacing another original metre in Par.), the "passive" ending (ὑπὸ τούτων ἐσῳζόμην | . . . ὑπὸ τούτων ἀπωλόμην, partially metrical and reworking the metre of Par.). These three innovations are substantially in the Pseudo-Dositheus, although the metre shows through less and he has made is own additions (ἔλαφος ὥρᾳ θέρους etc., πηγὴν διαυγῆ, etc.). In spite of these ornamental additions, the Pseudo-Dositheus summarizes to a certain extent and eliminates the closing statement, putting it in indirect style ("learning that . . ."), just as, on the other hand, it gives the words of the stag at the beginning in indirect style, as does AnF.

That is to say, AnF. gives us a secondary version with "remodelled" verse, and the Pseudo-Dositheus comes from this version. Yet we must add that the Pseudo-Dositheus, in turn, "remodels" the new verse, adding metrical elements that are incompatible with those of AnF. There are two unbroken, complete choliambs, and remnants of others:

πηγὴν διαυγῆ καὶ βαθεῖαν καὶ πιὼν
ὅσον ἤθελε προσεῖχε τῇ τοῦ σώματος

very different from the ἰδὼν δ' ἑαυτοῦ τὴν σκιάν, which I believe has to be reconstructed for the original model. And then:

ὁ δὲ πρὸς φυγὴν ὥρμα[

and, with an inversion and a change of tense

ὑπ' ὠκύτητος τῶν σκελῶν ἐσῴζετο.

We will see when talking about Aphthonius that this abbreviated version of the secondary one, provided with new verse, was certainly known by this other fabulist (who also gives the indication θέρος "in summer", also leaves the theme of the shade or image separate, etc.), who in turn certainly preserves part of the new verse for us.

Also in 11 "The Dog that Carried a Piece of Meat" (= H. 136) the Pseudo-Dositheus belongs to the secondary line, the same one as Babrius and the Syriac versions (and, conclusively, Aphthonius and the Codex Brancaccianus): it is characterized by the ἁρπάζων and the fact that now there is discussion of "the shade of the meat" and not of that of the dog (cf. p. 71). It is a summarized version (Babrius expands it again), but in this case it is impossible to see whether it had new verse.

A partially different case is that of 6 "The Old Lion and the Fox" (= H. 147), which we already know presents two close versions in the Pseudo-Dositheus and Assend.T. Certainly the differences between the two texts are relatively major and Assend.T. preserves elements closer to the original (λέων γήρᾳ συσχεθείς instead of λέων λιμῷ ἐκλιπών, εἰς τὴν σύσκεψιν instead of ἐπισκεψόμενα, cf. AnF.), although also, certainly, certain expansions. In any event, the prosaic original text common to both versions aligns itself with those of AnF. and

Aphthonius against those of Babrius, Par. and Dod. (these latter seem contaminated), which date back to a version already in Lucilius that is probably older. Yet within its membership of the line of AnF., the Pseudo-Dositheus comes (and I believe Aphthonius does too) from a derivative that occasionally preserves the original verse better: indeed, it has complementary verses that date back to the original model and partially agree with the verse of the other line. On the other hand, I cannot find definitely new verse.

At the beginning of the fable, the Pseudo-Dositheus gives a]νοσεῖν προσεποιεῖτο (metrical) that preserves the ancient text better than AnF. προσεποιεῖτο τὸν νοσοῦντα (cf. Aphth. νοσεῖν ὑπεκρίνατο). At other times it is the other way round, cf. AnF. τροφὴν πορίζειν[(eliminated in Pseudo-Dositheus, cf. Aphthonius πορίσασθαι τροφήν). At other times the relative antiquity of for example AnF. I καὶ στᾶσ' ἄπωθεν/II καὶ στᾶσ' ἔξωθεν/Pseudo-Dositheus ἀλώπηξ δ' ἔξωθεν cannot be decided. Yet the significant areas are where the antiquity of the Pseudo-Dositheus is guaranteed by the other branch: Pseudo-Dositheus τί οὐκ ἐξήρχετο (cf. B. τί δ' οὐ προσέρχῃ/AnF. τὴν αἰτίαν ἐρομένου, δι' ἣν οὐκ εἴσεισιν).

This, evidently, is a very summarized version that probably must have had "remodelled" verse to save the *iuncturae*: for example, instead of the dialogue of the fox and the lion in AnF. (and in the other line), Pseudo-Dositheus says ἠσπάσατ' αὐτόν and in the version of the T.Assend. ἠσπάσατο τὸν λέοντα[, the latter text certainly metrical, the same as the ἀλώπηξ δ' ἔξωθεν cited above. Yet both are too short to decide.

Also in 14 "The Bull and the Mountain Goats" (= H. 242) the Pseudo-Dositheus belongs—as do Babrius and Avianus—to a derived line, which replaces the goats with a he-goat (three in Pseudo-Dositheus, perhaps a contamination with the principal line). In Vol. III, Appendix I we can see the use of the complementary verse of the Pseudo-Dositheus for reconstructing the original. Except that in this fable (very short, and in which the Pseudo-Dositheus respects the final closing statement, but innovates it) we are not dealing with a derivation of the secondary version, but simply with a secondary version that is already a summary in its own right.

b) *Fables that are Absent from Babrius*

The organization we make of the material is not very logical from the standpoint of the study of the Pseudo-Dositheus, which, as we

have seen, when there are two lines, sometimes derives from the primary, sometimes from the secondary, and, in either of these cases, he may or may not be close to or far from Babrius. If we have adopted it, it is precisely to show the falsity of the attribution of a Babrian line to our author.

It is not at all strange, then, that he presents fables not in Babrius. Apart from 15, which, as we will see later, is in fact two: 12 "The Mouse and the Frog" (= H. 302) and 10 "The Boy that Hunted Grasshoppers" (= H. 215).

As we have already seen (cf. pp. 58 and 81), apart from a derivative in the *Life of Aesop*, the first of these two fables produces another, in verse, from which our whole tradition comes; we have shown that in the Pseudo-Dositheus there is complementary verse that helps us to reconstruct the original, with the support of Par., Dod. and III. Yet we have also shown that our author comes from a secondary and abbreviated branch, which eliminates the ending, a branch also followed by Romulus (that is to say, probably, by Phaedrus).

For his part, the Pseudo-Dositheus comes from the second of two metrical models, possibly remodelled with new metre.

2. *Fables that are Absent from the Anonymous Fables*

a) *In the Pseudo-Dositheus and Other Witnesses*

No more and no less than Babrius, the Anonymous Fables may or may not contain the different fables of the Pseudo-Dositheus; and in this case the hypothesis does not seem acceptable that the latter have been lost in the former. Simply, the Anonymous Fables sometimes had access to the same metrical models as the Pseudo-Dositheus, sometimes to a previous one, from which that of the Pseudo-Dositheus derives; sometimes, to one of a different line from that of the Pseudo-Dositheus, which in turn may have simply prosified the model (if it is short) or have taken a summarized metrical one (if it is longer). On the other hand, in the case of these fables not represented in AnF., Babrius may or may not present them and, as always, with a different position in the *stemma* depending on the individual case.

Leaving aside 16 "The Field Mouse and the Town Mouse" (= not-H. 209), which we will see at the end, we find this case in two fables, 7 "The Ignorant Doctor" (= not-H. 124) and 8 "The Crow and the Hydria" (= not-H. 143).

The first fable is only known by the Pseudo-Dositheus and Babrius,

since the versions of Par. and Dod. come from the latter, but this is pure coincidence and the Pseudo-Dositheus certainly does not come from Babrius, since the two versions are considerably different, with that of Babrius very much expanded, with both varying the subject to a large extent (the infernal divinities are mad with the doctors because they allow the sick to die, according to the Pseudo-Dositheus, and for the opposite reason according to Babrius) and hardly offer any phraseological agreements. What is most likely is that the fable of Babrius is derived from a single Hellenistic version, whose verse is preserved to a large extent in the Pseudo-Dositheus, see Vol. III, Appendix I. For another hypothesis, cf. p. 202.

Something similar may be said of the other fable, except that here we must note that there is a variant that is very distanced from that of the Pseudo-Dositheus: "The Fox and the Crane" (not-H. 17, in Plutarch and Phaedrus). That of the Pseudo-Dositheus finds echoes in Avianus, Romulus, the *Palatine Anthology* and in the indirect tradition (Pliny and Aelian). The nature of the sources does not help us to reconstruct the original verse, but it did exist, judging by some traces in the Pseudo-Dositheus (a complete choliamb: ἀπέτυχ' ὃ ἠθέλησ'· ἔπεμπε γὰρ ψήφους). It was a short fable from a single model, perhaps created based on the fable of the fox and the crane.

b) *Only in the Pseudo-Dositheus*

Three fables of the Pseudo-Dositheus exist that only appear in him, unless they are in a derivative (Romulus). I am referring to 4 "The Houseowner and the Sailors" (= not-H. 226), 5 "The Cat and the Hens" (= not-H. 7) and 13 "The Sick Ass" (= not-H. 232). In the three cases we must start from a short Hellenistic fable: of four verses in the second and third, somewhat longer in the first.

For the verse of the two fables, originally of four verses, we refer the reader to p. 26. The other fable, that of the houseowner and the sailors, shows fewer traces of verse, but some can be found; I refer the reader to the same place.

3. *Fables with Specific Characteristics*

I have already said that these are the three that appear at the end of our two manuscripts and that among them there are two different cases: a fable of the Pseudo-Babrius, barely prosified, that of "The

Ant and the Cicada" (17 = H. 114), and two fables of medium length, not summarized. I am going to consider these two now.

One of them is 15 "The Man and the Lion" (= H. 264). It is a very interesting example. The primary version is reconstructed in its original, Hellenistic verse, in quite a complete form (cf. Appendix I) starting from AnF. Ib, Par. and Dod. It tells of how a man and a lion going for a walk together saw a monument with a man defeating a lion, which according to the man proved him right in their earlier dispute over who was stronger; to this the lion replied that if the lions knew how to sculpt, "you would see many men under lions". There is a secondary version in the Pseudo-Dositheus, Aphthonius and Avianus, in which the initial theme of the walk is eliminated and from the beginning the theme is presented of the *eris* or dispute and the search for a witness to resolve it.

This was clearly a summarized version and it is at the basis of Aphthonius and Avianus, although the latter introduces his own expansion. It is also at the basis of the Pseudo-Dositheus: but here there is a very long addition, whereby the lion and the man are heading for an amphitheatre and there they see the man defeated by the lion, which seems to testify in favour of the lion, but the man replies that it is due to the fact that the man was tied up.

This added insult, totally prosaic, is something separate from the other fables of the Pseudo-Dositheus. Hence we conclude that the fable was only added to his collection secondarily. Yet there is no doubt that it derives from a summarized fable with "remodelled" verse, which is reconstructed based on Aphthonius and the Pseudo-Dositheus. I think that by adding the two we may obtain an initial

ἤριζον ἀλλήλοις ἀνήρ τε καὶ λέων
προὔχων τις εἴη [– ⏑ – ⏓ – ⏓ ⏓

that necessarily had to be introduced to eliminate the theme of the walk. Also Aphthonius' ending (very much prosified by the Pseudo-Dositheus) εἰ καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν ἦσαν[I πλείους ἂν εἶδες ἐκ λεόντων ἀνθρώπους I ἑαλωκότας[is an adjustment of the previous one κἀκεῖνος εἶπε[I]γλύφειν εἰ λέοντες ᾔδεσαν I πολλοὺς ἂν ἄνδρας εἶδες[.

In Aphthonius there are further remnants of verse. The significant aspect is to what extent in this fable the verse has been suppressed

in the Pseudo-Dositheus and how it has been expanded in a strictly prosaic form: the two facts are connected.

In short: a fable-summary derived from the primary one, the basic fable of Aphthonius, Avianus and the Pseudo-Dositheus, was later expanded by the latter, who proceeded in a different manner from his customary one; at other times he restricts himself to prosifying the metrical fable-summary. It is most likely that, in this case, what he did was to take this fable from another collection and add it to his own.

To conclude, let us look at the fable that we have left, that of the two mice, which appears in Horace. Here the nature of our sources does not allow us to draw any other clear conclusion than that, in this case, the model of the Pseudo-Dositheus does not seem to be a summarized fable. The ametrical agreement with Aphthonius, particularly in the beginning Μῦς ἀρουραῖος, may suggest that both start off from the same prosification. Yet their model must have been long, particularly if it is accepted that certain metrical fragments of both authors are complementary, as is possible:

Aphthonius: ⏓ – ⏑ –] τὸν ἀστικὸν παρελάμβανε
Ps.-Dositheus: συκῶν τε καὶ σταφυλῶν [⏑ –] καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
τούτους δέος τε καὶ φυγὴ μεταλαμβάνει
Aphthonius: ⏓ – ⏑ – ⏓ –] ὁσάκις ἐπειρῶντο
⏓ – ⏑] μετριότητα τῆς ἄστει τρυφῆς.

This model is clearly the same one that Babrius and Horace followed; they modified it and expanded it, each to his own style. There is no way of establishing whether it was a secondary summary-model: in fact, it is not such a summary, as we have already said that in this respect this fable differs from the core of those of the Pseudo-Dositheus. Yet it is still curious that the model was followed by Aphthonius, who accompanies the Pseudo-Dositheus in the prosification of the same model in various of his normal fables. For whatever reason, it seems that this Hellenistic fable was in the basic collection of both fabulists. And that if at a certain moment it was discarded by the Pseudo-Dositheus, undoubtedly on account of its greater length, it was later added by him at the end of the collection with other anomalous material. He even added the prosification of a fable from the Pseudo-Babrius.

III. *Conclusions*

The existence seems guaranteed, then, of a Hellenistic collection of abbreviated fables that in the 2nd century AD received a prosaic form through the work of an unknown author. This prosaic form was later more or less altered in a number of variants, such as that of the Assendelft Tablets and the one that has reached our manuscripts (two variants on one occasion). We attribute this whole group to the Pseudo-Dositheus.

In a certain sense, that Hellenistic collection already anticipated the literary tendencies that later gave rise to the collection of the Pseudo-Babrius—one of whose fables, precisely, strayed into the collection of the Pseudo-Dositheus, and was prosified by the latter. In fact, we have already seen that, from the beginning of the Hellenistic fable, the type of the short fable coexisted in the same collections with the other types of fables. The original aspect of our collection is that he either selected short fables or abbreviated other existing ones, taking them from the different branches of the fabulistic *stemmata*: sometimes from primary versions, sometimes from secondary ones, irrespective of whether their models ended up or not in the Augustana, Babrius or the other collections.

In contrast with the fables of the Pseudo-Babrius, these others belong to various types, not predominantly to the situation type. They are very often agonal, sometimes very well-known fables. Together with them there are anecdotes and new fables, undoubtedly derived from other known ones: "The Cat and the Hens" derives from the fable of the same title in H. 7, "The Sick Ass" brings together a theme from this and another from H. 198 ("The Ass and the Wolf"), not-H. 225 "The Houseowner and the Sailors" recalls H. 30 ("The Shipwrecked Man") and H. 178 ("The Shipwrecked Man and the Sea").

A single structural type does not exist in these fables, not even a predominant type. There is frequently the elimination of the final closing statement, sometimes alluded to in one way or another within the fable. Yet it may also be left alone and, on the other hand, descriptive details are eliminated from the beginning or middle of the fable.

The author of the collection to which we are referring is likely to have sometimes simply collected a short fable, the only existing

version; at other times he may have created short fables himself, imitating others. Yet more often, as we have already said, he selects freely from among the existing fables—from the only version or from the primary or the secondary version—and abbreviates them. In some cases we see clearly that, to do this, he respects the verse of the model as far as is possible, but when he is unable to, he "remodels" it with new verse. Where this cannot be demonstrated, it is nevertheless still likely, by the very force of things. Let us recall that we have already found the method of deriving a fable from another based on a mixture of the ancient verse and other new verse on many occasions, as a recourse to create a secondary model starting from a primary one. Our author has done no more than apply this method to the creation of summarized fables.

The collection must have enjoyed a certain popularity. Not only was it known to the scholar who dictated the fables of the Assendelft Tablets, but we have seen that Aphthonius also knew it. We must see, when studying this author, that it was longer than the collection of the Pseudo-Dositheus shows. On the other hand, we have seen that it was also known to other authors, such as Avianus, the *Palatine Anthology*, certainly to Phaedrus and Greek and Latin authors that transmit fables, such as Pliny and Aelian. We have also mentioned the Codex Brancaccianus and the Syriac versions on some occasions.

Of course, the Greek collection is known by the Latin translator of the codices of the Pseudo-Dositheus. It is easy to check that the original version is the Greek one and the derived one the Latin (which sometimes produces a new derivative version, that of Romulus). In fact, it is this translator (of the fables and of other texts) that is called Dositheus by the manuscripts and who should receive the name of Pseudo-Dositheus. The Greek collection in prose thus remains more anonymous than ever. Not to mention its Hellenistic model.

Let us recall, to conclude, that this collection contains three rather heterogeneous final additions: the prosification of a fable of the Pseudo-Babrius, the expansion (with a Roman flavour, with its circus and its gladiator) of a fable from the same collection of summary-fables and a last fable of normal length that certainly derives from a single primary model. Either the same author of the collection or some continuer, added these three fables at the end, being later translated into Latin with the others.

Supplement to Part Two, Chapter Three

Now we can arrive at the tradition of the Pseudo-Dositheus in the Imperial Age, thanks to *PSI* 7. 848 (*s.* III), a fragment of fable 15, "The Man and the Lion". I study it in "Nuevos fragmentos papiráceos de fábulas esópicas", *Emerita* 67, 1999, pp. 10–11.

CHAPTER FOUR

APHTHONIUS

I. *General Remarks*

In our Vol. I, pp. 128 ff., when dealing with the rhetorical fable destined for schools, we discussed Aphthonius, the rhetorician of the 4th century AD, a follower of Libanius, and of his collection of 40 fables. This collection enjoyed popularity in the following age; various fables were cited by his follower Doxopater (9, 10 and 11), others are sometimes attributed to Nicholas of Myra (8, 10, 13, 17, 21, 22, 23, 24, 29 and 30), to others epimythia were subsequently added[1] and we must also point out that some fables entered the Byzantine manuscripts of the anonymous collections (2 and 6 in coll. III, 10 in Mb, 14 in Mj).

In the passage cited we have concerned ourselves with the characteristics of the style and vocabulary of Aphthonius. We must add what Sbordone says[2] in his study. As this author says, Aphthonius follows uniform and conventional models: he writes short fables, whose endings he often cuts and abbreviates (the "closing statement" is frequently the victim) and follows symmetrical schemes in his exposition. I have already discussed his Atticism and his *aphelès* style. And I expressed a certain pessimism on the possibility of finding metrical remnants in these fables, given the renovation of the lexicon and the structure, also given his abbreviations. Yet in spite of this, I believe that metrical remnants may be found today: sometimes quite abundant ones, at others limited or doubtful ones.

What we are interested in here initially is the situation of Aphthonius within the *stemmata* of the Greek fabulistic tradition. In Vol. I, pp. 131 ff. we established a series of groups, according to the accompaniment with which the various fables are found: those that are

[1] Cf. in general on Aphthonius, the work by F. Sbordone "Recensioni retoriche delle favole esopiane", *RIGI* 16, 1932, pp. 35–68; for the theme we are considering now, cf. pp. 63 ff.

[2] Art. cit., pp. 45 ff., 58 ff.

also in the Anonymous fables and the Babrian tradition (there is a distinction, depending on whether they are in I or in Ib or III); those that are only in the Babrian tradition or only in the Anonymous Fables (these are less numerous), sometimes also with accompaniment by Syntipas (22 is only in Aphthonius and Syntipas); and the fables that are only in Aphthonius. It is also interesting to indicate that some fables are in Aphthonius and the Pseudo-Dositheus or in Aphthonius and the Codex Brancaccianus; and that others are also in other rhetoricians: two in Libanius, in a very similar version (29 and 30), another in Maximus Tyrius (30), another in Julian (3), another in Themistius (16).

All this, in any event, does not solve the problem of the *stemma*: at most, with the experience that we already have on the theme, there is the suggestion that we are dealing with a mixed collection. This is confirmed by what we have seen on the Pseudo-Dositheus in the preceding chapter and what we will detail below on this same theme: Aphthonius sometimes accompanies said author as evidence of a collection of summarized fables which, moreover, have various *stemmata*, sometimes not. Of course, this makes us discard Sbordone's thesis that Aphthonius is derived from Babrius. Since where he indicates agreements with the Babrian versions (or those of the paraphrase, which he hastily identifies with Babrius), it frequency happens that the explanation is that both Aphthonius and Babrius present ancient, preserved elements, which were altered by AnF. I (such as when, in the fable of the stag, H. 76, only AnF. I introduces the lion; similar things may be said of "The Rook and the Birds", H. 103, etc.). At other times, on the contrary, both Babrius and Aphthonius belong to an innovative branch, as is the case in "The Dog that Carried a Piece of Meat", H. 136 (it is the branch that introduces the ἁρπάσας, the shadow of the meat instead of that of the dog, etc.). And to deduce that, where a fable is only in Aphthonius and AnF. I or only in the former, the corresponding fable of Babrius, on which Aphthonius would depend, has been lost, is purely hasty speculation. In fact, Aphthonius always depends on versions in Hellenistic verse, never on versions in Babrian verse. The proximity is greater or lesser to Babrius, AnF. I and other collections depending on the situation of the corresponding fables in the *stemma* of each one. What is clear is that Aphthonius does not come from our Augustana, but from previous models.

We must establish certain prior principles. The first is that, like

the Pseudo-Dositheus, Aphthonius always follows models in Hellenistic verse, as we have just said: those he more or less prosifies, those he alters and sometimes undoubtedly mutilates. These models may be single ones, at least in our current knowledge of the fable; in this case, Aphthonius alone or both Aphthonius and other versions may depend on them. Yet at other times we already know that there are two or more metrical versions of the same fable, versions differentiated either by the subject, or by the length, or by both. Aphthonius may either start from a primary version, modified by his model (which is sometimes, at the same time, the model for other versions); or from a secondary version (with the same observation); he may, of course, come from one of two primary versions. In these various cases, the metrical version prosified by him (and sometimes, as I say, also by other authors) may continue the verse of the previous one, simply summarizing it, although sometimes preserving it better in certain aspects: we are referring to complementary verse. Yet the summary may involve the need to alter the metre: we are talking of remodelled verse, that is to say, partly with preservation of the old and partly addition of the new. Or else the alteration is so great that the whole verse is new. It is clear that the shortage of metrical remnants imposes a certain prudence, as it is not always possible to distinguish between continued or complementary verse and remodelled verse or between the latter and new verse.

On the other hand, we will see that the *stemmata* vary. Aphthonius may start from a secondary model centred around AnF. I, whose primary model is centred around Babrius, or vice versa; or he may start from a primary model of one or the other type or else a single, global one, which embraces both lines (of course, one of them may be lacking or both may be lacking). In fables of a single model appearing in Aphthonius (sometimes in some other collections), it may be a model derived from some known fable, as in the parallel case of the Pseudo-Dositheus; or it may also be a matter of the survival of a very ancient model (as is the case in 28, the fable of the eagle, which is the only continuation of the ancient model of Stesichorus, cf. Vol. I, pp. 245 and 400).

Another question is that of whether Aphthonius has always chosen a collection of short fables for his generally short fables, like the one that the Pseudo-Dositheus followed, except in his three final fables. We will see that this is sometimes the case, but not always.

At other times we must suppose that it is Aphthonius himself that has abbreviated a metrical fable of normal length.

II. *Analysis of the Fables*

1. *Fables in Common with the Pseudo-Dositheus*

It seems logical for us to begin the analysis of the tradition reflected in the fables of Aphthonius with those that we have just seen when dealing with the subject of the Pseudo-Dositheus: with those fables appearing in both fabulists. Let us recall that there are six fables coming from the tradition of the short metrical fable (all except for one are also in AnF.) and of a fable in which the Pseudo-Dositheus reprosifies a fable from the Pseudo-Babrius, that of the ant and the cicada. The fact that we have already studied these fables on the subject of the Pseudo-Dositheus makes their treatment easier and quicker here; we must add, in any event, the data on our author.

There are some fables in which Aphthonius derives from the same model as the Pseudo-Dositheus: the proof, if it were necessary, that this model actually existed, is not a simple extrapolation starting from the latter author.

If we recall what we said above (p. 226), in H. 76, the fable of the stag, both the Pseudo-Dositheus 1 and Aphthonius 18 come from a metrical summary with remodelled verse from a secondary version which in turn remodels a primary one: comprising the primary are Par., Dod., Babrius, the secondary AnF. I. We add data to demonstrate that Aphthonius goes with the Pseudo-Dositheus, namely: agreements in innovations by the latter already studied (τὸ θέρος, ἑαυτὸν ἐθεᾶτο, ἁλίσκεται κέρασι, see the corresponding passages in the Pseudo-Dositheus); and complementary verse:

]τῆς πλοκῆς ἀπεθαύμαζε | κατῃτιᾶτο δὲ τῶν ποδῶν[
]θηρῶντες προσῄεσαν
]κέρασιν ἁλίσκεται   an inversion

An identical case is that of H. 147 "The Old Lion and the Fox", if the version of AnF. I, II (from which Pseudo-Dositheus 6 and Aphthonius 8 derive) is really secondary with respect to that of

Lucilius and Babrius: except that in this case we do not find remnants of new verse when crossing from some versions to others, only complementary verse. In the case of Aphthonius, the fact of there being shared elements with the Pseudo-Dositheus is demonstrated, among other things, by agreement in the elimination of the dialogue πῶς ἔχεις; etc. (replaced by ἀλώπηξ . . . ἠσπάσατο τὸν λέοντα T.Assend., cf. Aphthonius φιλοφρονεῖται τὸν λέοντα) in the archaism (Pseudo-Dositheus νοσεῖν προσποιεῖτο, cf. Aphthonius νοσεῖν ὑπεκρίνατο), etc. Of course Aphthonius sometimes agrees with AnF. I in archaisms (AnF. τὸ τέχνασμα . . . συνεῖσα/Aphthonius συνεῖσα τῆς τέχνης, AnF. πολλῶν τῶν θηρίων καταναλωθέντων/Aphthonius ἑαλωκότων δὲ πολλῶν).

A slightly different case is that of H. 264 "The Man and the Lion", in which we already know that Aphthonius 34 starts from the same model as the Pseudo-Dositheus 15 and Avianus, as this is also a summarized model, but derived this time from a primary model (in AnF. Ib, Par. and Dod). We have seen that it is a model with remodelled verse, which is reconstructed based on the Pseudo-Dositheus and Aphthonius. To the verse of the latter that we have already mentioned, the following may be added:

⏓ – ⏑ – ⏓ –] εἰκόνος ἐλάμβανε
ἐν ᾗ λέων ἐξ ἀνδρὸς [–] ἐγέγλυπτο
ἁλισκόμενος

This is not always the case: not only are there fables of the Pseudo-Dositheus that are absent from Aphthonius and vice versa, but there are independent versions of the same fables in both.

The case of H. 136 "The Dog that Carried a Piece of Meat" is the closest to the previous ones. We have seen that a secondary version existed with remodelled verse of which the Pseudo-Dositheus 11 derived (and Babrius, Syntipas and Syr.); this it was a summarized version. We may deduce a variant of this version, of doubtful metre, in which the dog, instead of crossing the river, goes along it: it is that of Aphthonius 35 and the Codex Brancaccianus. The significant aspect is that metrical remnants appear in these two texts which, evidently, come from the summarized version that was later altered by the Pseudo-Dositheus and others. This is a common phenomenon. There is complementary verse in Aphthonius and the Codex Brancaccianus (Aphthonius πειρώμενος δὲ λαβεῖν τὸ μεῖζον[, Codex Brancaccianus ὃ μὲν κατεῖχε κρέας, ἀπώλεσ' ἐμπεσών with a

suppression) which demonstrates that the secondary version had remodelled verse compared with the primary one.

Things are different in H. 126 "The Crow and the Fox", in which the Pseudo-Dositheus 9 comes from a secondary model (the primary model, in AnF. I, Phaedrus, Babrius, Par., Dod., Tzetzes, *Tetr.*), while Aphthonius 29, although it is also secondary, is another independent derivative. In fact, the fable of Aphthonius cannot be described as a summary, as it is of the average type, like that of AnF. I. It comes from the primary model, not from I, since it offers τυρόν, ἰδοῦσα, ἐκβαλών (without the alterations of I) and elements agreeing with Babrius. We cannot see new verse, but we can find prosifications of verses that are reconstructed with the help of the rest of the tradition. For example, from Aphthonius ἰδοῦσα δὲ ἀλώπηξ, AnF. I ἀλώπηξ δὲ τοῦτον θεασαμένη and Ps.-Dos. τοῦτον δ' ἀλώπηξ . . . θεασαμένη we can obtain τοῦτον ἰδοῦσ' ἀλώπηξ[and there are prosifications of verses preserved in I or Babrius.

In a case such as this, Aphthonius may have had the primary original at his disposal and prosified it: as there is no difference of verse (remodelled or new), this may be the case of not-H. 210 "The Field Mouse and the Town Mouse", where we are dealing with derivatives from a single primary model (in Horace, Babrius, Aphthonius 26, Pseudo-Dositheus 16, Rom.), whose verse is reconstructed particularly from the complementary verse of Aphthonius and the Pseudo-Dositheus (cf. p. 232). Yet the fables of these two collections are prosifications of normal length (not summaries), independent of each other.

What happens with H. 114 "The Cicada and the Ant" exemplifies even more clearly, if possible, the different behaviour, on occasions, of the two fabulists. We have already seen that what the Pseudo-Dositheus 17 does, in fact, is to incorporate in the ending of his collection a slight prosification of a fable from the Pseudo-Babrius. This version comes from the primary model (with AnF. Ib, III, Synt., Syr.); and from this variant comes a secondary summary in which the action begins in the summer (in the Cod. Branc., Theoph, Doxopater). The fable of Aphthonius is in turn a summary of this: it is in the same case as those studied first, but its counterpart in the Pseudo-Dositheus is not like this, as he restricts himself to prosifying the Pseudo-Babrius. This summary of Aphthonius 1 offers metrical remnants: it had remodelled verse, probably inherited from the secondary version:

⏓ – ⏑ – ⏑] ἀνεβάλλοντο σύντονον,
μύρμηξ δὲ πονεῖν [⏓ – ⏑] συλλέγειν καρπούς
ἐξ ὧν ἔμελλον [– ⏑ –] τραφήσεσθαι
⏓ – ⏑ – ⏓ – ⏑ –] πρὸς ἔνδειαν.

All this, as regards the relationship between Aphthonius and the Pseudo-Dositheus, which we see is not constant. As regards Aphthonius himself, we see that he habitually reprosifies a derivative (generally a summary) from a version that is either primary, secondary or unique: but he may also directly prosify a primary model, whether he has a secondary one alongside it or not. And he does not always follow a summary, he may follow a model of intermediate length and maintain this length approximately.

2. *Other Fables*

a) *Aphthonius Reprosifies a Secondary Summary*

As sometimes happens, as we have just seen, when he is accompanied by the Pseudo-Dositheus, also when this is not the case, Aphthonius may restrict himself to prosifying a secondary version. Sometimes, he does this together with other collections; sometimes alone, as far as we can tell from the data at our disposal. As regards the verse, it may be complementary, remodelled or new, with the doubts and uncertainties that we have already mentioned. Below is a list of the fables corresponding to this section.

Aphthonius 10, also in Mb (= H. 199) "The Ass and the Lionskin". From the primary version, in AnF. I, Babrius and *Tetr.* II 23 (2) comes a secondary summary (in Par. III, *Tetr.* I 19, Tzetzes and Lucian). It is easy to see the difference of metre in the beginning of the two versions and also at the end, where the secondary version makes the lion die]ῥοπάλοις τε καὶ ξύλοις (Par.): it is a remodelled verse, but ancient elements are preserved. Aphthonius preserves very clear agreements with the latter version, which in turn summarizes: cf., for example, *Tetr.* I 19 εὔχει λέων εἶναι/Aphthonius ἐπεθύμει λέων εἶναι (but he eliminates the beginning). The ending]πόνους κατήσθιον may be ancient (complementary verse) or recent (remodelled).

Aphthonius 19 (= H. 2) "The Eagle, the Rook and the Shepherd". The summary, which cuts the ending, is followed not only by Aphthonius, but also by the Codex Brancaccianus (very close), Syntipas

and Syr.; the primary version produces AnF. I, Par. and Babrius. See on p. 50 remnants of verse of Aphthonius that seem complementary, perhaps κριῶν λαβεῖν ἐπειρᾶτο is too. Combining Aphthonius and the Codex Brancaccianus, an initial verse (remodelled) may be proposed: ἀρνειὸν ἥρπασ' ἀετὸς ⟨καὶ⟩ ἐντεῦθεν ἐτρέφετο and also]ἐπεχείρει (Branc., ἐνεχείρει Aphthonius) τοῖς ἴσοις.

Aphthonius 33 (= H. 11) "The Fisherman". Aphthonius summarizes by removing the ending, without anybody accompanying him in this; the primary version is in AnF. I, Babrius. In him there is complementary verse (]τοὺς αὐλοὺς λαβών), also, it seems, remodelled (]ἠπόρει θηρᾶν / τούτους ἀφείς[).

Aphthonius 15 (= H. 119) "The Camel and Zeus". Here too only Aphthonius presents a secondary summary of the primary original that produces AnF. I and Avianus; but we must observe that there is a second secondary version, another summary, from which come Par., Dod. and Syntipas (with derivatives). To restrict ourselves to Aphthonius, we will say that the beginning of Aphthonius, combined with that of AnF. I, gives a verse ἰδὼν κάμηλος ταῦρον[, while the ending by the same author]προσαφελέσθαι τῶν ὤτων seems to represent a remodelling of AnF. I μέρος τι τῶν ὤτων ἀφείλετο[.

Aphthonius 21 (= H. 158) "The Wolf and the Sheep". It can be seen on our p. 51 that Aphthonius and Libanius depend on a primary model that is in AnF. I, Phaedrus and Dod.; it presents an initial reduction. For their part, Par. and Babrius offer another version, with a central reduction and an altered ending, which presents a verse that is probably complementary: if this is the case, it is another derived version. That of Aphthonius and Libanius presents a different verse from that of AnF. I, which can be seen best in Aphthonius:

⏓ – ⏑ – ⏓ –] τί δ' ἡμῖν ἄσπονδος
ἀεὶ καὶ ἀκήρυκτος πόλεμος; εἶσ' αἴτιοι
κύνες οἱ κάκιστ' ἀπολούμενοι, οἳ προσίοντας (inversion)
ἡμᾶς ὑλακτοῦσ' οὐδὲν ἠδικηκότας
⏓ – ⏑ – ⏓] ῥᾳδίως ὑπήγετο

It is probably new, remodelled verse, although it cannot be ruled out that it is complementary. In any event, it seems clear that Libanius and his follower Aphthonius had the same model.

Aphthonius 25 (= H. 161) "The Wolf and the Heron". Here too Aphthonius only depends on the secondary summarized version, while the primary is in AnF. I, Phaedrus, and there is another secondary version in Par., Dod., Babrius and the Codex Brancaccianus. As I stated on pp. 53 ff., the verse of Aphthonius seems complementary to that presented there, he perhaps adds an initial verse which, combining Aphthonius and AnF. I, could be ὀστοῦν λύκῳ περιπείρεται καὶ ἐζήτει.

Aphthonius 39 (= H. 163) "The Wolf and the Old Woman". Here the secondary summary is followed not only by Aphthonius, but also by Babrius; the primary verse is revealed in AnF. I and Dod. See on p. 57 the initial and final characteristics of the reduced version (expanded again by Babrius). Also the verse of Aphthonius is undoubtedly partially complementary. Yet he also alters: cf. Aphthonius]εἰ μὴ παύσαιτο (AnF.]ἐὰν μὴ παύσηται),]λύκῳ παραβαλεῖν (AnF. βαλεῖν αὐτὸν τῷ λύκῳ). There is, then, verse that is partly complementary, partly remodelled.

Aphthonius 14, also in Mj (= H. 208) "The Bird-catcher and the Stork". Only Aphthonius descends from a secondary summary; the primary version leaves a trace in AnF. I, Par., Dod., Babrius. The fable of Aphthonius, besides having lost the final closing statement, is very altered, which explain the new verse that he introduces: γεωργὸν ἠδίκουν [οἱ] γέρανοι[,]διατριβῆς κοινωνῶν, δίκην ὑπεῖχε ὧν [προ]ηδίκησ' οὐδέν (final choliamb, with an elimination and an inversion).

Aphthonius 12 (= H. 266) "The Two Cocks and the Eagle". In addition to Aphthonius, Syntipas and Syr. derive from the secondary summary; the primary version is in AnF. Ib and there is a second secondary version in Par., Dod. and B. Aphthonius presents complementary verse, see above, p. 50.

Aphthonius 17 (= H. 275 III) "The Fawn and the Hind". In Aphthonius (and only in him) there is a secondary summary, without a closing statement and with alterations that can be seen, above, p. 761; the primary line is in AnF. III, Par. and Dod. The major alteration of the fable in Aphthonius (or, rather, as we have said, in its source) explains the considerable new verse that is in it:

⏒ –] ⟨τὸν⟩ ἔλαφον ἡ μήτηρ ἐνουθέτει
λέγουσα· κέρας, ὦ παῖ, [παρὰ] τῆς φύσεως εἴληφας
⏒ – ⏑ – ⏒ –] ἐπίοντας τοὺς κύνας
κυνῶν δρόμος πόρρωθεν [– ⏒ – ⏒ ⏒
⏒ – ⏑ – ⏒ –] ἡ δὲ μένειν τῷ παιδί
παραινέσασα [αὐτὴ] τῆς φυγῆς [προ]κατήρξατο

Aphthonius 5 (= not-H. 8) "The Goat and the Goatherd". Another secondary summary on which only Aphthonius depends. The primary verse is in Dod., Par. and Babrius, while there is a second secondary version in Phaedrus and *Tetr.* Aphthonius presents various reductions with respect to the "Babrian" line, as well as important remnants of complementary verse. The initial verse is reconstructed by combining Aphthonius, Babrius and Dod.: ποιμὴν ποτ' αἶγας ἀνακαλεῖν ἐπειρᾶτο, elsewhere it is Aphthonius that better preserves a verse that is spoiled in other versions:]οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἤνυε, | ἀνούστατ', εἶπεν, αἰπόλων, κεκράξεται | τὸ κέρας [⏑ – ⏒] κἂν ἐγὼ σιωπήσω (with an inversion). Of course at other times it is Aphthonius who alters: Par. ῥίψας δ' ὁ ποιμὴν πέτραν[(Aphthonius λίθον ἀφείς), Dod.]τῷ δεσπότῃ μὴ φάσθαι (Aphthonius τῷ δεσπότῃ μὴ κατειπεῖν), etc.

Aphthonius 38 (= not-H. 66) "The Farmer and the Fox". There is a secondary summary of a model of which traces remain in Ovid, Lucian and Babrius, from which Aphthonius comes. There remain small remnants of verse in Aphthonius (]ἀλώπεκα προσάψαι δαλόν,]πέμψαντος ἐνέπρησε λήιον); given the nature of the sources of the primary version, it is difficult to establish its relationship with it.

b) *Aphthonius Prosifies a Summary of a Secondary Version*

From the standpoint of Aphthonius, the case is identical to the previous one, but not from that of the expert on the *stemmata* of the fables. He restricts himself to prosifying a model in Hellenistic verse, generally a summary; but we know that it is, in turn, a secondary model, there is derivation in cascade. It is clear that the sources of Aphthonius included secondary and primary versions, in general terms summary-versions, such as those of Pseudo-Dositheus, with the characteristics that we already know. This mixture of primary and secondary fables in the same collections is not unfamiliar to us. Sometimes the two versions have ended up in our Augustana or, in

any event, in the Anonymous collections. The existing cases are the following:

Aphthonius 23 (= H. 143) "The Hares and the Frogs". From a primary model that is almost all reconstructed starting from AnF. III, Par., Dod., and Babrius (with an altered ending), there comes a secondary one, a summary, in AnF. I, Syr. and Phaedrus; and from here precisely comes the new summary, from which in turn comes Aphthonius. In this there is abundant new verse (which possibly remodels the old verse):

> Λίμνην δὲ τῷ θανάτῳ προσήκοντ' [– ⏓ ⏓
> ⏓ – ⏑ – ⏓ –] τὸν κτύπον οὐκ ἤνεγκον
> ⏓ – ⏑] τῆς λίμνης μυχοὺς προσελάμβανον

Aphthonius 7 (= H. 145) "The Lion and the Farmer". Also in the fable of the lion in love there is cascade: Aphthonius comes from a summary derived from a secondary version in Babrius and Diodorus, a version in turn derived from the primary one in AnF. I and Dod. Aphthonius remodels a verse that in turn remodelled the summary. I think that the direct model of Aphthonius began:

> λέων ποτ' ἤρα παρθένου καὶ τῷ πατρί | προσῆλθε
> (Aphthonius: λ. ἤ. π. κ. προσελθὼν τῷ πατρί.)

Aphthonius 30 (= H. 87 I and 189 I) "The Piglet and the Sheep". Here the secondary version of AnF. 189 Ia and Syr. considerably modifies the subject of the primary one (in AnF. I, cf. p. 48 f.). In Aphthonius, who summarizes the secondary model even more, there is a great deal of verse, certainly complementary to this. It can be seen above, in the location cited.

Aphthonius 9 (= H. 198) "The Ass and the Wolf". Here the primary model, in which the limp of the ass is fictitious, is in AnF. I and Romulus (there are traces in Par. and Dod.) and from him comes a secondary model, in which the ass is truly lame, which has produced Babrius and Aphthonius; but this is a summary. The presence of independent verse is doubtful. On the other hand, there are traces (cf. p. 41) that Babrius dates back further than AnF. I; if this

is so, this case must be moved over to the type γ. It is significant that H. 257 "The Wild Ass and the Wolf" comes of the secondary branch.

Aphthonius 32 (= H. 273 Ib, III) "The Eagle". This ancient fable from Aeschylus, whose primary version leaves traces in AnF. III (metrical) and the secondary one in Ib and *Tetr.*, also appears in Aphthonius, a summary of the secondary one. We must observe that the two versions of AnF. are in fact two versions of the paraphrase that have been introduced into it. The fact is that the secondary version has new verse, which is reconstructed by using the complementary one of Aphthonius, although this suppresses the beginning. Cf., for example, Aphthonius ἐπιστραφεὶς δ' ὁ ἀετὸς καὶ [τὸ] βέλος ἰδών, altered by Ib.

c) *Aphthonius Prosifies One of Two or More Primary Branches*
Of course, this case is not always easy to distinguish from the previous one. The branch that Aphthonius follows may or may not be a summary. However, in the cases we present, there does not seem to be an intermediate summary before Aphthonius, but he restricts himself to prosifying. We have already seen some examples in the fables common to the Pseudo-Dositheus and Aphthonius in which the latter restricts himself to prosifying the model with some slight alteration, without there being traces of intermediate verse. The fables to which we are referring are:

Aphthonius 36 (= H. 71 and 239) "The Oak and the Reed". As we already know (cf. p. 47) there is a more complete version, which is that of H. 239, Par. and Babrius, and another summarized one, centred around the ἔρις or dispute, which is found in H. 71 and Aphthonius: they present two different verses. They very probably come in an independent manner from the ancient original of Demetrius; on the second version depends Aphthonius, whose version is in turn a summary, which offers complementary verse, as already indicated by us. There even is more verse in Aphthonius, perhaps new, perhaps complementary. I reconstruct:

τῆς δ' ἀσθενείας [κατ]ῃτιᾶτο τὸν κάλαμον
εἴκειν δ' ἅπασι πεφυκέναι τοῖς πνεύμασι (mss. πεφυκότα).

Aphthonius 31 (= H. 103) "The Rook and the Birds". On this interesting fable, see pp. 63 ff.: it seems clear that Aphthonius, Libanius and Theophylactus depend on the primary version from which two secondary come, that of AnF. I and Phaedrus and that of Babrius. The primary version in question preserves complementary verse in the three authors mentioned, without it being possible to say that Aphthonius presents a summary: rather there is expansion in the other two. We are dealing, then, with an exception (the fable of Aphthonius is of medium length, with a closing statement, as there are some in the Pseudo-Dositheus). For the complementary verse, see:

Aphthonius:	Κάλλους ἀγὼν ἦν[	(inversion)
	ὄρνεις ἐφοίτων[	
	κολοιὸς [δὲ] οὐδέν[	
	⏒ –] ἃ τῶν ἄλλων [ἐξ]έπιπτε[	
Libanius:	μέλλοντος [δὲ] ἤδη τοῦ Διὸς ⟨τ'⟩ ἐγχειρίζειν	
	τὸ σκῆπτρον αὐτῷ[	(inversion)
	⏒ – ⏑ –] ἀλλοτρίων ἐγυμνοῦτο[	
Theophyl.:	⏒ – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑] ἐπὶ λίμνας καὶ πηγάς	

This confirms that Aphthonius used a collection that Libanius (and also Theophylactus) knew; a collection which, together with a majority of summarized fables, he had at least some of medium length.

Aphthonius 3 (= not-H. 125) "The Kite and the Swan". Here there are two quite different versions (cf. p. 34), both short, with two different verses, which I doubt are complementary. In any event, Aphthonius and Julian belong to the same version and here there may indeed be complementary verse, although this is not strictly demonstrable:

Julian:	φωνὴν ἔχων παραπλησίαν τοῖς [ἄλλοις] ὄρνισιν
Aphthonius:	⏒ – ⏑ – ⏒ –] τοσαύτην ἰκτίνοις
	παρέσχε τὸ πρότερον [⏑ – ⏒ – ⏒ ⏒
	⏒ – ⏑ – ⏒ – ⏑] εἰς ἔρωτ' ἧκον

Aphthonius 16 (not-H. 182) "The Lion and the three Bulls". Cf. p. 54. In this fable Aphthonius follows the primary model, from which, on the other hand, a summarized branch with Synt. and Syr. and another with Avianus originate. In the primary branch Aphthonius

and Babrius introduced a modification: they talk of three bulls, whereas Themistius talks of two, an element preserved by the Syriac versions. Strictly speaking, there is, then, a step before Aphthonius and Babrius, but it is an insignificant detail and there is no trace of different verse; hence we will study the fable here. Here is the verse of Aphthonius:

λέων δέ τις αὐτοῖς [παρ]ηκολούθει, θηρᾶσαι
βουλόμενος[
⏒ – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑] προχειρότερον ἔφθειρε,
[οὓς] κοινῇ συνόντας ⟨δ'⟩ ἠπόρει χειρώσασθαι

It is a short fable that Themistius expanded.

Aphthonius 11 (= H. 211) "The Snake and the Crab". As we have seen, on p. 100, there are two independent versions, with verse that is also independent and a varied theme, derived, conclusively, from the well-known Attic scholium. The second version, very much altered in Babrius, is preserved with a great deal of verse in Aphthonius, see the location cited. It was a short fable, of four verses, almost all of which are reconstructed.

d) *Prosifications of an Isolated Primary Verse*
It remains clear from the above that Aphthonius is sometimes our only witness, sometimes he is accompanied by others. The difference between this group and *a)* is that here we suppose that Aphthonius uses the model directly and not through intermediate versions, though doubtful cases do exist. Where Aphthonius is the only surviving text, we have already indicated that he may continue an ancient fable which has accidentally been lost in other collections or else it could be a new, derived fable, created by Aphthonius' model. We prefer, in this case, to list all these fables. See the metrical analysis of some of them, above, p. 25.

Aphthonius 2 (= H. 277 III) "The Swan". It is a version with variants in AnF. III, derived from a theme from the Platonic *Phaedo*.

Aphthonius 4 (= not-H. 127) "The Bird-catcher and the Cicada". Single, derived (counterpart of "The Fox and the Crow").

Aphthonius 6 = AnF. III (= H. 274 III) "The Ethiopian". Also in Themistius (there are secondary versions in Synt. and Syr.) That of III is practically that of Aphthonius.

Aphthonius 13 (= not-H. 128) "The Old Horse". From the model of Aphthonius comes a line summarized in Phaedrus, Par. and Babrius.

Aphthonius 20 (= not-H. 21) "The Fox, Servant of the Lion". Single, derived.

Aphthonius 22 (= not-H. 94) "The Olive and the Fig". Only in Aphthonius, Synt. and Syr.

Aphthonius 24 (= H. 287 III) "The Frog and the Fox". In Aphthonius, Babrius, AnF. III, Par., Dod., *Tetr.* and Avianus (although some sources seem to come from Babrius).

Aphthonius 27 (= not-H. 207) "The Bees and the Shepherd". Single, but there is a reference in Diogenianus.

Aphthonius 28 (= not-H. 86) "The Snake and the Eagle". Single (from Stesichorus).

Aphthonius 37 (= not-H. 295) "The He-goat and the Vine". Ancient fable from the *Ahikar* (cf. Vol. I, p. 361). In addition to Aphthonius, it is in Leonidas and Evenus (in elegiac distichs, which does not help us to reconstruct the original verse); and there are derivatives in Par., Dod., *Tetr.* and Ovid.

Aphthonius 40 (= not-H. 140) "The Crow". Single, derived from the fable of the Ethiopian.

It can be seen that, conclusively, Aphthonius does not create fables, but rather, he depends on the previous tradition. This is evident where, together with him, there are other appearances of a fable and when the model clearly dates back to the Classical Age. Also when a fable is a derivative from the tradition: either from specific fables, or from standard situations, such as that of the fox who is the servant of the lion. Yet the fact is that, particularly, all these

fables depend on prior versions in verse that can to a certain extent be reconstructed.

For this reconstruction, we refer the reader to our Appendices I and II. We observe that when there are various witnesses, the reconstruction is done with the help of the complementary verse, as, for example, in the case of Aphthonius; but the nature of the other sources may mean that those remnants are only found in Aphthonius, as in the cases of his fables 22 and 37. Of course, when Aphthonius is the only extant testimony, we must restrict ourselves to him. Note that the verse of the model of Aphthonius 28, Stesichorus, offers a completely different verse, as was to be expected.

In both cases, the proportion of verse found varies considerably. It is abundant, for example, in the fable of the swan (Aphthonius 2), in that of the fox, servant of the lion (20), that of the old horse (13), that of the crow (40), that of the he-goat and the vine (37), that of the bees (27). It is sparse and even doubtful at other times, cf., for example, 4 and 24. Yet it is sufficient for us to see that Aphthonius does not create fables, but only prosifies them.

III. *Conclusions*

With certain exceptions of fables of medium length, particularly 26, 29 and 31, Aphthonius presents short fables. Yet if the stylistic and lexical organization of this is due to him to a large extent, in general what he has done is have recourse to short metrical fables, as we know existed from the first Hellenistic Age, to prosify them.

It is clear that he knew the collection that the Pseudo-Dositheus also used, but he may depart from it, resorting to different versions, including ones that are not short, where the Pseudo-Dositheus follows a short one from this collection; it may also happen that both prosify normal versions, perhaps on account of not having found a short fable and not wishing to give up the theme.

In any event, without occasionally giving up "normal" versions, Aphthonius more often follows the short versions that we have been discussing. We have already said that his situation within the fabulistic *stemmata* is very variable; sometimes there are secondary fables, sometimes some that we could refer to as tertiary, sometimes also primary ones. And they are fables that, generally and in the version followed by Aphthonius or that presupposed by him, may have a

very variable diffusion. There is no general close relationship with AnF. I, Babrius, etc.; although there is in certain fables here and there.

Clearly, we cannot guarantee that all these short versions belong to the same collection. It may be the case that Aphthonius has sought short versions here or there (although, as I say, he has given up some and has not totally refrained from using other versions); he may, for example, have used two collections of this type. Talking of a single collection is rather a convenient way of expressing the problem, although it may be correct, conclusively, see below.

Another problem is that of the antiquity of these metrical models. Of course, if there are fables that are sometimes primary, sometimes secondary, sometimes tertiary and all with Hellenistic verse, they must have been spread out at various intervals within this age. At various intervals, because each fable is a specific case and it may occur that a primary fable is more recent than a tertiary one of a well-known, frequently handled theme.

A brief examination of the transmission of the various fables can confirm all this. We have fables by Aphthonius derived from metrical models that are more recent than others of the same fable that have produced versions, as the case may be, in AnF. I, Ib, III, in Phaedrus, Babrius, Dod., Par., in the Syriac versions, and also in Ovid and Lucian (38) and Diodorus of Sicily (7). This is not saying much, but it enables us to advance further to recall fables of Aphthonius whose metrical model is prior to that of Horace (26), to fables of AnF. I and Babrius (36), of Phaedrus, Par. and Babrius (13). We are dealing, indeed, with a model prior to another whose *terminus ante quem* is the 1st century BC. Furthermore, we find models for Aphthonius that are at the same time those for Babrius, Avianus, Diogenes Laertius, Libanius, Themistius, Julian, Theophylactus, AnF. III and Leonidas of Tarentum. The case of the latter author enables us to date back to the 3rd century BC.

Certainly, one thing is the antiquity of the fables and another is that of the collections. We cannot specify when somebody had the idea of bringing together metrical fables of the short type that arose between the 3rd and 1st centuries BC in a collection or in various. The latter date is the minimum antiquity.

It should be taken into account, in any event, that if the Pseudo-Dositheus knew this collection, taking account of which he altered a prosification of the 2nd century AD, we must bear in mind that

in this century the collection must have been well known; there is also a trace of it in the Assendelft Tablets. We have seen that later it was familiar to rhetoricians such as Libanius, Themistius, Theophylactus, Julian and the authors of the Brancaccianus collection and that of the Pseudo-Dositheus. Precisely, the fact that the collections and authors mentioned agree in following the short versions that we have studied in the case of two or more fables makes it likely that they found them together, that is to say, in a collection, in spite of our reservations stated above. In the Byzantine Age, the collection was known through various manuscripts and drafts of the Anonymous Fables, as we have seen; but to a certain extent Aphthonius soon replaced it, since it was quoted, supplanted, with epimythia added.

Babrius and Avianus also used the collection, as we have seen, but Phaedrus, the Augustana and the Syriac versions seem to have avoided it, although, surprisingly, they sometimes work on derivations from it; perhaps, more exactly, of fables of this collection that they found in other sources prior to it. It gives the impression of being a rather marginal collection, limited to certain environments.

However, it is appropriate to emphasize that neither the Pseudo-Dositheus nor Aphthonius restricted themselves precisely to it. However, the basis of the prosifications of the rhetoricians starting from the second century AD seems to be the rhetorical collection par excellence: in general, maintaining the short length; sometimes (in Libanius, Themistius, etc.), expanding it. The Augustana, many times described as rhetorical, seems to have had a different orientation, as do Babrius and Phaedrus, each in his own style.

CHAPTER FIVE

AVIANUS

I. *General Remarks*

In Vol. I, pp. 119 ff., I concerned myself with the collection of Latin fables by Avianus within the section dedicated to "The Babrian Tradition". With this, I did no more than follow traditional ideas that start with Crusius, cited there. The edition of Avianus by Françoise Gaide[1] maintains the same point of view: where the fables of Avianus do not find any correspondence in Babrius, she supposes, simply, that the corresponding fables of Babrius have been lost.

We will see that the derivation of Avianus starting from Babrius is correct, at least, in a certain number of fables: this statement is more correct than that usually made in relation to the Pseudo-Dositheus. Yet not in all cases. The truth is that the detailed comparison of the fables of Avianus with the dossier that may be made of the versions of these in other collections has never been made. We will make it now.

Avianus, a Latin fabulist of the 5th century AD, wrote 42 fables in elegiac distichs preceded by a prologue in prose dedicating the collection to a certain Theodosius. This Theodosius has been identified as the grammarian Ambrosius Macrobius Theodosius, commonly known as Macrobius. In this regard, I refer the reader to the introduction to the edition by Gaide, and I also refer the reader to this for the defence of the authenticity of a few fables that had been suspected of being ungenuine, as well as of the promythia and epimythia of the main manuscripts: in this respect Avianus followed the same archaistic tradition as Phaedrus.[2] I already said in the passage cited that Avianus enjoyed enormous popularity in the Middle Ages, when he had numerous imitators.[3] A series of epimythia added in

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[1] Paris, "Les Belles Lettres" (Budé Collection), 1980.

[2] *Op. cit.*, pp. 22 ff.

[3] His work is collected by Hervieux in his Vol. V, Paris, 1894, reprinted by Olms in Hildesheim, 1970.

the secondary manuscripts are clearly Medieval additions. And likewise the titles.

In his foreword Avianus gives a significant history of the fable, in which he attributes Aesop's decision to writing *ridicula* to an answer by the oracle of Apollo and mentions Socrates and Horace as continuers of his. He adds that Babrius collected the fables in Greek iambs anthologically in two books and that Phaedrus distributed "a part" of these over five books. "From among these fables"—he continues—"I have gathered together forty-two in a single book, fables that, written in a styleless Latin, I have attempted to develop in elegiac verses".

From all this we may deduce that Avianus knew Babrius and Phaedrus, the former in his two-book edition, undoubtedly the original edition and not the Byzantine one, also in two books, but with an alphabetical organization and with the introduction of extraneous material (coming from the imitators, of whom Babrius himself complained). What Avianus does not say is whether his source is Babrius or Phaedrus, or someone else; however, I think that it is most likely that, insofar as Babrius is the model, it is the true Babrius, not the imitations that entered the Byzantine "Babrius", which I endeavoured to detect in the corresponding chapter. Yet Avianus does say something very important: his source is a text composed *rudi latinitate*, which various exegetes understand, I believe correctly, as a text in Latin prose.

The respect in which they go beyond what is correct, I find, is in proposing that the text in Latin prose is precisely a prosification of Babrius. Specifically, starting from Hervieux it has been thought (by Schanz, Crusius, Gaide, among others) that the direct source of Avianus was a collection of prosaic Latin fables, the work of Julius Titianus, to which Ausonius makes reference,[4] saying that it is a translation of "Aesopic trimetres". There is dispute over whether there are one or two Titiani and over who is the author of the Latin prosification; it has been decided, rather hastily, that it is supposedly a prosification precisely of Babrius. As though only Babrius had written fables in trimetres![5]

The only thing that Avianus affirms is that he versifies a collection in Latin prose and the only thing that Ausonius affirms is that

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[4] 18, 12, vv. 74 ff., ed. R. Peiper, Leipzig, Teubner, 1886.

[5] Cf. the data in Gaide, *op. cit.*, pp. 42 ff.

Julius Titianus wrote a collection in Latin prose derived from Aesopic trimetres. It is not said that the former and the latter were the same, nor that the others derived precisely or exclusively from Babrius. Why postulate only one "Aesop" in Latin prose? Why postulate that it must necessarily have come from Babrius? For one thing, the readers of this book already know a collection in Latin prose that does not come from Babrius: that of the so-called Pseudo-Dositheus, which I have studied in this same volume. They may have been more. Let us recall, on the terrain of hypothesis, the "Aesopus latinus" proposed by Thiele as a model for Romulus.[6]

That fact is that Avianus versifies in elegiac distichs a prosaic Latin collection derived, conclusively, from Greek fables in iambic trimetres (a heading under which that of choliambs can fit perfectly, but it is not strictly necessary). It is appropriate for us to dwell a moment on the question of the metre chosen.

I showed in Vol. I, pp. 243 ff., that the fable was born in the environment of the popular festival, in which iambic poetry flourished, and that this explains that this foot was decisive in its literary formation from the very beginning and later over time. The iambic genre and the elegiac genre are closely related, in fact they came about from the same type of festival: I have discussed this elsewhere.[7] They are genres that the poets themselves often cultivate and which develop similar themes.

There are allusions to fables in the elegies of Solon (fr. 11, theme of the fox) and Theognis (347 f. "The Dog that Carried a Piece of Meat", 601 f. "The Farmer and the Serpent"). An elegiac distich has been transmitted to us (by Diogenes Laertius II 5. 42), supposedly composed by Socrates, in which Aesop appears addressing the Corinthians: this demonstrates, at least, that the metre was considered appropriate for the genre. The invention originates from the passage of Plato's *Phaedo* (60 c–61 b) in which it is told that Socrates versified the fables of Aesop, according to him, inspired by the god of Delphi.

However, the tradition of the elegiac fable does not finish there. We must add the numerous fables contained in the epigrams of the

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[6] Cf. Vol. I, p. 141#.

[7] Cf. *Líricos griegos, Elegíacos y yambógrafos arcaicos*, Vol. I, 3rd. ed., Madrid, CSIC, 1990, pp. XIV ff.; and *Orígenes de la lírica griega*, Madrid, Revista de Occidente, 1986, pp. 208 ff.

Anthologia Palatina, starting from the Hellenistic Age. We may also add the fragments of hexametrical and elegiac fables from Crusius, pp. 215 ff., although they contain very mixed material, which requires study; with respect to the former, we may recall the precedent of the *Batrachomyomachia*. In summary, if Avianus decided to versify fables previously in prose in elegiac distichs, he did no more than act in parallel to the fabulists who subsequently wrote fables in different iambic metres. Starting from Avianus, the elegiac fable achieved major diffusion in the Middle Ages.

Returning to the problem of sources, it is clear it still exists today. It is no great argument, after what we know, to say that there are 25 fables of Avianus on the same theme as those of Babrius: we must consult the *stemma* of each one of the fables in question. It is clear that the fact that some that are absent from Babrius are found in the Paraphrase or in the Pseudo-Dositheus implies nothing either to support or disprove that they may also have been in the lost Babrius. In another case, F. Gaide says[8] that two fables (12 and 16) "are Aesopic: it is reasonable to suppose that they existed in Babrius" (?); another (30) is considered to derive from one by Babrius (95), which is clear, but it is less so that the author of the derivation is Avianus; four (22, 25, 28, 38) are only in Avianus and our author affirms that "perhaps they existed" in Babrius. As we see, these are not great arguments; although I emphasize that, occasionally, as we will see, there is certainly derivation starting from Babrius. On the other hand, the demonstration that Avianus knew Phaedrus, judging by certain echoes, is significant. Yet here our author guesses right when she affirms that, except for these slight agreements, Avianus does not imitate Phaedrus, with one possible exception (37).

This is the most important thing that can be said on the state of the question regarding Avianus and his fables. For the metre and language, I refer the reader to the study by F. Gaide; for the literary tendencies, to this same study, to that by J. Küppers[9] and to the conclusions that we will obtain from our own. The reader will see that Avianus was fond of expanding the fables with descriptions, lengthened speeches, etc. He changes the animals and sometimes

[8] Cf. particularly her book cited, pp. 39 ff.

[9] *Die Fabeln Avians. Studien zu Darstellung und Erzählweise spätantiker Fabeldichtung*, Bonn 1977.

alters the subjects, even substantially: however, the problem remains as to what extent this is an aspect of his own or of his models. It is often the latter, specifically of Babrius; at other times it may be his own. What cannot be denied is a general "Babrian" tinge in the collection, irrespective of whether each fable does or does not come from Babrius himself. Of course, we are referring to the true Babrius, who expands situations and speeches and is fond of the picturesque and literary touches; not to the one who reduces and schematizes, the later imitator of Babrius who is undoubtedly prior to Avianus, but is rarely followed by him.

Stating things like this, it is necessary to establish a method of investigation to attack the problem of Avianus' sources. Let us establish various groups of fables of our poet, which will be studied subsequently:

a) Fables that, as far as we can see, are from an exclusively Babrian tradition: the known versions derive from Babrius. Also the fable of Avianus, although there could always be room for the hypothesis that Avianus and Babrius come from a common ancestor (an extremely unlikely hypothesis when the fable of Avianus seems to presuppose the version of Babrius).

b) Fables from a complex tradition in which, in addition to Avianus and Babrius, versions independent from this poet appear, but in which Avianus derives precisely from Babrius.

c) Fables that present a *stemma* of this same complex type, with the presence of Avianus and Babrius, but not a derivation of the former starting from the latter. It can often be shown, specifically, that Avianus depends on a source prior to Babrius, a model of his; or, in any case, independent from him.

d) Fables of which there is no representative in Babrius (in the Babrius that we know). Sometimes there may be room for the doubt as to whether Avianus depends on a lost Babrius, at other times this is impossible.

e) Fables that only appear in Avianus: they may be creations of his or come from a prior source, whether Babrius or not.

As was anticipated, decisive conclusions cannot always be drawn, but we can at least reach the point of establishing that Avianus depends—or does not depend, as the case may be—on Babrius. When there is no dependence, it is a question of establishing his sources and the

situation of these in the *stemma* of the different fables. And, adding the data, reconstructing the general characteristics of the Latin prosaic collection on which Avianus depends: a mixed collection, like so many others to which we have already referred.

II. *Fables of the Exclusively Babrian Tradition: Avianus Derives from Babrius*

This group comprises a few fables (8 specifically) whose analysis in our Appendices shows that they represent one draft by Babrius and another or others derived from it. They are sometimes fables from not-H. sometimes very few (3) from the end of the collection H. (AnF.). The latter do not present material from the Augustana, but from Ib or IIIγ or IIIδ.

We are not going to deal here with a justification of the relationship of dependence of the other collections with respect to Babrius, particularly Par. and Dod., and also, as we have just seen, secondary versions of the Anonymous fables (in fact, paraphrases that entered the manuscripts of these). For this we refer the reader to the study of the respective collections and, in general, to the Appendices. Here we deal exclusively with the relationship between Babrius and Avianus: the other collections do not have any direct relationship with this.

It is appropriate to know, on the other hand, that in some fables there are only versions of Babrius and Avianus; and that, conversely, in H. 282 "The Bald Man", the version of Babrius has not been preserved, but definitely existed, because in IIIγ and in Par. there are many remnants of Babrian verse (note that if the fable begins with φαλακρός, it falls in the lost portion of the Athous).

Of course, it is not impossible *a priori* for some of these fables to have a prior tradition on which Babrius depends, it not being easy to elucidate whether Avianus, closely related with him, depends on that supposed model in spite of everything: I must draw the reader's attention to the fact that, in that case, we have accumulated two hypotheses that have not been proven (and are not provable), one on top of the other. On the other hand, there are at least some of these fables that it seems reasonable to consider as new creations or as having derived from a tradition that only recently entered Greece. It is likely that Babrius is their creator or introducer.

Thus H. 263 (= Av. 19) "The Fir and the Bramble", with its

victory of the bramble and its theme of the wedge made of the wood of the tree that it fells, seems a clear contamination of two fables: "The Laurel and the Olive", from *Iamb* IV by Callimachus (from here come also H. 233, 263), in which the bramble is insulted by the two trees; and H. 262 "The Woodcutters and the Oak" (theme of the wedge). Not-H. 212 "The Mouse and the Bull" (= Av. 31: the bull cannot overcome the mouse, who has bitten him) this brings together themes of H. 155 "The Lion and the Mouse", H. 267 "The Lion and the Mosquito" and H. 260 "The Flea and the Athlete". Not-H. 247 (= Av. 14) "The Mother of the Monkey and Zeus" echoes the common theme of the beauty competition to become king of the animals, a competition presided over by Zeus, and the election of the monkey as king in a competition of this type (H. 83), with the consequent joke by the fox.

These are not the only fables that clearly derive from prior Greek models: in fact, they all do, except for H. 281 (= Av. 17) "The Lion and the Archer", which is the other case referred to above. It is possibly an Egyptian fable (although the Egyptian version preserved shows the influence of the Greek fable of "The Lion and the Mouse", H. 155), that is to say, it would be one more among the various Oriental fables of Babrius.

The other fables of the exclusively Babrian tradition and of secondary derivation are: not-H. 59 (= Av. 32) "The Oxherd and Heracles", the theme of "asking of god and banging with a club", which could come from H. 30, but with the introduction of the Cynic hero Heracles; not-H. 99 (= Av. 23) "Hermes and the Sculptor", an irreligious joke like many others related to Hermes; and not-H. 156 (= Av. 7) "The Dog that Wore a Bell", perhaps on the theme of H. 193 "The Ass that Carried an Image": both animals stupidly boasted. I cannot see clear models of H. 282 (= Av. 10) "The Bald Man".

It seems likely that, in general terms, it is Babrius who created these fables, just as he created various others with similar themes; or who introduced an Oriental fable. And that, also in general terms, Babrius was also the model for Avianus.

It is appropriate to note that in all cases, the fables of Babrius are of medium length, with a minimum of 8 verses: they are never of the abbreviated situation type, which are suspected of not belonging to the poet. Also, with one exception (not-H. 212 = Av. 31) in which the length of the versions of Babrius and Avianus turn out

the same, in all the other cases Avianus expands situations and speeches considerably.

A special case is that of not-H. 99, a fable already mentioned, since in it the differences between the two versions are major, and are not merely differences of style. In Babrius it is about a sculptor who hesitates over whether to sell a Hermes that he has carved to a client who wants to place it in a sepulchre or to another who wants to consecrate it as a god. Hermes appears and ironizes on the power of the sculptor to make him dead or a god. In Avianus it is no longer about Hermes, but Bacchus and the story is much clumsier and lacking in grace; on the other hand, we are only told that the god appears in a dream. This is an example in which the derivation starting from Babrius seems particularly clear: the theme of Hermes treated with a certain ironic irreligiosity is very characteristic of this poet, who, moreover, follows an ancient tradition of the presence of this god in fables. Bacchus is an intruder and the treatment by Avianus is secondary.

A case such as this, and another that we will see below, tilts the scale in favour of the derivation of Avianus starting from Babrius. On the other hand, when there are simply differences of rhetorical expansion between the two versions, we must think that they are secondary, not from a pre-Babrian model cut by this poet: it is not his way of proceeding, as we already know. I must add, finally, that the following section offers cases of unquestionable derivation of Avianus starting from Babrius where we can check, by means of other appearances, the situation of the latter in the *stemma*. Here we are unable to, but those consequences must be expanded.

Finally, there is at least one fable that allows us to see that the derivation does not start from Babrius himself, but, as we must expect, from a prosification of him. It is H. 281 "The Archer and the Lion". Here Avianus expands, as usual, and replaces the original lion with a tiger, but, moreover, there is a moment in which he is close not to Babrius, but to his derivatives Par. and AnF. III. I think, in fact, that Av. *nunc tibi, qualis eram, nuntius ille refert* must be compared with Par., AnF. IIIγ δέξαι καὶ ἰδὲ τὸν ἐμὸν ἄγγελον πρῶτον οἷός ἐστι (text obtained by combining both), and not with Babrius τῷ δ' ἀγγέλῳ μοῦ πρῶτον ἐντυχὼν γνώσῃ τί σοι ποιητέον ἐστί. We will see that between Babrius and his Byzantine derivatives one or more paraphrases in prose are interposed: very probably based on one of these, an ancient one, the Latin version, also prosaic, was composed.

III. *Fables of a Complex Tradition in Which Avianus derives from Babrius*

A first group is that of the fables in which Babrius derives from a single primary model, which he alters, normally expanding it: by comparing Avianus with the other representatives of the model (AnF. and possibly some other), we see that he continues the modifications of Babrius, expanding them even further.

Thus, in the case of H. 18 "The Fisherman and the Anchovy" (= Av. 20) Babrius expands AnF., with lexical agreements, and in turn Avianus expands the final speech of the fish. There are agreements Av. = AnF. compared with Babrius. The same occurs in H. 168 "The Wolf and the Lamb" (= Av. 42): Babrius expands the model better preserved in AnF., Avianus follows him, but changes the sacred enclosure of Babrius (in AnF. It was a temple) into a town full of temples which represent just as many dangers for the lamb. Things are the same in H. 270, except that there are also other appearances, Par. and Dod.; Babrius expands and paraphrases, Avianus follows him and goes even further. Consider also the agreement of both, for example, in the initial verse, which is very different from that of AnF., which preserves a more archaic scheme, with metrical remnants (δάμαλις ὁρῶσα βοῦν, with an inversion).

What happens in some other fables is not very different, when Babrius depends on a primary line that is also unique, but which produces a secondary derivative: except that within the versions of that secondary line elements can be found that agree with it and that are eliminated from AnF., in the primary line. There are clear cases in which Avianus derives from Babrius. We can check this even better than in the previous case.

This is the case of a fable that we have repeatedly mentioned, H. 71 "The Oak and the Reed" (= Av. 16), which, as is known, presents the primary version in the Augustana 239 and the secondary in 71. Babrius follows the primary version, together, also, with Par., but shows certain archaisms with respect to H. 239, which even lead us to Sophocles, the original model, and which at other times agree with Aphthonius, in the secondary version (cf. Appendix I). Babrius also presents innovations, such as the initial scene with the wind and the river faced by the oak, its amazement when it is dragged off by the river and sees the reeds intact on the bank: all this is maintained and even expanded in Avianus.

Things are similar in H. 199 "The Ass and the Lionskin" (=

Av. 5), except that here Babrius is, in general, more conservative than AnF., which introduces the fox at the end of the story (instead of the τις of Babrius); in any event, they contain a new ending: "since you are an ass, do not imitate the lion" which does not possess the spark of the ancient version, in which the lion says to the ass that he too would have been scared on hearing it bray, not knowing that it was an ass. Apart from introducing an important expansion in the middle of the fable, Avianus follows the conservative model of Babrius, but alters this at the end. Another similar case is H. 259 "The Tortoise and the Eagle" (= Av. 2); Babrius expands and Avianus follows him, although he varies the ending.

It is significant that in the case of H. 114 "The Cicada and the Ant" (= Av. 34), things are again the same, as we have already seen that this fable, which the editions of Babrius give with the number 140, is in fact that of the Pseudo-Dositheus 17: it is the work, I believe, of an imitator of Babrius. We have seen (pp. 67 ff.) that in this version remain verses that are complementary with those of AnF. Ib and III and those of Dod. Yet it is the version of "Babrius" that Avianus seems to use directly. Its initial expansion originates from the moment in the Babrian fable in which the ant dries the grains in front of his cave in the summer (Avianus adds, quite ineptly, that in winter the ant selects the damp grains in his cave). They also agree on the γελάσας Bab., *ridens* Av.: the ending is expanded by Avianus.

If this fable, as I believe, does not come from Babrius, this does not at all contradict the theses defended here; on the contrary: choliambic fables not in Babrius were also the model for Avianus. We have already stated that Babrius is not always the imitated one: Avianus imitates versions not in him of the fables that he knows and other new ones that he does not know. Of course sometimes it may be thought that he did know them and they were lost in our mss.: but this would have to be demonstrated and when Avianus is closely related to versions that we preserve, which derive directly from the Hellenistic verse, the hypothesis loses its probability.

Finally, there remains another group among the fables that we are studying: that of the fables in which Babrius, imitated by Avianus, belongs to a secondary branch of the tradition. It is easy to think that this is a problem (already considered by us) when the origins of the collection of Babrius are studied: for Avianus it is simply a matter of fables of Babrius the same as the others. Yet is interesting

to check that in these fables, it is more evident than ever that Babrius comes from an innovated branch (in one case he is its only appearance), it is the model of our poet.

In H. 163 "The Wolf and the Old Woman" (= Av. 1) the representatives of the secondary branch are Babrius and Aphthonius (AnF. and Dod. are in the primary one). It is a reduced version in which the beginning and ending are absent and there is mention of τίτθη instead of γραῦς. Within this, Babrius is distinguished, among other things, by a new ending in which the she-wolf reprimands the wolf who returns defeated: this ending is maintained and expanded by Avianus.

Finally, in H. 249 too ("The Peacock and the Crane" = Av. 15), Babrius is a secondary derivation (the only appearance, in this case, of this branch); it is characterized, among other things, by the eliminating of the speech of the peacock. Avianus follows him in this and other elements; moreover, here he also presents some expansions and, curiously, cuts the final speech of the crane.

IV. *Fables of a Complex Tradition in Which Avianus does not derive from Babrius*

The fables studied in the previous section have, I believe, confirmed the existence, with no room for doubt, of imitations on the part of Avianus of the model represented by Babrius. The error of modern specialists is to generalize: suggesting that all the fables of Avianus derive from Babrius. Knowing as we do the customs of the authors of collections of fables, who practically without exception use various sources, this would prove strange. A study of various other fables of Avianus demonstrates that the Latin fabulist is no exception to the rule: in fables of a tradition more or less closely related to that of the previous ones, it may be seen that, as we anticipated, Avianus uses models either prior to Babrius or independent of him.

We see things very clearly in those fables in which he depends on a primary model on which Babrius is also based, irrespective of whether this model has or has not produced a secondary one. Certain agreements of Avianus with other appearances show that it is on this primary model that it directly descends, as far as we can see; not, in any event, from Babrius.

This is the case in H. 242 "The Bull and the Wild Goats" (=

Av. 13), in which Avianus depends on the primary line, in which the he-goat (three in Pseudo-Dositheus) takes part, and AnF. and Sy. on the secondary one, in which the goats enter, an abbreviated line. Babrius expands, changing the closing statement of the bull: the Pseudo-Dositheus also modifies it. Avianus is closely related to the original closing statement, preserved by AnF. and Sy. In a similar manner, in H. 287 "The Frog and the Fox" (= Av. 6), a fable with a primary line without a secondary one, Avianus agrees in the ending with Aphthonius and Themistius and not with Babrius. In H. 249 "The Wolf and the Dog" (= Av. 37), Avianus sometimes agrees with Phaedrus against Babrius, as certain expansions by the latter are lacking.[10]

In yet another occasion, H. 211 "The Snake and the Crab" (= Av. 3), Babrius and Avianus belong, together with *Tetr.*, Par., Aphthonius, to a primary version that has alongside it a second primary version in F. An: they are two very different versions of the same fable. Avianus comes from the model of the first of the two primary versions; and partly agrees with Babrius, e.g. in the beginning, but the ending is close to Aphthonius (*faciam, si me praecesseris* = ἡγοῦ τῆς ὁδοῦ . . . καὶ . . . πειράσομαι). Babrius (or an imitator of his) reduces and alters.

There is all the more reason to postulate the independence of the two fabulists where there are two different branches of the *stemma* and Avianus seems not to reflect this split, but comes from an even older model. This is the case of H. 243, in which there are two intermediate prosifications; and those of H. 46, 89 and not-H. 183, in which there are two and even three primary versions.

H. 243 "The Children of the Monkey" (= Av. 35) presents one line with AnF. and another with Par., Babrius. This second is followed by Avianus (longer, in any event) in certain moments, but the ending is similar to AnF. (the death of the mimicked monkey) and lacks the new feature of the derivative line (the monkey is driven away and lives on the mountain). It also lacks the opposition "at which . . . but at which . . ." Undoubtedly Avianus comes from the original, before the modifications introduced to it by AnF.

Let us look at the fables with two primary versions. We have already seen (p. 98 f.) that H. 46 "Boreas and Helios" (= Av. 4)

[10] Cf. F. Gaide, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

produces two branches, that of AnF. and Dod. and that of Par. and Babrius (expanded). In Avianus there are elements common to both and one proper only to the second, the *victor* of 1.15, which certainly dates back to the original; missing, on the other hand, is the theme of the cave in which the traveller attempts to take refuge, which is an innovation from the second model. Of course the final bathing is also absent, as this was characteristic of the first. Avianus probably derives from a very ancient version of the fable.

A similar situation is that of H. 89 "The Goose of the Golden Eggs" (= Av. 33), in which AnF. I and Sy. are opposed to Par., Dod., AnF. III and Babrius. Avianus shows significant agreements with the former branch: he talks of a goose and not a hen, he presents the theme of AnF. I οὐκ ἀναμείνας = *non tulit... moras*. Yet on other occasions he goes with the second model: *grande ratus pretium volucris de morte referri* = Par. ἀθρόον πλοῦτον ἐλπίσας εὑρεῖν; Or else he goes with the witnesses from one line or another, but not with AnF. or Babrius: *ingemuit* and what follows, cf. Synt., AnF. III, Par., Dod. It seems, again, that we must postulate a very ancient model, of course, not from the line of Babrius.

The case of not-H. 182 "The Lion and the Three Bulls" (= Av. 18) is very significant. Already on p. 68# we indicated the existence of two ancient models, one deduced starting from Babrius, Aphthonius and Themistius (the first two of which converted the two original bulls into three) and the other, summarized, which ended up in the Syriac fables (with two bulls). Avianus generally goes with the first model, but agrees with S. in one important aspect: only these versions and our fabulist describe how the bulls defended themselves from the lion by crossing their horns. However, Avianus knew an older model than that of S., which eliminated the beginning of the fable. It is, undoubtedly, the model from which both branches derive.

In another fable, finally, we are probably dealing with a tradition split from the very beginning into three branches: Avianus does not belong to that of Babrius. This occurs in not-H. 141 "The Lark and the Farmer" (= Av. 21). In this fable it is very difficult to establish relationships of derivation between the versions of Avianus, Ennius and Babrius; perhaps, as we propose on p. 378, the three come from the same model, which they have altered independently. In any event, in Avianus, as in Ennius, there is talk of the mother, not of the father, as in Babrius: it is independent of him.

Everything seen so far not only confirms what has been stated

since the beginning on the independence of Avianus on many occasions with respect to Babrius. It adds something extremely important: his models are sometimes very ancient, from earlier than the fables derived from a single primary model and the creation of two and even three primary models. Avianus, who sometimes uses Babrius' collection, on other occasions follows very ancient models, undoubtedly models in prosified Hellenistic verse. Certainly, only in the case of H. 46 may we postulate perhaps—and this is not certain—that we are dealing with a model prior to the metrical models which we can reconstruct. Generally we have spoken either of a single primary version or of two or more primary versions but without traces of different verse. In any event, Avianus sometimes seems to date back to the model of the whole tradition and even to the model of the differentiated models of the tradition.

V. *Fables of Which there is no Version in Babrius*

It seems evident, after all the above, that where a fable of Avianus does not appear in Babrius, two things may have occurred: that it did not exist in him, or that it existed and, in this latter case, that Avianus may or may not have imitated Babrius. Of course, it is impossible to reach any certainty on this terrain. Yet there are some fables in which it is more likely than in others that there may have been a lost Babrian model.

Firstly, two fables in which Avianus considerably modifies the single primary model on which we have information. I am referring to H. 280 "The River and the Hide" (= Av. 41) and to H. 289 "The Trumpet" (= Av. 39). The first fable is known to us from AnF. IIIγ and Par., which show traces of an ancient fable in four verses; we cannot decide whether these verses are Babrian or not. Avianus gives a long fable that alters the subject completely, as it is no longer about the river and the hide, but the rain and the clay vases; yet the theme is identical. The second fable has a similar tradition, but the (abundant) remnants of verse in AnF. IIIα, δ, and Dod. are Hellenistic; Avianus, once again, expands considerably and alters the subject, it is no longer the trumpeter who dies, it is the trumpet itself that is thrown into the flames (for the very reason of inciting to war, moreover).

The hypothesis that Avianus depends on an alteration prior to

Babrius remains open; but there are also cases of total alteration of the subjects by Avianus, see later on. It could even be proposed that the tradition of H. 280 is a short fable by the Pseudo-Babrius, which would be the source both of AnF. IIIγ and Par. and, with alteration of the subject, of Avianus.

There is no certainty, then. There are, at most, possibilities. And likewise in not-H. 75 "The Two Pots" (= Av. 11) in which the whole tradition consists of Par. and Avianus, who this time expands the subject without altering it. Underlying Par. there is a metrical model, possibly in four verses, possibly Babrian, this is not clear. Perhaps it is from a derivative of the Pseudo-Babrius. The case would be comparable to that of H. 114 "The Ant and the Cicada", in which the Pseudo-Babrius is the model for Avianus.

On other occasions the probabilities are in favour of Avianus not deriving from Babrius, who either does not present the fable or presents it with his own alterations. This is the case of H. 66 "The Walkers and the Bear" (= Av. 9), in which Avianus simply expands a model of which there is a trace in AnF., with a great deal of Hellenistic verse: the significant aspect is that Babrius 14 (4 lines, very possibly Pseudo-Babrius) represents a very altered derivative from a theme. Of course theoretically there may have been a version of Babrius, thrown out by the Byzantine compiler who gathered together the new version, which was close, in spite of everything. Yet this is a complicated and unnecessary hypothesis. Between the Hellenistic model and Avianus we do not see the need for an intermediate one in Babrius.

And the same applies in the case of H. 119 "The Camel and Zeus" (= Av. 8), where Avianus again follows the primary line from which AnF. derives and does not follow either of the two secondary lines: that of Aphthonius, metrical, and that of Par., Dod., Sy., derived from four Babrian verses. In this case, if a Babrius or a Pseudo-Babrius existed to collect this fable, he was in the secondary line, not in the primary one followed by Avianus.

The argument is less decisive when a fable only has a primary model, without secondary derivatives; and a model with Hellenistic verse. I refer to H. 61 "The Farmer and Fortune" (= Av. 12) and to H. 162 "The Wolf and the Goat" (= Av. 26): there are two fables in which the theme, in addition to being in Avianus, is in AnF. (in the second case, also in Sy.). Avianus represents a simple derivation of the model. In H. 162 it is significant that Avianus sometimes agrees

with AnF. (the wolf "saw" the goat), sometimes with Sy. (direct style of the wolf). That is to say, as on previous occasions, we can check that Avianus comes from an ancient model, not from derivations.

A different case is that of H. 264 "The Man and the Lion that Walked Together" (= Av. 24), a fable already studied by us (cf. pp. 231 and 240). Here Avianus comes from the secondary line, as on other occasions; it is a secondary line in which Aphthonius and the Pseudo-Dositheus also appear, allowing a remodelled verse derived from the primary one to be recognized. It sometimes agrees with Aphthonius, sometimes with the Pseudo-Dositheus: later it comes from the model for both. The presence of Babrius as an intermediate step is an unnecessary hypothesis (the remodelled verse in question is Hellenistic). If we are to find a place for Babrius in the tradition of this fable, it would be in the primary line, where Par. and Dod. appear (who, moreover, show remnants of Hellenistic verse complementary to those of AnF.).

The cases of two fables in which two or more primary models exist are different, with Avianus belonging to one of these without any indication existing that there was a version of Babrius derived from this. Specifically, in H. 35 "The Man and the Satyr" (= Av. 29) the two models leave derivatives, respectively, in AnF. and in Par., Av.: both show Hellenistic verse. Avianus presents a relatively long derivation of Par.: once again, we cannot see that there is a place for Babrius within this tradition. Likewise in H. 12 "The Fox and the Leopard" (= Av. 40), where there is evidence of no less than three Hellenistic metrical models: in AnF., in Par. and in Plutarch. The latter shows elements of the other two, it must have come from a form prior to them. Curiously, in Avianus and also in *Tetr.* there are agreements sometimes with Par. (Av. *gaudentem*, Par. ἐκαυχᾶτο, *Tetr.* καυχᾶτο; Av. *consilium pulchrius*, Par. κρείττονα . . . γνώμην), sometimes with Par. and Plu. (Av. *pictae nimium confide inventae*, Par. ποικιλοτέραν δέρριν, Plu. τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν εὐανθῆ καὶ κατάστικτον, *Tetr.* ποικίλμασιν, sometimes with AnF. (the opposition "body"/"many-coloured soul", also in *Tetr.*). I think that very possibly Avianus comes from a fourth model, common to *Tetr.* (cf. also Av. *corripit*, *Tetr.* κατηυτέλιζε), a very ancient model, derived directly from the common source.

Finally, I refer to not-H. 143 "The Thirsty Crow" (= Av. 27) which is only found in the Pseudo-Dositheus and Avianus, apart from a varied version in *AP* (and from an allusion in Pliny). Avianus

could easily come from the model of the Pseudo-Dositheus, a metrical model; but there is no reason to reject the hypothesis that, on the contrary, it comes from the Latin translation of this, the source of Romulus. If this were so, for once we would have before us the Latin prosaic model of Avianus. With the data we have, it can neither be affirmed nor denied. In any event, Babrius remains far removed once again.

All the above forces us, also in this case, to modify the ideas accepted today on Avianus, in the direction referred to above.

VI. *Fables only Appearing in Avianus*

There remain, to conclude, five fables that only appear in Avianus:

not-H. 175 "The Anxious Man and the Envious Man" (= Av. 22);
not-H. 261 "The River Fish and the Gudgeon" (= Av. 38);
not-H. 270 "The Boy and the Thief" (= Av. 25);
not-H. 275 "The Rustic and the Young Bull" (= Av. 28);
not-H. 289 "The Heartless Pig" (= Av. 30).

There is one of these fables, the last of them, which is clearly a derivation from Babrius 95, in turn coming from Archilochus: that is to say, the fable in which the fox twice attracts the stag to the lion's cave and when the lion kills it, the fox eats its heart, saying then to the lion that it was an animal that did not have a heart. The new version, in which the boar replaces the stag, the peasant the fox and his master the lion, very probably comes from Avianus himself: in any event, not from Babrius, since the case of the presence of two fables of the same theme does not occur in his collection.

The other fables are created freely around traditional fables or themes: we cannot know whether by Avianus or by some precursor of his, Babrius or some other. The first, a human anecdote on the theme of envy, with a fictitious myth, does not seem to have precedents within the fabulistic tradition. Neither does the second, that of the river fish and the sea fish: the agreement with Babrius 5.8[11] is perfectly accidental and uninteresting. The theme, that of true real-

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[11] Noted by Crusius, cf. *RE* II, col. 2376.

ity, is indeed frequent in the Cynic fable. As regards "The Boy and the Thief", with its theme of the greedy thief deceived by the boy, is equally new, although the point of departure may be in H. 184, which begins presenting a boy at a well. Finally, the fable of the rustic and the young bull is a further illustration of the power of nature and I do not believe that it comes from Babrius 112.3,[12] there is simply a very remote agreement.

We have seen on the previous pages that Avianus has the capacity to expand and alter fables, even in a substantial manner. It is not at all strange that he has allowed himself the luxury, as almost all fabulists have done, of creating a few fables on traditional themes or motifs. Yet neither are we in a position to reject absolutely that in some or all of these cases he depended on a previous precedent. However, the idea that the source is systematically Babrius must be rejected in this case, as in the others.

VII. *Conclusions*

In fact, a distinction needs to be made between the prosaic Latin source from which Avianus, according to his own confession, derives, and the poet himself. Insofar as this version derives from Babrius and, more specifically, as we have seen, from a Greek prosification of Babrius, the major expansions and alterations that the corresponding fables of Avianus show must be attributed to him. In parallel, we must also attribute to him very significant differences with respect to other models which we may reconstruct to a greater or lesser extent. And it is very likely that he added some of his own fables, those mentioned last. The capacity for innovation and creation of our poet, his desire for originality, is clear.

We also see this from the presence of imitations of the language of Phaedrus, Ovid and Virgil in his verses, exemplified by F. Gaide,[13] and from the rhetorical *ecphrases*, the change of animals, the alteration of the subjects. Certainly, sometimes Avianus proceeds with a certain awkwardness and stupidity, which does not exclude obscurity.

On the other hand, we must reconstruct the Latin model: in one case, that of the fable of the boy and the scorpion, we have seen

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[12] As Crusius proposes, loc. cit. Cf. also F. Gaide, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

[13] *Op. cit.*, pp. 43 ff., 46 ff.

that we perhaps possess it in the Pseudo-Dositheus. In any event, we can gain an idea of this: it included all the fables of Avianus, except for the originals of his own and it also possessed, very possibly, other fables left out by our fabulist. Of course, we cannot rule out the possibility that this also contributed to the mixed character of his collection, taking fables from here and there: although his prologue seems to rule out this hypothesis.

In any event, Avianus' basis for departure, as in all the fabulists that we have studied to date, is mixed. We have fables coming from Babrius and others clearly not in Babrius, together with some in which we cannot decide clearly between the two possibilities. We have some very probably coming from the Pseudo-Babrius. Yet, together with these "modern" fables, we have other ancient ones: they come from the model of single primary versions of certain fables, or from one of the primary versions of these, or from a secondary version. These are sometimes the models of Babrius himself, at others different models from the one followed by him or, simply, ancient models of fables that Babrius did not collect. Yet cases even exist in which Avianus follows a very ancient model, prior to the split of the tradition into various branches; though we cannot guarantee that it reached further back than the different metrical versions, that is, to Demetrius.

This mixture of Babrian fables (including some of the creations of Babrius himself), Pseudo-Babrian fables and fables of the oldest Greek tradition is significant. Certainly, even the Syriac fables and many Byzantine fables work on models prior to the AnF.; but here things often go further. And with a significant set of intervals: primary versions from the line of AnF. or from another, secondary versions also in the same circumstances; and older versions, sometimes, than both. We are dealing with a true anthology of very disparate fables, close to or far removed from Babrius or the AnF., depending on the case, which gathers together older models than these, in others.

Avianus contributed to giving unity to his collection with his rhetorical style and his expansions and alterations, which his public undoubtedly appreciated; and he completed it with his own creations. Moreover, it seems clear that, for the purposes of style and literary taste, although not always for the basis of the fables, Babrius is his model. He was, simply, more Babrian than Babrius. Yet he refused to always follow the fables of the maestro, he took other models, to which he gave a form similar to Babrius' fables. As he loved the innovation in him,

he took fables of his which are found nowhere else and created others of a similar type. Always with a predominantly literary intention.

The fact, which is repeated again and again, that prosifications are created and then made literary, is very significant. Because there is undoubtedly always Greek prose between the models in verse (including Babrius) and the Latin prose. Avianus, proceeding in this as Phaedrus did before him, gave materials of this type the category of poetry again: probably, restricting himself to choosing from within the model collection and adding a few fables, while we think Phaedrus had access to at least two Greek collections (one of them closely related to AnF.), did not have an intermediate Latin model and created new fables to a greater degree than our fabulist.

Phaedrus and Avianus, the history of whose collections we have attempted to unravel, performed an essential function in the transmission of the fable: through them this crossed over from Greece to the Western Middle Ages. New prosifications, new versifications were also followed; and these collections were added to with new materials of various origins.

Supplement to Part Two, Chapter Five

On Avianus, the following works are important:

F. GAIDE, "Avianus: ses ambitions, ses résultats", in G. CATANZARO – F. SANTUCCI (eds.), *La favolistica latina in distici elegiaci*, Assisi 1991, pp. 45–61;
J. KÜPPERS, *Die Fabeln Avians*, Bonn 1977;
Cf. M. J. LUZZATTO, "Note su Aviano e sulle raccolte esopiche grecolatine", *Prometheus* 10, 1984, pp. 75–94;
also W. R. JONES, "Avianus, Flavianus, Theodosius und Macrobius", in B. A. MILLIGAN et alii (eds.), *Classical Studies presented to Edwin Perry*, Urbana/Chicago/London, University of Illinois Press, 1969;
R. WEISCHKE – K. RANKE, "Avianus", *Enzyklopädie des Märchens* 1, Berlin/New York: De Gruyter 1977, col. 1099–1105;
V. LOMANTO, "Favola e critica letteraria in Aviano", *RFIC* 110, 1982, pp. 298–308;
N. HOLZBERG, *op. cit.*, 1993, pp. 69–79;
M. MAÑAS, *op. cit.*, pp. 259–305.

There are no new ideas on the position of the poet in the fable tradition, except for Luzzatto, who postulates that Avianus started out with an anthological collection, which is very possible.

On Avian. 21, see the articles by C. W. Müller y F. Menna already cited.

CHAPTER SIX

THE AUGUSTANA COLLECTION

I. *General Remarks*

In Vol. I, pp. 60 ff. I gave an overview of the Augustana collection, on the basis of the state of the question and the progress of my research at the time of writing. On the other hand, in this first Vol., pp. 410 ff. and 511 ff., I also expounded a view of what could be thought, first, of the collection of fables by Demetrius Phalereus and, later, of the subsequent Hellenistic collections: that is to say, on the mediated and non-mediated precedents of the Augustana. By combining these two studies, we may obtain a general understanding of the path along which the ancient fables reached the various subcollections that comprised the Augustana and the characteristics of this collection.

Here I am not, of course, going to repeat what I have said above in the places cited, although some elements will need to be recalled. Leaving aside the fact that my ideas, to some extent, have modified since the time when I wrote this first volume, my intention here is to give the problem of the Augustana a parallel treatment to that which I have given the other collections: investigating its sources, making its inventory, looking at its characteristics. To achieve this purpose, to the chapters of the Vol. I already cited, we must add the various chapters of this in which conclusions are drawn on the sources of Phaedrus, Babrius, Aphthonius, etc., etc.: and not so much on the sources of each fable, but on the collections or subcollections that have left traces in those studied by us. Because this opens up a path for us to find out the panorama that the writer (or writers) of the Augustana encountered and, therefore, to enable us to gain an idea of how he proceeded. Apart from this, of course, we will have to conduct new analyses of the collection, parallel to those of the other chapters of this volume.

However, the Augustana is of course a rather special case. Phaedrus, Aphthonius, Avianus, the model collection of the Syriac fables, etc., are collections created by an individual author who manages a set

of sources (of previous collections or subcollections) with certain artistic and ideological intentions. Likewise Babrius, insofar as we can distinguish him from the Pseudo-Babrius. Of course, these collections preserve to a greater or lesser extent the mixed character of the collections that, since Demetrius himself, passed through the hands of the reading public throughout the Graeco-Roman world: in them there are short fables (derived from models of 4 verses) and fables of medium length; agonal, situation, aetiological, anecdotes (of these same types), etc. Yet each author made a certain selection and tended towards certain characteristics. There is one essential data item: the fables are not repeated, for each of them a single model has been followed (or two have been contaminated into one new one). There are no duplications, in short. Nor are there variations with respect to the length of the collections, except for those arising from facts of transmission (secondary losses). Each collection was, in the beginning, a closed whole.

This is not the case of the Augustana, as I have already shown. I refer to Vol. I, pp. 84 ff. and pp. 591 ff., where it is shown, with examples, that: a) the central collection of the Augustana, I, sometimes admits two different variants of the same fable; b) different versions sometimes appear in the subcollections or recensions Ia and Ib; it also happens that in Ia or Ib there are fables that are not in I (and the contrary); one manuscript, G, may give a fable twice or give two versions of the same fable; others have a mixed character, such as in E = Pa, where there are fables of type I, Ia and others; it also happens that entering our manuscripts or some of these are fables from the Byzantine collections, including those of "Babrian" type; there are fables that are only in a group of mss., or in a single ms. (this is the case in E = Pa and B = Ma); there are mss. that have direct access to the verse, which demonstrates that models that are sometimes identical, sometimes similar, have been redone at intervals by recensions and mss., sometimes perhaps contaminating. This not to mention the irregular behaviour of mss. and groups of mss. with respect to the recensions I, Ia and Ib (and the others).

It would be an error to treat these problems with the customary procedures of textual criticism, by reconstructing a "Pre-Augustana" with a closed inventory of fables, agreeing with that of our Augustana, and postulating that certain mss. introduced the *fabulae adventiciae* referred to by Perry, not in this tradition. This without even considering the problem of the relationship of I with Ia and Ib, which

I emphasize below. Not only one group of mss. of the three main ones of the Augustana, already mentioned, but also a single ms., may have worked with more than one model, adding or contaminating. Yet things go further. An archetype of the Augustana from which everything later derived does not exist, nor has it ever existed. Rather, we must consider a series of successive and closely related recensions, which contaminated each other until they produced a mass of fables with a common core and a zone with more irregular evidence: this is a set that we refer to as the pre-Augustana. But if it did not start from a unitary collection, neither was this reached during the course of the evolution.

What we must take into account is the fact that the three groups of mss., by adding together the common fables and their own, totalled, as we will see, a sum of 236 fables that were taken from the various versions of the pre-Augustana. Other mss. (Ia, Ib, III, several mss. within I), added other fables for their own part, taken from the same tradition, although this is not always certain.

Already in a previous article of mine,[1] in which I advanced a series of materials and studies later used in this book, I concluded that "a Byzantine archetype of I, interpolated with a few fables in verse (from Babrius, Perry thinks) and contaminated by Ia, the archetype alongside which the mss. of Ib and a few of I (particularly Pa) remain in an undecided situation, is an inadequate hypothesis". This continues to be true. The proposals of Perry[2] must be discarded, then, when he affirms that the mss. AG and those of the group λ depend on a common original, prior to the 6th century, which was contaminated with another, also common and prior to recension Ia.

I am going to go further here into the theme of the models, partly identical, partly common, of the various recensions (I, Ia, Ib) and mss. or groups of these. However, of course, I continue to be unable to deal with the theme in depth, due not only to the absence of detailed studies of the manuscript tradition of the fables (the two books announced by Hausrath and Perry in the introductions to their respective editions have never appeared), but of an exhaustive dissection of these, which has never been done either by Hausrath,

[1] "La tradición fabulística griega y sus modelos métricos", *Emerita* 38, 1969, cf. p. 293.

[2] *Aesopica* cit., pp. 301 ff.

or Perry, or even Chambry, the most meticulous. At least, we would need an independent edition of I, Ia[3] and Ib and a clear idea, which it is not always easy to obtain, of the behaviour of the three subgroups (and even the different mss.) of I for each fable. Behaviour which, on the other hand, may vary from fable to fable.

Returning now to the Augustana as a whole, I have frequently dealt with the concept of the "Ancient Augustana", the version of our collection already known by Phaedrus, which we have attributed to the 1st century BC. I have said that its differences with respect to our Augustana, which I date between the 4th and 5th centuries AD, are mainly of a stylistic, lexical and grammatical order, although it is possible that some of the discrepancies as regards the number of fables or the version (or versions) of this must be attributed to this latter date or to some intermediate one. Since we have relativized, to a certain extent, the concept of "Augustana", it is very evident that at the same time the concept of "Ancient Augustana" is relativized.

In the study that follows, this term applies to the stage of the collection known by Phaedrus, while the more extensive one of pre-Augustana is reserved for the different stages of the collection prior to that of our mss., both the initial ones and the one known by Phaedrus and the subsequent ones, as I have already said.

Already in Vol. I, p. 71 of this work I proposed the idea that "the Greek prose source that Phaedrus calls 'Aesop' is a predecessor of our Augustana that was already very close to it". It was a collection that, in the course of the chapter on Phaedrus, I called "Collection I", known also by Babrius (while Phaedrus occasionally follows a "Collection II", the main source of Babrius). As I have shown, it sometimes showed a more archaic character than the one offered by our Augustana. And, of course, it did not yet have the generalized use of the epimythium. However, the model of the Syriac fables—also closely related to the Augustana and also sometimes with more archaism than these—did already have epimythia used systematically. That is to say, what we have before our Augustana is a series of recensions spread out at intervals.

This was something that it was necessary to envisage a priori after our setting out of the broad outlines of the evolution of the fable

[3] This had been promised by Hausrath for his announced book *Aesopus* (cf. his edition, I, 1, p. XV), which, as I have said, never appeared.

starting from Demetrius Phalereus in the hands of the Cynics and their continuers. The broad outlines are clearer than the particular details.

These broad outlines are the Cynic versification of the fables of Demetrius; the addition of new fables also in verse, generally with Cynic tendencies; the successive "secondary versions" of those fables in verse (sometimes with reduction or expansion or a change of theme), while at other times from the same fable by Demetrius two, three, up to four primary ones were obtained, in turn subject to the creation of secondary versions; the prosifications, sometimes later versified. As regards the particular details to which I have referred, they are the organization of all this material into collections: and, very specifically, the creation of a series of collections, already semi-prosified and closely related to each other, the whole ensemble we know as the "pre-Augustana".

It must be borne in mind that if a collection (or certain collections) shows its own orientation, the material that it uses is to a large extent common to all. We have seen, for example, that a part of those that we have described (talking about Phaedrus and Babrius) as "Collection I" and "Collection II" consisted of identical fables. They were undoubtedly mixed collections, as was that of Demetrius, which offered fables of very different sub-types and origins that were by definition mixed. We saw later that the different collections that we have studied were also mixed, that their writers used more than one ancient collection and sometimes added new materials: in addition to Phaedrus and Babrius, this is the case with Aphthonius, the Pseudo-Dositheus, Avianus, the Syriac fables. The way of proceeding of these authors is in a certain sense the continuation of that of the anonymous authors of the collections on which they are based. Later the various collections of "Romulus" did the same.

It is difficult for us to arrive at collections of "pure" fables. We have seen some traces of, at least, well characterized collections, when talking about the sources of Aphthonius and the Pseudo-Dositheus: I will return to this. Yet even these collections derive from the common mass of fables that is known to us. If at some moment in Hellenic times, there existed collections, for example, of situation fables of four verses or of fables strictly "secondary", etc., is something we do not know. In any event, if they existed, they represented a marginal sector that was later more or less integrated into the standard collections.

Yet let us return once again to the Augustana. The investigation of its character, as in the case of the other collections investigated in this book, passes through the stage of the investigation of its sources: that is to say, of its creation. And here we encounter a double path of investigation. On one hand, it is necessary to start with the Augustana and related or subordinate versions, to see the gradual creation of the collection. On the other hand, we must consider the panorama of the collections of the Hellenistic Age: studying the sources of the various Imperial collections (that is, Hellenistic collections in general, although sometimes perhaps other Roman ones derived from them) and of the various Imperial authors who introduce fables, we can gain an idea of the tangle of collections from which the creator (or creators) of the Augustana must have started. A long series of collections with fables sometimes agreeing, sometimes not, in versions sometimes agreeing, sometimes not.

What that creator did was, evidently, to delimit a sector of fables. His continuers created other recensions which added or eliminated fables, also introduced variants: all this, in view of that mass of existing collections. We can know the sum of fables thus comprising the Augustana (although with the risk that some of them, from one ms. or a few mss., has only very recently been admitted). And there is the evident possibility that such and such a fable, which is absent from the Augustana, but in Phaedrus or the Syriacs, for example, may have been in some ancient phase of the Augustana: however, generally speaking, this is not very likely.

By analyzing, later, the fables of our Augustana as regards their position in the *stemma* and their typology, we may obtain some conclusions on the intentions or tendencies of the writer or writers. Without forgetting this special characteristic of the Augustana, the most popular and least individual of the collections preserved: it admitted double compositions, which indicates a desire for exhaustiveness, to complete the models with other materials without even taking the precaution of ensuring that it did not introduce anything already present in the collection in an identical or close form.

We are dealing, I believe we can suggest, with an open collection, of the anonymous and non-personal type, undoubtedly the longest of those around in the Hellenistic Age; collections, on the other hand, that were often partially identical. A collection that gradually grew and transformed, but in general terms was already formed, as I have advanced, in the 1st century BC, in its prosified or

semiprosified form. But from very diverse origins, as we see from the very diverse character of the fables: not only belonging to the different sub-types that are known to us, but some of them already from the Classical tradition (and Demetrian, therefore), sometimes additions of the derivative type or new creations with Cynic tendencies; sometimes primary, sometimes secondary; sometimes close to, sometimes far removed from the original model.

II. *The Recension Ia*

1. *Fables Proper to Ia (perhaps, sometimes, from E, etc.)*

It is convenient, I believe, to clear the terrain to be able to define better the Augustana as such, by first studying the various anomalous elements within its tradition, to which I have been referring and which I have already discussed in Vol. I and previously in various publications. Among these anomalous elements, the most significant is the one called recension Ia starting from Hausrath. This author described it as an "editio minor" or "editio altera" of the Augustana and attributed its archetype to the Byzantine Age, although he thought that the draft was completed before the 6th century AD and, specifically, before that of I (the supposed archetype of AGλ, as we have already said).

As I said above, an independent edition of Ia does not exist, so it is not easy to decide on its characteristics. Clearly, in any event, most of its fables agree with those of I: we need only see the initial list in Hausrath's edition[4] or Perry's lists[5] to realize that there are:

a) Fables common to I and Ia.
b) Fables only in Ia, not in I.
c) Fables only in I, not in Ia.

The fables of the three groups may, of course, also have crossed over to the Byzantine collections. And of the three, the first is the most common: that of the fables common to I and Ia. The differences can be seen to a certain extent in the critical apparatuses, particularly

[4] *Corpus*, vol. I, 1, pp. XXX ff.
[5] *Aesopica*, pp. 312 ff.

that of Chambry, since in these fables Hausrath and Perry habitually do not give the variants of the mss. of Ia. They are of interest for the history of the collections: I have already stated something on this subject, and I will return to the theme in more detail later.

First, however, let us deal with the fables that are only in Ia. These fables are those that the writer of the collection added, taking them from whatever sources, to the mass of fables of the pre-Augustana, which crossed over both to I and to Ia, with certain textual differences. It is interesting to investigate which fables these are: their *stemma* and typology. Since if they show common features, it is likely that the writer of Ia, together with the pre-Augustana, used a second collection, with the characteristics that are deduced from the study mentioned.

Establishing a list of the fables only in Ia is a less easy enterprise than could have been deduced starting from the simplified exposition which precedes. Of the list of fables of Ia that are absent from the first recension (that is to say, from I, the Augustana)[6] only two, strictly speaking, are completely absent from the mss. of I: Par. 232 (= H. 231) "The Foxes Reaching the Maeander" and Par. 238 (= H. 209) "The Mountain Pigeons and the Tame Ones". The other fables on this list, in addition to the mss. of Ia, show some others, particularly E (= Pa). Perry supposes that these fables crossed over from Ia to these mss.: clearly, the text is very close.[7]

The theory is likely, particularly when there is intervention by E = Pa, which presents at the beginning, as does Ia, as a foreword, the "Life of Aesop" by Aphthonius. At other times, things are less clear, since alongside the fables in IaE; IaGE, IaFE, IaECas, etc., which we may consider in the same case, others exist only in E or only in AG, etc. Do these also come from Ia, as is sometimes proposed?[8] This is not certain. For that reason, it could be thought that, occasionally, a fable has been taken independently by Ia and another ms. from a previous collection, or else by Ia from the source of this ms. or mss.

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[6] *Aesopica*, pp. 412 ff.

[7] On fables from Ia that crossed over to E = Pa, cf. *Aesopica*, p. 309; on fables from Ia that crossed over to G and A, pp. 321 ff. Hausrath, in his Apparatus, offers the same thesis for various fables, cf., for example, Apparatus to H. 114, etc. In his *Studies in the Text History of the Life and Fables of Aesop*, Haverford, Pennsylvania 1936, Perry had sustained the contrary theory that Pa was the source of Ia (cf. pp. 150 ff.).

[8] Cf., for example, Hausrath, Apparatus to H. 205, and Perry, *Aesopica*, p. 303.

There are, then, various degrees of probability. We may distinguish:

a) Fables only in Ia, already mentioned (only two: H. 209 and 231).

b) Fables in Ia and E and possibly in other mss., the list of which, taken from the one referred to by Perry, I give below:

P. 233 (= H. 247) "The Swan and His Master" (IaE).
P. 234 (= H. 165) "The Wolf and the Shepherd" (IaECas).
P. 236 (= H. 227) "The Walkers and the Crow" (IaE).
P. 237 (= H. 200) "The Seller of the Ass" (IaEF).
P. 240 (= H. 228) "Prometheus and Men" (IaE).
P. 241 (= H. 245) "The Cicada and the Fox" (IaE).
P. 243 (= H. 240) "The Hyenas" (IaE).
P. 244 (= H. 261) "The Parrot and the Weasel" (IaECas).

I add a fable of which Perry was unaware, and so did not include in his list:

P. 154 (= H. 159) "The Wolf and the Horse" (IaGE).

A case to add is, however, certainly P. 112 (= H. 114 I) "The Ant and the Beetle" (IaECasCG).

c) Fables in Ia and in some other ms. (not in E). Only three of these are on Perry's list:

P. 89 (= H. 91) "Hermes and Tiresias" (IaAG).
P. 235 (= H. 190) "The Ass and the Gardener" (IaCOA).
P. 242 (= H. 241) "The Hyena and the Fox" (IaU).[9]
H. 39b "The Swallow and the Birds" (IaCOU).
H. 214 "The Man that Received a Deposit and the Oath" (IaF).

d) Fables in very few mss., supposedly coming from Ia. I give the list (here for the first time) following Hausrath's numbers:

[9] We must offer a warning regarding this ms. (Utinensis VI 6), which Hausrath also gives as a witness of some of the previous fables. In his *Corpus*, I, 1, p. XXIV, he tells us that it is from Ia, but in the edition it appears very used both in fables attributed to Ia and those not attributed. Perry, *Aesopica*, p. 310, simply mentions it, without using it. I believe that there is a mistake and that the U of Hausrath's crit. app. is another ms. with an acronym that coincides (Par. 17881, from Ib).

H. 65 (= P. 247) "Diogenes Going for a Walk" (E).
H. 141 (= P. 250) "The Walnut Tree" (CE).
H. 169 (= P. 256) "The Hares and the Foxes" (ACaSE).
H. 171 (= P. 162) "The Boy and the Crow" (EG).
H. 204 (= P. 263) "The Ass and the Mule" (FE).
H. 205 (= P. 265) "The Bird-catcher and the Partridge" (E).
H. 229 (= P. 266) "The Two Knapsacks" (OE).
H. 238 (= P. 269) "The Boar, the Horse and the Hunter" (E).
H. 249 (not in P.) "The Peacock and the Crane" (A).

Adding these four groups together, we have a total of 26 fables (24 new ones), which means that the extent to which Ia added to its model (which, on the other hand, it undoubtedly reduced at the same time) is relatively limited. It must be added that, as has been said, the degree of probability of the origin of these fables in it varies. Within group four, particularly, the certainty is not very great: they may be fables taken by the mss. from the previous tradition. I would not even mention, in particular, H. 169 if not because Perry[10] explicitly presented the hypothesis for it. There are similar cases, such as H. 144 (EGCas). It should be taken into account that, as we will see, it often occurs that a fable is absent from the whole group of mss. λ or from AG or OE: or there is an elimination by one of these groups or an addition by some other of them. Here something similar could be postulated, although when a fable only appears in E or in E and a ms. from another group, the hypothesis could be offered of the origin of the fable in Ia by parallelism with the cases mentioned above.

It must be noted, on the other hand, that on some occasions the version of Ia is in fact a version different from that of I; it comes from a different model. This is the case for H. 39b with respect to 39a (from I): they are two branches of a complex *stemma*, cf. above pp. 111 ff. And that of H. 114 I with respect to Ib ("The Ant and the Cicada", from Ia and I).

If we look again over our study of these fables (above, p. 182, etc.) we will see that in the case of the former, the version of I and that of Ia derive from two primary metrical versions, except that

[10] *Aesopica*, p. 303.

that of the second comes more directly from a secondary derivative of one of these, perhaps with independent verse. In that of the second, I comes from the primary model, Ia from a metrical derivation of a secondary derivative.

That is to say, in these two cases, in which I and Ia may be in opposition, we see that they date back to different phases or branches of the *stemmata* of the respective fables. On the other hand, it is easy to see that H. 240 and H. 241, the two fables of the hyena, are two different derivatives from a same fabulistic theme. It is not easy to see which is older: in any event, both offer independent Hellenistic verse and in the case of H. 240 there are traces of a second version in Dod. (with verse that is in turn independent). That is to say, Ia, which sometimes dates back to different fables from those of I, sometimes to different versions of these, it may also follow two different models. It did not follow, then, a single collection.

In any event, it is extremely interesting to attempt a study of the fables of Ia which, with greater or lesser certainty, depending on the case, I have considered as having been introduced into the mss. of I only subsequently. If they have characteristics of *stemma*, theme and typology more or less in common, this will be useful to: a) make the idea more likely of the origin of all this material in Ia; b) see what type of collection or collections the writer of Ia used to form his collection, apart from the material of the pre-Augustana which is in common with the Augustana.

Beforehand, however, I must point out that, even if it is accepted that all the 26 fables that we have been discussing come from Ia, this does not mean that the question of the ancient limits between I and Ia is completely settled. Since a few fables exist in the first of these collections that are from I, but that also appear sporadically in a few mss. of Ia: H. 57 in L, H. 85 in Q, and a few other cases. It seems that here it is Ia that receives the loan. However, it is not a completely certain speculation. At other times the fable of Ia is in mss. of IIIδ: they possibly derive from this collection.

2. *Stemmata, Themes and Typology of These Fables*

Leaving aside the five just mentioned (H. 39b, 114 I, 214, 240 and 241), to which I will return at the end in association with the others, I will report on the other 20 fables probably from Ia, recalling their main characteristics for the purposes mentioned.

H. 65 "Diogenes Going for a Walk". X v.: Ia. It is the only derivative, except for *Gnom. Vat.*, ed. Sternbach, 223, which may derive from here (or vice versa, but it is less likely). Cynic anecdote, of course.

H. 91 "Hermes and Tiresias". X v.: Ia. The only appearance of this fable, directed against fortune-tellers.

H. 141 "The Walnut Tree". Two versions of this fable exist, both with Hellenistic verse: one, of four verses, which ends up in Ia and *AP*; the other, which ends up in P., Dod. The genealogical relationship is not clear: in any event, Ia follows a (primary?) metrical model known in Antiquity. The theme is that of usefulness and ingratitude: it is a situation, vegetable fable, of Cynic orientation (but see below).

H. 159 "The Wolf and the Horse". X v.: Ia, the only appearance of the fable. Theme of hypocrisy and nature, which does not allow lying.

H. 165 "The Wolf and the Shepherd". X v.: Ia, also a unique fable, but there are allusions in Plautus, Terence and Cicero. It is derived from fables on the need to distrust the wolf (H. 158, 162, 166, etc.). Theme of nature.

H. 169 "The Hares and the Foxes". X v.: Ia, III, Syr., Synt. Here there is a single metrical model that has also reached the original of the Syriac fables (III must come from Ia). The eagles refuse to help the hares against the foxes, knowing their cowardice. Theme of nature.

H. 171 "The Boy and the Crow". X v.: Ia. Unique fable, which offers an example of how an oracle is fulfilled.

H. 190 "The Ass and the Gardener". X v.: Ia, II, III, Dod. The different versions (apart from III, a secondary prosification) have access to the same metrical model, but II and Dod. have common elements; there must have been an intermediate semiprosification. There is an allusion in Lucian. From the theme of the animal that

asks Zeus, stupidly, to change its nature, comes that of the ass, who asks for a new master, only to go from bad to worst. Resignation is needed.

H. 200 "The Seller of the Ass". X v.: Ia. The bad join together with the bad.

H. 204 "The Ass and the Mule". X v.: Ia. The ass, envious that the mule receives more food, succeeds in having its load placed on the other animal: lament of the mule. Perhaps derived from "The Sheep and the Dog" in Xenophon, *Memorabilia* II 7.13–14 (not-H. 226), contaminated with various others.

H. 205 "The Bird-catcher and the Partridge". Single metrical model, valid also for the Syriacs and Babrius. The partridge, who betrays his companions, is killed. Ia has expanded the central part with the arguments of the partridge.

H. 209 "The Mountain Pigeons and the Tame Ones". X v.: Ia, with considerable remnants of verse: the domestic pigeons prefer to serve the master and not their fellow pigeons.

H. 227 "The Walker and the Crow". X v.: Ia. other fable with Ia as the only appearance of a Hellenistic verse. It is an attack on prophecy.

H. 228 "Prometheus and Men". X v.: Ia. An aetiological fable that derives from a well-known theme of Protagoras; there is allusion to a closely related theme in Horace.

H. 229 "The Two Knapsacks". A well-known aetiological fable (we see others' vices better than our own): Ia, Par., B., Them. and Phaedrus seem to be the direct derivatives. Ia seems to be the least innovated version. There are also traces in Plutarch (and others of a closely related theme in Horace, *Sat.* II 3.299).

H. 231 "The Foxes Reaching the Maeander". X v.: Ia. Anecdote of the fox who perishes through foolishly underestimating the experience of the others, but does not fail to utter a *bon mot* before drowning.

H. 238 "The Boar, the Horse and the Hunter". Well-known fable. Ia maintains the central model derived from Demetrius Phalereus, together with other important collections; another primary derivative is in the Rylands Papyrus.

H. 245 "The Cicada and the Fox". X v.: Ia. The theme of H. 126 "The Fox and the Crow" is reversed: the cicada wins against the fox in cunning.

H. 247 "The Swan". X v.: Ia, Syr. Derived from the well-known passage of Plato's *Phaedo* on the swan that sings when dying. The version of Syr. is Christianized.

H. 249 "The Peacock and the Crane". Cf. p. 59. Ia comes from a primary model that is shared with Dod., there is a secondary one that has ended up in Babrius. It is the debate of the two animals, the one that flies higher triumphs over the one that is only beautiful. A Cynic theme.

H. 261 "The Parrot and the Weasel". Ia and B. 135, the fable of the ms. F (Mb) derive from X v. At its primitive stage the animal was probably the partridge, as here. It is the theme of nature, once again.

If to these possible fables of Ia we add the five mentioned above, there results a rather complex panorama of the group.

We always find, at the basis, a metrical original, with verse of Hellenistic type. As regards the fables, there are short ones, on the basis of an original of four verses, and ones of medium length (10 or 12 lines); they are agonal, situation, aetiological, some anecdotes and some "vegetable" fables.

As regards the origin, the minority of these fables derive from the ancient tradition that passed through Demetrius Phalereus: very specifically, H. 39b ("The Swallow and the Birds"), 114 I ("The Ant and the Beetle"), 214 ("The Trees and the Reed") and 238 ("The Boar, the Horse and the Hunter"). Another thing is their situation in the *stemma*: as we have seen, in the latter fable there is one of two primary models (the other is in the Rylands Papyrus), in the others, in short, we find ourselves with secondary derivatives of a single primary model or of one of various ones. The last fable is

not in I, the others are, but in another version. As regards the versions of Ia, the introduction in H. 39b of the theme of greed is significant (the birds eat up the flax seeds, grow fat and are hunted), as is that in 114 I of the new animal protagonist, the beetle, very typical of the Cynic fable.

Outside of these fables, the others have new themes. They frequently rework other fables, they are "derivative" fables: they even arrive at the inversion of the theme, as is the case of H. 245, where the fox is the deceived animal. There are also some that are more or less closely reminiscent of Classical themes, as is the case of the fable of the swan (H. 247) and that of the ass and the mule (H. 204), neither one from the Oriental tradition (H. 141 "The Walnut Tree", related to or derived from H. 185, on which, see Vol. I, p. 362). However, in general, they all recall the Hellenistic fabulistic tradition and more precisely the Cynic one, although they sometimes have previous precedents: the themes of domestic animals and wild ones, of Prometheus, of the suffering ass, animal *agones* included in which are the themes of beauty, usefulness and nature, the theme of Prometheus, an anecdote of Diogenes, themes of prophecy, foolishness, of blood relations, of homosexuality, etc. This, fundamentally, is the Cynic tradition, which is sometimes even fond of sheer mockery or paradox (H. 231, 245). We have seen that features of the same type are introduced into the ancient fables.

To sum up, rather than with the environment of the transmitted Classical fable, we are dealing with that of new fables, often derivatives, which reflect the tendencies of the Cynic-Stoic fable, still metrical, of the 2nd century BC. The traditional fables are, sometimes, altered in the same direction. All in all, it could be said that secondary fables and others from a single primary model, only appearing here, predominate. There are, however, some that are also from a primary model, but which give derivatives in other branches of the tradition at the same time: the Syriac fables, Phaedrus, Babrius, Dod., etc. Also, apart from the case of the fables in which Ia derives from a model different from the one that ended up in I, there is a fable with two models, one of which produced Ia: H. 141, cf. H. 190 (single model, but with two prosifications) and another with one primary and one secondary, with Ia coming from the former (H. 249). In any event, we must place on record that even where a fable only appears in Ia, there are sometimes echoes of this in Greek and Roman literature: it does not appear that Ia has invented, but rather,

it has started from semiprosified derivatives of primary or secondary metrical fables.

Thus, what the writer or creator of Ia did was probably to attempt to supplement the material of his main source (shared with I), the pre-Augustana, with additional, marginal material: some well-known fables that were absent there, many new fables (derivatives) and new versions that he introduces replacing those accepted by I. In terms of the *stemma*, the material is irregular, also from the typological standpoint. The fact that H. 240 and 241 represent two ancient versions of the same theme makes it likely that Ia did not expand its main collection on the basis of a single supplementary collection, but on the basis of at least two. The inconsistency of the fables in terms of the *stemma* supports the same hypothesis.

In contrast with this inconsistency, I have already said that there is a certain consistency in the aspect that we could call ideological. This is not total, in any event. Significantly, among the fables of our group d), on p. 283, that is to say, among those that only hypothetically come from Ia, there are various that are difficult to attribute to the tendencies of Cynicism. Specifically, H. 238, the fable of the boar, which is only in E, seems, judging by our study elsewhere,[11] to be the most faithful derivative of the corresponding fable by Demetrius, which in turn comes from Stesichorus: it exemplifies the political theme of those who take a dangerous ally, who later dominates them. H. 171 (EG) exemplifies how a fortune-teller's presage is always fulfilled: this theme is not at all Cynic. H. 141, 205 and 229 refer to the themes of evil and ingratitude; H. 65 (only in E) is an anecdote of Diogenes, which may have been introduced subsequently. Of course, fables of these types also appear in I.

To sum up, Ia is a collection that supplements the model in common with I with fables taken from one or various semiprosified collections with Cynic tendencies. Yet it is not certain whether E and other mss. that present some more fables, including some of the traditional or moralist type, have taken them from Ia, where they would supposedly have been lost later, or else from other sources. All this shows, once again, the wealth of the fabulistic tradition: together with the pre-Augustana, there were numerous other fables, generally with "modern" *stemmatic structure* and tendency, that were used

[11] "Neue jambische Fragmente . . .", cit.

by various collections and mss. and by Greek and Latin authors ranging from Plautus to those of Imperial Age.

As regards the date of the entrance of all this marginal material—coming from Ia or other sources—into mss. isolated from I, one data item very much to be taken into account is the fact that it was not used by the writer of the Vindobonensis or II, whose main source is precisely I. He used, then, on a date whose *terminus post quem* is the 5th century AD, an Augustana (and a pre-Augustana, which was contaminated with the former) that was still without that material.

3. *Text of Ia in the Fables in Common with I and the Situation of This Collection within the Fabulistic Tradition*

In Vol. I, pp. 87 ff. and, with broader scope, in "La tradición fabulística . . .", pp. 301 ff., I concerned myself with the text of Ia in those fables that are common to this collection and to I. I continue to believe that the general conclusion that the collection that now interests us had direct access to the verse of the model is correct; but some other conclusions must be modified after new study.

The essential element is this: in an important number of cases, although perhaps not always, Ia is an independent witness of the semiprosified model also followed by I. It occasionally preserves the metrical remnants better, occasionally worse, sometimes both collections preserve identical prosaic elements, sometimes they alter them differently. This when each collection proceeds homogeneously, because there are sometimes discrepancies between their mss.

Elements of this type may be found in, for example, H. 84 "The Ass, the Cock and the Lion". Here there are common metrical elements such as λέων δὲ λιμώττων and φθεγξαμένου καταπτήσας | ἔξηλθε. But there are also ametrical elements in common, particularly at the beginning of the fable, and others in which the metre preserved in I (such as εἰς φυγὴν ἐτράπη) is altered in Ia. A more significant passage is the other one in I in which we can obtain a choliamb by simply eliminating an interpolation (πρὸς τὰς τῶν ἀλεκτρυόνων) common to I and Ia, that is, coming from the model: we then read φασὶ γὰρ πτύρεσθαι τοὺς λέοντας τὰς φωνάς, which, however, Ia has altered (apart from admitting the same interpolation).

Ia does not come from I, then, but from its model. In "La tradición fabulística . . .", cit. I give more examples in which Ia arrives at the verse better than I: this is the case in H. 45 "The Oxen and

the Axle": ἐπιστραφέντες οἱ βόες and ὅλον τὸ βάρος ἡμεῖς φέρομεν, σὺ τί κράζεις (complete choliamb), compared with variants of I. In this article I also indicate traces of a common semiprosification. This is the case in H. 22 "The Fox and the Woodcutter", where Ia gives εἰ εἶχες τὰ ἔργα τῆς χειρὸς ὅμοια τοῖς λόγοις and I εἰ τοῖς λόγοις ὅμοια τὰ ἔργα τῆς χειρὸς καὶ τοὺς τρόπους εἶχες; by eliminating the obvious interpolation τὰ ἔργα τῆς χειρός, we can reconstruct a common choliamb εἰ τοῖς λόγοις ὅμοια τοὺς τρόπους εἶχες.

It is not always certain, however, that the model of I and Ia is the same. We sometimes seem to be dealing with two close models, one of them known by Ia (complete or not), in union sometimes with some mss. of I; the other by I. We saw in my article (pp. 260 and 303) that from Ia and the mss. of III we may deduce an ancient verse ὦ πίθηκε, τοιαύτην | σὺ μωρίαν ἔχων, modified to a certain extent in Ia. I depends on a model in which there is talk of τοιαύτην τύχην, which is clearly prosaic, but more archaic, since τύχην is formally closely related to the πυγήν of Archilochus, the remote model. In my article (pp. 307 f.), I also indicate the difference of the models in H. 60 and 201.

On the other hand, I have indicated differences between the mss. of Ia and those of I, with direct access, sometimes, of some of these mss. to the verse. What I do have to rectify now from my previous studies is to reject now that, occasionally, Ia comes from I or from certain mss. of I. For example, in H. 40 I believe that we can reconstruct a trimetre παριών τις ὡς ἤκουσε τῶν στεναγμάτων where the mss. give variants τῶν στεναγμῶν (A = Pb), τοῦ στεναγμοῦ (Ia), τὸν στεναγμόν (GE). It is clear that there is always an underlying semiprosified model that probably had τῶν στεναγμῶν (preserved by A, altered by Ia; GE introduce a more serious alteration). I do not believe that the text of GE comes from A and that the text of Ia comes from GE, as I myself once proposed: all (or at least A and Ia, the other text is secondary) come from the ancient model.

But neither do I believe that I comes from Ia, as I proposed for H. 92 "The Viper and the Snake". The variants of these two series and also A also derive from the semiprosified model. On the other hand, it is true that some mss. of I give a version closer to Ia than the others; but this is explained, I now say, by their knowledge of a model partially different from the common one of I (cf. art. cit., p. 308). Cf., to give just one example, H. 203 "The Ass, the Fox

and the Lion", where A goes with mss. of Ia and with III (derived from here) to give a choliamb ending πρῶτον τὴν ἀλώπεκα συνέσχες which is destroyed with the συνέλαβες of the remaining mss. of I.

Ultimately, just as—as we will see—the Byzantine tradition sometimes comes from I, sometimes from Ia, sometimes from this or that ms. from one or the other series, in the same way I, Ia and their various mss. do not depend on a totally unitary common model. It sometimes seems so; but at others what we call the pre-Augustana was, in reality, a series of collections with text that was to a certain extent common, to a certain extent different. The writers who gradually created the new texts (of I and Ia in general and of various mss.) had before them, on occasions at least, more than one different text. They sometimes followed one ms., sometimes another, or else they contaminated. This will be seen more clearly when discussing the Augustana: here I am only anticipating this. Yet as regards Ia and its mss., from now on it is certain that they had direct access sometimes to the model of I, sometimes to closely related, but not identical collections. The "new" fables of Ia may come from one of them, one undervalued in this aspect by I. Yet neither is it impossible that they come from a separate collection (or various collections), that were used to complete the material of the pre-Augustana (even conceived in this broad sense of a group of closely related collections).

Ia is, in short, a collection that selects fables from one of the various mss. of the pre-Augustana: it leaves some out; in those it admits, it follows a text with some discrepancies (sometimes more faithful to the ancient verse than that of I) and it adds some new, marginal fables. I and Ia are collections with common elements and different elements that it is a mistake to publish as a single collection, although certain mss. began to mix them together from ancient times.

III. *The Ib Collection*

We conceive the pre-Augustana, then, as a group of collections that are closely related as regards fables and text; and Ia, in turn, as a group of derivatives closely related to each other, from one or various models, depending on the case; models that are sometimes in common with some mss. of I and at other times contaminated or duplicated (the two fables of the hyena). This group was added to

with a few fables, very probably coming from another or other collections; perhaps other mss. of I did the same (if they did not use the same Ia).

Similar things must be thought, certainly, of the Ib collection, which Hausrath describes as "paraphrase". Perry pays practically no attention to it, simply including its mss. among those of I. In fact, we would need to know in detail whether here there is an independent collection or not, and this is not easy because nowhere are we given an independent edition, at most we can find some data in the Apparatuses, particularly in Chambry's. Nevertheless, I will anticipate what I have to say on the theme.

To begin with, some fables exist that in Ib present a version that is sufficiently independent to have deserved the honour of a separate edition, as do others that are only found in the mss. of this collection. Here it is indeed possible to draw conclusions. Let us look at these fables.

H. 15b "The Fox and the Mouse". This is derived from the well-known fable of the fox and the grapes, in which a mouse is introduced as "survenant", who pronounces the "closing statement". Rather, it is derived from a semiprosification, this basis of the text of Par., Dod. and B.

H. 60d "The Old Man and Death". A variant on T of the common model of the whole tradition, on the line of AnF. Cf. the text in *Corpus* I, 2, p. 106.

H. 65a "Diogenes and the Bald Man". A small fable that the ms. U introduces instead of "Diogenes Walking" in Ia: this is a new anecdote of Diogenes, who says that he does not Insult the bald man, but eulogizes his hair, because they fled from a bad head. Cf. Boissonade, *Anecd.* III 468.

H. 100b "The Wolf and the Kid". An expanded variant on T of Ib or its model, closely related to that of SW (= IIIδ) and the Codex Brancaccianus (cf. the text in Hausrath, *Corpus Fabularum Aesopicarum* I, 2, p. 106).

H. 151a "The Lion who was Scared by the Mouse". Here Ib gives an abbreviated version of that of I, with which it sometimes agrees

literally, moreover. The *stemmatic structure* is not clear, cf. p. 60: it seems that from a single line there come various derivatives and that that of Ib is closely related to those of Par. and B, but they agree almost exactly with one of the two versions of Syr., no. 28. The final agreement is literal: ἀλλὰ τὴν πεῖραν (metrical), Syr. *l'épreuve*. That is to say, Ib follows a derivative line, distantly related to that of I.

H. 174 Ib "The Mice and the Weasels". Ib (B2, Barb., Salm.) depends on a model with secondary verse, from which Par. 1, Par. 2, Dos. and B (expanded) also come.

H. 262 "The Woodcutters and the Oak". This comes from a fable of 4 verses, from which III, Par. and Dod. also come, and, as an expansion, Babrius. It is the theme of the ungrateful blood relatives, which we have already mentioned.

H. 263 "The Fir and the Bramble". This is derived from *Iamb* IV by Callimachus: there are remnants of verse in common with Par. and B. It is a vegetable debate, with an echo of "The He-goat and the Vine" (not-H. 295).

H. 264 "The Man and the Lion Walking Together". A fable whose primary metrical model leaves a trace here, in Par., Dod. and *Tetr.* It is the theme of boasting refuted. It undoubtedly finds its inspiration in Xenophanes 15 D.-K. (the animals, if they knew how to, would sculpt gods with animal figures) and in Archilochus, *Ep.* VII (whence comes H. 14, the boasting of the monkey).

H. 265 "The Dog and the Snail". A unique witness, which derives from an original in five verses, of which a great deal remains. The theme of the stupidity of the dog, who confuses the snail with an egg.

H. 266 "The Two Cocks and the Eagle". A very widespread fable, with our text coming from the primary version, from which Par., Dod. and Bab. also come. The boastful cock is snatched by the eagle, while the other mounts the hens.

H. 267 "The Mosquito and the Lion". A fable only found here and in Achilles Tatius, with both coming (in contrast with what Hausrath's

Apparatus states) from an original in verse. It is the theme of the small animal that defeats the large one—but is boastful and receives its punishment by being in turn defeated and devoured by the spider. It is likely that there is influence from the previous fable; in any event, the theme is related to those of H. 140, not-H. 211, and 222.

H. 273 Ib "The Eagle". This comes, with Aphthonius and *Tetr.*, from a reduced version of the principal line, better preserved in AnF. III.

On H. 62, 72 and 239, see below. In these and other cases in which there is a fable in Ib and in very few mss. of I, the same hypotheses are presented as in parallel cases with Ia.

It is easy to see that in H. 15b we are dealing with a remodelled fable; 65a is in fact a new anecdote of Diogenes (a parallel fabulization to that of 65, but different); and the other fables are new, although again variants on the other known ones; 151a and 174 Ib come from a secondary semi-metrical version. They accentuate the themes of foolish boasting—punished or the object of mockery—and of foolishness likewise punished.

There is, then, an evident homogeneity. Just as there is in the *stemma* system: they are all fables which appear outside of here; on the other hand, 15b, 151a and 174 Ib come from a secondary semiprosification, in 65a there are no remnants of verse, and the others come from a primary verse which, when it has ended up in the other collections, is the model for Par., Dod. and Babrius. The secondary versions of H. 15b, 100b, 151a and 174 Ib are also related to this line. Evidently, together with the ancient source of AnF., the writer of Ib had another that is model for this line of collections and was not known by AnF. The themes and the fact of being derived fables make us think that this collection was quite late, from the end of the Hellenistic Age.

We are dealing, then, with a writer who knows one or various sources that are independent of that of the Augustana. It is now appropriate to return to the theme of whether Ib, when it is on the line of the Augustana, always follows the text of this, as seems to be deduced from its description as a "paraphrase" by Hausrath or from this procedure of Hausrath and Perry for treating the mss. of this collection like other mss. of I.[12] In this respect I wish to recall

[12] In fact, Perry practically does not take them into account.

here elements already stated in "La tradición fabulística . . .", pp. 209 ff.

Without needing to repeat the exemplification here, in the place cited I presented cases: a) in which Ib preserves the verse better than I and Ia (H. 177); b) in which the same occurs, but Ib is accompanied by some ms. of I (of A in H. 9, of FCas in H. 195); c) in which, also, Ia accompanies it (AIaIb in H. 26). The exemplification is, certainly, not very abundant, but I believe sufficient. Cf. a new example of text only correct in Ib: H. 30 εἰ περισωθείη.

There is no doubt, in any event, that occasionally Ib alters the text considerably. Cf. for example evident errors such as H. 20 γεγυμνασιαρχηκότων, H. 24 κοιλώματα, H. 147 διαρκῆσαι and the text that follows, H. 180 διετέθης. To give another example, I will mention the clear alteration εἵλκοντο, οἱ δὲ ἄξονες τρίζοντες, which destroys the syntax; I gives εἶλκον, τοῦ δ' ἄξονος τρίζοντος. This is the point of departure for Ib: a point of departure, moreover, already altered, which has changed the original ἅμαξαν εἶλκον βόες to a βόες ἅμαξαν εἶλκον. There are many examples like this one. Yet neither does it mean that Ib has taken the altered text of I; rather, we must think that it has taken it from a precursor. Of course, this cannot be decided here when, in the same fable, Ia gives τί κράζεις (metrical) and Ib τί κραυγάζεις (ametrical).

Yet this is made very likely firstly by the fact of the occasional better preservation of the verse in Ib, as we have just said, and precisely, sometimes, together with Ia or certain mss. of I (which on other occasions are the only ones to have access directly to the model); and secondly by the fact that, also occasionally, the ametrical text of Ib is also in some mss. of I. Thus, if Hausrath's Critical Apparatus for H. 44 is re-examined, we will be able to see that the mss. of Ib sometimes have a prosaic text innovated by them, but that at others they share it with the mss. of I: cf. ἑαυτοὺς εἰς τὰ βάθη τῆς λίμνης ἐδίδοσαν AEGIb compared with the same text with ἐνέδυσαν EO (this without ἑαυτούς). It is likely that here Ib preserves the model better than EO. On the other hand, I think that the εἰς τοσοῦτο καταφρονήσεως ἦλθον of I preserve a semiprosification derived from an older εἰς τοσοῦτ' ἦλθον | καταφρονήσεως, a semiprosification that is the basis of Ib εἰς τοσοῦτο κατεφρόνησαν. At other times Ib, together with another or other mss., makes a modification at the expense of the metre (for example, the elimination of καὶ - προκειμένου, together with E, in H. 19; the alteration

ἐνεχθέντες - ἰδόντες, together with F, in H. 187) or else preserves the ancient version together with the other (πῶς ἔχοι, with E, in 180, which is ancient judging by other appearances).

All this connected to the fact that sometimes a fable is in Ib and in some mss. of I, whatever the explanation: this is the case of H. 62, 72 and 91 (AGIb).

I must repeat that the theme deserves further study, on a sounder manuscript basis. In general terms, it could be said that Ib comes from the semiprosified model that we call the pre-Augustana, probably not always from the same original from which I comes; that it has altered it considerably, but it has sometimes preserved it better than the fundamental line of I, sometimes alone, sometimes together with some other manuscript. And that there it has added, as has been said, a few fables of different origin. Yet in the detail we would need to see to what extent these conclusions—correct, I believe, in principle—may be generalized. It is not certain, then, that for all the fables we could have a version of Ib, often the manuscripts that are attributed to it diverge extensively from each other and support others' readings of I. Chambry described two of them as mixed. In his edition, H. 9 "The Fox and the Goat" is edited in three versions in which mss. of I, Ia and Ib are present in mixed form. The terrible problem of the transmission of the fables is that what it is true for the tradition of one in one ms. may not be so for that of another in another. They had, as we already know, more than one model available. And, in a given fable, they may have followed it together with a ms. that was usually from another line.

For this reason, as regards Ia, Ib and even I, and the rest of the Anonymous fables, our treatment cannot aspire to do more, as we have warned, than give a general orientation. Aspiring to do more than this would be to embark upon an in-depth study of the manuscript tradition, which is not our purpose.

It is appropriate to add here that Ib occasionally has text in common with mss. of III: in H. 262 (already studied), 271 and 283 (here also with Ia, a version that alone agrees with III). As regards H. 291, it is not from Ib, it is an error by Hausrath.

IV. *The Augustana Collection (I): Inventory*

1. *General Remarks*

If we leave aside the numbers duplicated in Ia and Ib of the fables that we have stated as being from Ia (definitely or probably), if not, additions of E, etc., of those of Ib and of a final appendix of fables of II and other collections, in this case Hausrath's initial list (which, on the other hand, must be handled with care, because it contains errors on the representation of such and such a fable in such and such a collection or manuscript) is reduced, as regards the Augustana, to the following numbers:

H. 1–64, 66–90, 92–140, 142–158, 160–164, 166–168, 170, 172–189, 191–199, 201–203, 206–208, 210–213, 215–226, 230, 232–237, 239, 242–244, 246, 248, 250–260.

There are, in total, 237 fables (I later eliminate one). This figure represents a minimum, since we have seen that some mss. show some other fables, either coming from of Ia or Ib, or from other sources, to which they had access directly or together with some mss. of these collections.

It is a very large collection, derived conclusively from the main core of fables that come from Demetrius, to which other fables have been added. No attempt has been made to conceal its additive and mixed origin, as in authors' collections, by means of reworkings to unify in a certain sense the style and length: it is the typical anonymous collection, which even has duplications.

On the other hand, here I must emphasize the fact that this collection never had an archetype. Irrespective of the individual additions of the mss., to which I have already referred, it in fact breaks down into three groups of mss., there being, at the same time, important individual differences between those of the same group. Those groups or mss. behave, sometimes, as evidence of different traditions: they have worked with models that are not always the same and, also, have gone to them directly, on occasions at least, and not through an intermediate manuscript. The origin of the Augustana lies, partly, in the existence of a group of closely related collections and, partly, in the progressive contamination of those derived from these collections. Even so, a complete unification has never been reached.

At this points in this book, the reader will not be surprised that I repeat that what is true for one fable may not be so for another. Each fable is a particular case and the mss. contain elements of mixed and contaminated origin. Neither will it be strange if I add that the true and complete history cannot be totally unravelled here: apart from the intrinsic problems of an open and contaminated tradition, and even more so where the circumstances vary from one place to another (from fable to fable), the fact is that we do not have a true critical and exhaustive study of the mss. nor satisfactory editions, in spite of the progress made. Chambry, Hausrath and Perry work with a limited number of mss. of I, to which they sometimes add some of Ia and Ib (which should not be dealt with homogeneously, in many cases); with this material—which is insufficient, however, because the tradition is richer—they attempt to obtain, with one or two exceptions, a unitary text for each fable. A unitary text that on occasions has undoubtedly never existed. On the other hand, the problem will never be totally solvable: seeing in which cases, for example, a ms. uses an original in common with another or one only close to this, or else it contaminates or innovates, is something that may sometimes be traced with the help of verse, sometimes not.

In any event, and on the basis of precedents in "La tradición fabulística . . ." and in Vol. I of this work, I am going to emphasize, to begin with, the autonomous character of the tradition of the mss. or groups of mss. of I. I will divide the study into three sections: representation of the fables in the various mss. and groups; fables duplicated in the same ms.; fables with two versions. Then I will go on to consider the access to the verse of both mss. and groups.

2. *Representation of the Fables in the Various Mss. and Collections*

It is appropriate here, before beginning, to recall the fact that the mss. of the Augustana sometimes contain choliambic fables (this is the well known case of F and G), as well as paraphrases and dodecasyllables, versions in common with Ia and Ib, even versions of the Byzantine AnF.s (at the end of 260, for example, the version of the Accursiana is added). On the other hand, to constitute the text, versions of II, IIIδ and coll. III in general may be useful, although sometimes they may use the sources directly, as we know. We may also add the fact of the mixed character of certain mss. It is clear

that the Byzantine copyists (and it is not easy distinguish between copyists and writers) had various collections of fables at their disposal: hence the changes of model and the contaminations, and this from manuscript to manuscript.

Yet we must return to the Augustana. After recalling my previous list, given within the study of Ia, of fables only present in one or two mss. (whether they come from Ia or directly from an ancient model), here I am going to give some lists of fables that are absent either from the group λ or from OE, or from AG, or from two of these. I am speaking in general terms, and I will not go into the detail of the representation of λ, which is more or less complete, depending on the case. The theory of the archetype would advocate that the fables were all in it and some were left out by one of the groups or by the mss. Yet another explanation may also sometimes be advocated: that these mss. or groups, which partly proceed independently, as is demonstrated by the fact of their direct arrival at the originals (sometimes at more than one, as we will see), occasionally expanded the basic collection. Or they occasionally followed different, though closely related basic collections: that is to say, that this group of collections that we have discussed and that all together we have called the Augustana, occasionally differed not only as regards their text, but also as regards the fables they brought together. The procedure of the Imperial collections, then, with which are we already familiar, of adding fables taken from here and there to a main source, was undoubtedly none other than the continuation of the procedure of the Hellenistic collections and the subsequent ones, including those known as a whole as the Augustana.

The groups to which I have referred are:

Fables that are absent from λ: H. 14, 26, 28, 31, 33, 36, 38, 39, 40, 62, 72, 80, 89, 93, 102, 127, 133, 140, 147, 150, 158, 160, 166, 177.

Fables that are absent from OE: H. 59, 60, 62, 72, 91, 100, 107, 167, 176, 213, 236, 243, 246, 248, 258, 259.

Fables that are absent from AG: H. 100 (also in OE), 134.

It is clear that the most complete collection is AG; I will recall in any event that this and the others sometimes lack a fable that is in Ia or Ib and another group or ms., and that certain fables are only,

for example, in E.[13] Those two fables H. 100 and 134 are two very poorly transmitted fables, the first only in CF (from λ) and Ib, the second in CFE: they were, perhaps, found again by these collections outside of the main model. On the other hand, there are certain agreements within the three lists that precede, that is to say, fables that were only found again (or preserved) by one collection: in addition to H. 100 (absent from OE and AG) we have two that are absent from the first two groups: H. 62, 72. They may very well have been fables that AG found directly from a source inaccessible to the other collections, but being in Ib as they are, it is also possible that they come from here.

3. *Fables Duplicated in the Same Manuscript*

Although the theme has already been referred to, it is appropriate at this point to deal with it more exhaustively and draw conclusions. The fact is that in two mss., that is, in G and in E, two texts of the same fable appear in different places. Specifically, in the cases of H. 23 and 101 (twice in G), 27, 56, 79, 105, 114 I (twice in E). Note that we leave aside, for the moment, those cases in which two versions also appear, but we are dealing in fact with two very different versions. Here there are, in fact, textual differences, sometimes shared by other mss. We need only see the Apparatuses of Hausrath and Perry to check this. For example, in H. 101 the text of G²OECas gives a beginning that maintains the original verse (Ξύλινόν τις Ἑρμῆν), while CFG1 alters (Ἑρμῆν τις ξύλινον, introduced into the text mistakenly by Hausrath).

Although the detail of the relationship of each of the two versions with the other mss. and with Ia is not easy to establish, due to the inadequacy of the data in the Apparatuses, it is totally clear that we are dealing with the existence of two models. The copyists of some of our mss. (or their immediate precursors), in addition to the main model, clearly had another available, from which they were able to take new fables; as is the case with the creators of the subrecensions. Yet occasionally they did not realize that the new fables they took are in fact fables already appearing in the main source, although with a different text.

[13] On fables lost subsequently in G, cf. Perry, *Aesopica*, p. 301.

We may speak, as Perry does, of "fabulae adventiciae", but provided we take into account that it is always the same process and that, in fact, what is done is to reincorporate material that was already originally in the Augustana or the pre-Augustana, if we use this term in the broad sense of a group of collections and closely related recensions, the sense that I am using here. Moreover, there are links between this group and the one that follows: in short, in H. 101 there are two recensions, each with various mss., no more and no less than in the fables with two more differentiated versions, which I am going to consider below.

4. *Fables with Two Versions*

From ancient times derived fables have been created, sometimes more than two starting from one model: sooner or later they were able to enter the same collections. And likewise some fables derived from others. This is a process that was repeated and of which we find traces in our Augustana. In fact, we have already found examples in which a version was in I and another in Ia or Ib, sometimes converging later in some mss. On the other hand, is not easy to trace a line between two versions of a fable that are still very close to each other and two versions that are already very differentiated, fables truly independent for an unspecifiable period of time. I have already said that there are links with the simple textual differences.

I am going to attempt to offer a synoptic view, showing all the cases of double versions that I have identified to date and adding the material that remains. I have presented three groups:

a) H. 39a = 39b = IaCOU (fable of the swallow; both recensions in Cas)
H. 114 I*b* = I + Ib/114 I = IaECasCG (idem of the ant and the cicada or beetle)
b) H. 15a = 15b = Ib (idem of the fox and the grapes)
H. 65 = E = Ia (?)/65a = Ib (fables of Diogenes)
H. 151 = I + Ib/151a = Ib (fable of the lion and the mouse)
H. 174 = I + Ib/174 I*b* = Ib (fable of the mice and the weasels)
c) H. 101 (two recensions, G is in both; it is the fable of the seller of images).

Let us now look at the new material:

H. 28 = I/H. 34 = I, Ia. Two fables with identical beginning and approximate content ("The Liar" and "The Man who Promises the Impossible"). Both in AG (34 also in Ia).

H. 31 = I "The Middle-Aged Man and the Prostitutes". In EAGIb there is a second version (the first also in EAG), in fact of the Bodleian Paraphrase (52).

H. 62 = AGIb/H 186 = I, Ib (there is agreement in AG and in a ms. of Ib, B). It is the fable of the farmer and the serpent: there are two versions derived from two semiprosifications with complementary verse, with 62 slightly abbreviated.

H. 71 = I/H. 239 = I, Ib (both versions are in A). This is the fable of the oak (or the trees) and the reed: 71 is a reduced version with secondary verse taken out of the primary one, which is translated into 239.

H. 87 = I, Ib/H. 189 I, Ia (EFCasG agree). It is the fable of the lion and the sheep: the second fable, which introduces the fox as "survenant", derives from a secondary verse, the former from the primary.

H. 98: Hausrath's Apparatus states that the fable shows two forms, one in OEG and another in CAIb. That is to say, there is complementary distribution of the mss. of I. It is not possible to reconstruct both texts. It is the fable of the viper and the snake.

H. 198 = I/H. 257 = I. The first fable is in OFCasEA, the second in CFAG; there is partial agreement. This is about the ass and the wolf and the wild ass and the wolf, respectively: the latter fable comes from a secondary verse, derived from the primary one of the previous one through an intermediate derivative.

These cases are added to the previous ones in which, as we have seen, there were oppositions I/Ia, I/Ib, I/I, generally with complementary distribution of the mss. (with certain exceptions) and sometimes adding certain mss. of I to Ia. In fact, it could be thought, in parallel, that versions with Ib and a few mss. of I come from Ib: but this is an uncertain hypothesis.

The situation of the two groups is different to a certain extent. In the one mentioned above, there was in general terms a complementary distribution between the two versions (moreover, generally derived one from the other): distribution between I/Ib or I/Ia (sometimes with some ms. of I). The existence of a ms. in common was rare: evidently, one version used the model of the other. On the other hand here, except for one case, that of H. 98, with complementary distribution, in the others there is a series of mss. that overlap, that is to say, that present both versions. Firstly, when one from I is in opposition to another from Par., in H. 31; and then in the other cases in which there are the following combinations: I/I; I/I, Ib; I/I, Ia, Ib; I, Ib/I, Ib; I, Ib/I, Ia; I, Ia/I, Ib. EAG are the mss. that mainly "overlap", have both versions, but also others different from I and Ib.

This whole complex panorama does not make a simple explanation likely as to how there is secondary interpolation of Ib: I think that the various recensions of the pre-Augustana that were at the disposal of the writers-copyists of the Augustana sometimes offered one, sometimes two of the pairs of fables. In any event, our copyists had before them more than one model: sometimes they were able to supplement one with another, without catching on that they have introduced two fables that were conclusively similar, just as they also, undoubtedly, may have left disregarded a fable as being similar to another already collected or for some other reason.

5. *Some Complementary Considerations*

To present some other interpretations, let us see what Perry, *Aesopica*, says on Par. 301, on the ms. G. After indicating its lacunae, due to the loss of certain sheets, he adds that it has seven "adventitious" fables, supposedly added to the archetype of the whole Augustana. The criticism of his statements will show the weakness of the arguments on which this hypothesis is based.

Perry is right, of course, when he considers "adventitious" the version of Par. 52, corresponding to H. 31, which appears in G: it is one example, among others, of the entrance of the "Babrian" tradition into the mss. of the AnF. Yet this qualification is already totally gratuitous when applied to H. 62, which he believes comes from Babrius simply because it shows remnants of choliambic verse; and likewise when it is applied to H. 114 Ib, with the same argument of

the choliambic traces. These two fables have nothing to do with the Babrian tradition, nor is the presence of choliambs characteristic only of this tradition: but Perry, evidently, was unaware of this.

However, if the presence of choliambs or remnants of these is no argument, neither is the existence of double versions. Perry, however, says that either H. 71 or H. 239 must be a duplicate, an "adventitious fable"; and that one of the two texts of H. 101, as well as H. 87 and H. 198 also are. These second (or first) versions appear not only in G, but also in other mss. And there are no great arguments to deduce, where there are duplications, which text is that of the supposed archetype of the Augustana and which other is "adventitious". It is not that G added to a "closed" original, but that this ms. and various others had access to various collections which sometimes involved duplications of this type and sometimes collected the two texts, sometimes only one.

Similar things may be said of the statements by Perry himself (*Aesopica*, p. 303; *Studies*, pp. 153 ff.) on A = Pb. In relation to G, apart from the absence of 10 fables, Perry notes the addition of seven, which he considers secondary, extraneous. It is true that the fables corresponding to H. 260 II and III come from these two recensions, which in our ms. have substituted the version of I of "The Flea and the Athlete". And of course, H. 249 "The Peacock and the Crane", is a special case, which on p. 284 we considered as perhaps being from Ia (because it is only in A), but which in any event comes from the same text from which Dod. derives (that of Babrius depends on this, not vice versa as Perry believes). In any event, these texts were introduced into A.

On the other hand, I do not see any reason for other statements by Perry. H. 167 and 168 do not come from Babrius, who does not even present the first fable. This ("The Lioness and the Fox") comes from a text in common with Dod. 1 and the other ("The Wolf and the Lamb") from one from which Babrius and Avianus derive. We are moving here, certainly, in a fabulistic tradition external to the AnF., but we must note that, in contrast with H. 249 (only in A), H. 167 is in FAIb and 168 in CasFA. There are, then, various mss. that have taken a collection not in the pre-Augustana as a secondary source.

As regards H. 169 "The Hares and the Foxes" and H. 176 "The Ant and the Pigeon", Perry attributes them to Ia. The first is in

CasEAIa, the second in CFAIaIb, and we see no argument for ascertaining whether the text comes from Ia or vice versa; in any event, both fables depend on primary metrical models, which they share, the former with the Syriac fables, the latter with Dod. Once again, various mss. of I, including A, have used a marginal source; but this time we cannot guarantee that it is external to the pre-Augustana.

We have already seen that what occurs in A with the fables in common with Ia, happens much more commonly in other mss. and, significantly, in E = Pa. In his *Studies*, pp. 150 ff., Perry indicated that this manuscript lacks 20 fables common to GA and adds, on the other hand, 19 new (and one in ACas): they are the fables of Ia and, sometimes, other mss. More doubtful is Perry's proposal of an origin of these fables in Ia starting from E (through K = Pf). In any event, Perry focuses the question correctly when he implies that E copied its text alternately from two or more mss.: except that it was not only E, but also, sometimes, other mss. Yet this must be referred not only to the fables in common with Ia (and Ib), but also to the "duplications" and repeated fables that we have dealt with above.

In short, the main mss. of I worked, on one hand, with mss. of the pre-Augustana more or less closely related to the verse, more or less identical as regards their inventory of fables; and, on the other, with mss. of Ia and Ib, which in turn had a fundamental core in common with I, but added new versions of fables or new fables. Sometimes groups of mss. (precursors of those preserved) sometimes isolated mss. took new materials from here.

The "mixed" character of our mss. of I is accentuated when they add materials from II, IIIδ and III generally, not to mention the "Babrian" tradition. This is common in the mss. that Chambry designated with acronyms that begin with M. And a very significant case is that of Cas, for which I refer the reader to Perry, *Aesopica*, p. 304. Yet these are not isolated cases. Incidentally, here or there, we have indicated the presence of fables of II, IIIδ and III in mss. of the Augustana. And it would be easy to add new examples. On the other hand, the text of I occasionally entered mss. of other collections, cf., for example, H. 71 and 124 (ms. T, from II), H. 85 (ms. Q, from Ia). Another different case is when others from IIIδ were added to the mss. of I or Ia (see the case in a long series of fables starting from H. 218): here we are revealed the path through which the text of I and Ia evolved to give the new Byzantine collections.

V. *The Augustana Collection (I): Access of the Ms. to Verse*

In Vol. I, pp. 87 ff. and previously in "La tradición fabulística . . .", pp. 294 ff., I presented some examples that show that, occasionally, certain mss. of I (and Ia, Ib) have direct access to the verse of the pre-Augustana. However, it is appropriate at this point to rectify some elements here and explain others more in depth.

As I have said, we must conceive the pre-Augustana as a series of collections that are closely related, but not identical either as regards the text or as regards the number of fables collected. This can be seen, firstly, because occasionally other collections, and significantly II and III (apart from the Syriacs, whose verse is difficult to guess), have access to a metrical text where all the mss. of the Augustana offer a common prosification. Later we will see more examples: here we need only indicate that in H. 136 all the mss. of I offer a beginning κύων κρέας ἔχουσα ποταμὸν διέβαινε, in which the verse can be restored by replacing ἔχουσα with φέρουσα, more or less altered traces of which remain in II, Phaedrus, Theon and Doxopater: it is clear that these authors and collections depend on an older text than the one prior to I, at least regarding this passage.

We have already said in our previous volume that the prosifications were spread out at intervals over time, sometimes alternating with new versifications. For each fable there existed not one semiprosified text, but various, with more or less verse and greater or lesser antiquity; some could have coexisted alongside others. In the various chapters of this volume, I have often indicated that semiprosifications that underlie the various collections have complementary verse: that is to say, that they come independently from the same metrical or sometimes semi-metrical model.

With this I am not going to deny that in an important number of cases the various mss. of I come from the same semiprosified text. The example of H. 136 that I have just given is just one of countless ones that could be. We need only think of ametrical beginnings of fables of the type H. 19 ἀλώπηξ φραγμόν, 20 ἀλώπηξ καὶ κροκόδειλος, etc., which represent prosifications of metrical beginnings. In some cases we can guess them: H. 1 ἀετὸς καὶ ἀλώπηξ φιλίαν πρὸς ἀλλήλους certainly comes from φιλίαν ἀλώπηξ κἀετὸς πρὸς ἀλλήλους; H. 70 δύο βάτραχοι ἀλλήλοις ἐγειτνίων from δύο βάτραχοι ἐγειτνίων ποτ' ἀλλήλοις; H. 112 ἥρωά τις ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας ἔχων, τούτῳ πολυτελῶς ἔθυε from ἥρωά τις ἐπ' οἰκίας ἔχων, τούτῳ |

ἔθυε πολυτελῶς. Of course, the chronological depth of the prosification may vary considerably. We will see, for example,[14] that H. 58, which begins with γυνὴ χήρα ὄρνιν ἔχουσα, where χήρα is an interpolation that destroys the verse, has a precise parallel in Syr. LXI *une femme veuve*: it is a very ancient prosification, undoubtedly derived from a γυνή τις εἶχε, cf. Syr. *elle avait une poule* and in H. 55 γυνὴ χήρα φιλεργός instead of γυνὴ φιλεργός. What follows was also prosified in ancient times: I καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ᾠὸν τίκτουσαν, Syr. *et, tous les jours, (celle-ci) lui donnait un oeuf.* It would be easy to restore: γυνή τις ὄρνιν εἶχε καθ' ἡμέραν I τίκτουσαν ᾠόν.

Yet, of course, I cannot go here into the detailed reconstruction of the different semiprosified steps of the various fables: I only note their existence. And, continuing, I will add that, although it is true that it is often a single prosaic text that underlies the whole Augustana (and even, on occasions, all the AnF.s), at other times this is not so.

Indeed, we find passages in which compared with the prosified text common to the whole tradition generally, one or sometimes various mss. had the original metrical text at their disposal, or, at least, a previous semiprosified text that preserved the metre better than the standard one. To give an example that is easy to understand: in H. 29, compared with the general ὑποτυχὼν ἔφη (very frequent prosaic formula), A = Pb has ἔφη πρὸς αὐτόν (also a common metrical formula). Yet in that same fable E contains prose in common with the rest of the tradition: to take an obvious example, the beginning ἀνθρακεὺς ἐπί τινος οἰκίας ἐργαζόμενος ὡς ἐθεάσατο. Later the writer of E has contaminated the common model of the fable with another older one, which preserved the verse better.

It is appropriate at this point to give some more examples, since in the previous one it may be thought that common formulas may have been replaced and some replaced again by others.

In H. 114 I the mss. of I and Ia generally present a beginning θέρους ὥρᾳ μύρμηξ περιπατῶν, and this is the case even in one of the two versions offered by E (see above, p. 302); but the other shows us ὥρᾳ θέρους μύρμηξ περιιών which is metrical: the copyist of E has access, then, to two originals, as I have already stated, but I will now add that one preserved the verse better than the other. And I will also add that in the same fable the ἐταλάνιζε of E2 represents a *lectio difficilior* that is undoubtedly older than the general

[14] Cf. p. 423.

ἐθαύμαζεν, which fits worse into the meaning (although the metre is the same). Here we can establish three phases:

1: ἰδὼν ἐταλάνιζεν
2: θεασάμενος ἐταλάνιζεν (cf. Vol. I, p. 556): from here E2
3: θεασάμενος ἐθαύμασεν: from there the rest of the tradition.

A still more illustrative case, however, is that of H. 9, the fable of the fox and the goat who is first used to get out of the well, then leaving it abandoned there. In E (and in mss. of Ib) we find the complete verse in the words of the fox to the goat, provided that we eliminate two interpolations that were evidently in the model (we can at least certify the second, as will be seen):

ἐὰν μόνον θέλῃς (B; E θελήσεις, V θελήσω) ⟨σὺ⟩ τὴν [ἀμφοτέρων] σωτηρίαν.
θέλησον οὖν τοὺς [ἐμπροσθίους] πόδας ἐρεῖσαι τῷ τοίχῳ
ὀρθῶσαι δὲ τὰ κέρατα

In the others mss. a jump has taken place from the same to the same, preceded by an alteration of the beginning: from ἐὰν γὰρ θελήσῃς or εἰ γὰρ θελήσεις we move directly to τοὺς ἐμπροσθίους πόδας (the continuation is more altered, τῷ τοίχῳ προσερεῖσαι ἐγκλίνας τὰ κέρατα).

That is to say, the prosification that underlies our tradition generally contains a lacuna and certain alterations, while E and Ib have had access to an older text, without the lacuna and with more metrical remnants. In other passages of the same fable, for example, in the beginning, all the mss. depend on a common prosified text.

It is not at all strange that it is A and E (= Pb, Pa)—well-known mss. because they introduce new fabulistic material, sometimes together with others—that in turn manage a very common semiprosified model and one that is older and different from this. And they do this independently, not as part of their respective groups of mss.

However, let us look at some examples that will enable us to understand the diffusion of these facts. In H. 150 a common verse can be restored

ὁ μὲν γάρ ἐστι τῶν θαλαττίων ζῴων

but the one that follows is only preserved in A

αὐτὸς δὲ τῶν χερσαίων ζῴων εἰμὶ βασιλεύς[15]

while underlying the other mss. is a prosification

αὐτὸς δὲ τῶν χερσαίων βασιλεύει

Note that in this fable, a little further down, it is G that has preserved the original verse, undoubtedly on the model

μετ' οὐ πολὺν χρόνον μάχην ἔχων ταύρῳ (mss. πρὸς ταῦρον)

And it distorts the beginning, A says μάχην τινά.

Let us move on to other mss. In H. 186 only CCas maintain the complete choliamb

συνείχετ', ἠρέμει· ἐπεὶ δ' ἐθερμάνθη

since the others offer a prosification ἐπειδὴ δέ.

On the other hand, the fact that we very frequently find semiprosifications in common does not mean that they are always so. Occasionally there are semiprosifications proper to different groups of mss.: to the three groups that we already know or else, at other times, to various manuscripts of both.

May I recall, to begin with, what was stated above on the subject of H. 101: the initial metrical text Ξύλινόν τις Ἑρμῆν is represented in the three groups of mss. (Cas AG OE), but there is a prosification Ἑρμῆν τις ξύλινον in CF and in a second version in G. Two versions, then, were around, with two texts, with sometimes one sometimes the other older in some passages. A ms., such as G, could have had the two available, copying both; other mss. sometimes chose one sometimes the other, irrespective of the group to which they belonged.

A similar example, among many, could be H. 79, where the metre κατήσθιε τὰ φύλλα | τῆς ἀμπέλου is preserved in CCasEG and there is a prosification in common τὰ φύλλα τῆς ἀμπέλου κατήσθιε in FOA: λ and OE are divided up.

At other times, however, a prosification is characteristic of a branch of mss.: there is a process of steps.

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[15] The spondee is admitted in position IV, cf. Vol. I, p. 581.

This is the case in H. 112: here two verses can be reconstructed:

οὗτος,
πέπαυσο τὴν ⟨σὴν⟩ οὐσίαν διαφθείρων
ἐὰν γὰρ [– ⏑̲ – ⏑] καὶ πένης γένῃ

but, apart from certain individual alterations of EAG at the end of the first verse, in the second OE replace ἀναλώσεις καί with ἀναλώσας.

In H. 152

λεὼν καὶ ἄρκτος ἐλάφου νεβρὸν εὑρόντες (with νεβρὸν ἐλάφου)

they are the mss. of λ that almost preserve the metre; underlying EAG is a corruption νευρόν, which has dragged others with it.

In H. 146 the final metrical closing statement

μηδέν' ἀκοὴ ταραττέτω πρὸ τῆς θέας

is maintained in λ AG, while EO has introduced another in prose:

εἶτα τηλικοῦτος ὢν τηλικαῦτα βοᾷς

It is clear that on other occasions the differences between the mss. are explained, more than by intermediate prosaic texts, by individual alterations of the verse still preserved in the model and sometimes maintained by such and such a manuscript.

Thus, in H. 40 only A = Pb maintains, at the beginning of the fable, the metrical ἑκάστοτ' ἑσπέρας: the alterations of the other mss. depend on the model, not on A. It is particularly significant that in H. 187 a trimetre ὃ μηδὲν ἦν ἡμεῖς μάτην προσεδεχόμεθα can be restored whose various elements are sometimes maintained by some sometimes by other mss. Likewise, in H. 257 they are restored well by eliminating any gloss and making a change of word order

λύκος δὲ βριαρὸς τὸν ὄνον (mss. αὐτὸν) συναντήσας
κατεσθίειν ἔμελλ' ἕτοιμον εὑρὼν θήραμα

Here annotations and changes of order are common: they date back to the model. However, apart from this, the various mss. have altered individually, although, in this case, those of λ are the most faithful.

Finally, there is no doubt that the prosaic model may in turn preserve better or worse: there are new prosaic alterations of the various groups of mss. or the various mss. Note, for example, en H. 40 A τῶν στεναγμῶν (the original is τῶν στεναγμάτων, metrical); it reproduces the model, altered variously by the other mss.

All this confirms our previous conclusions on the origin of the Augustana. In general terms, both it and the pre-Augustana in their different stages are a unitary collection. Most of the fables are common, the text is based in general terms on a common prosification or semiprosification. Yet various more or less prosified mss. existed that sometimes admitted double versions of a fable or fables with double text or new fables or else eliminated some. The successive copyists of the Augustana, up to our own, the Byzantines, frequently had more than one of these ancient collections available. Starting from them, they introduced fables or new versions of the same one, they reintroduced the verse lost in recent versions, they contaminated. The copyists of a ms. belonging to a certain branch worked knowing and using other branches and, sometimes, a text older than all of them.

To finish, a particular mention must be made of the two subcollections Ia and Ib. Although, for the reasons stated, they have been studied here in an inadequate manner, it is clear that to a core coming from the collections of the pre-Augustana (sometimes those used by I, sometimes others) they added fables from marginal collections or else fables from the same pre-Augustana, disregarded by I.

VI. *The Augustana Collection (I): Stemmatic Structure*

1. *General Remarks*

There are 237 fables[16] common to the whole Augustana, that is to say, those that remain after discounting those that we suppose are original to Ia and Ib and a few that some mss. introduced, perhaps taking them from the pre-Augustana, but sometimes not. This gives us the largest collection from Antiquity by a considerable degree. As I have said, the Augustana is the collection or sum of collections

[16] We must discount one, H. 234, of Byzantine origin. Cf. below.

into which the main mass of fables coming from Demetrius and others added later on have converged. Of course, many of these fables, combined with others, have in turn given rise to other collections. Later we will see in more detail the relationship between the Augustana and these other collections that, in a certain sense, allow themselves to be reconstructed. After adding these and the Augustana or pre-Augustana they produced, from the last Hellenistic Age, the source from which more frequently started both the authors of literary collections and those who cited individual fables as exempla in literary works of other types.

It will undoubtedly be understood that, at this stage of our knowledge, a study of the Augustana is going to reveal to us a mixed collection, with ancient fables and other recent ones, newly created or derivatives; with versions coming from various places in the respective *stemmata*; with ranges of themes that are sometimes traditional, sometimes Cynic or Cynic-Stoic; with types of fables that are also mixed. Yet it is appropriate at this point to investigate carefully to see whether we can establish connections between these various viewpoints and to see the proportion of the different fables, etc. This would be the way of gaining an understanding, in some way, of the history of the collections, from that of Demetrius to the Augustana itself. Then all this must be compared with what we already know about the other collections that are at the basis of those that we have been studying so far and that in one way or another are connected with the pre-Augustana, although they cut, expand or modify it.

Before embarking on this study, I will remind the reader of the two chapters of Vol. I on "The Fable in the Collections of Demetrius" and "The Fable in the Hellenistic Age". Of course, in these we discussed the remote precedents not only of the pre-Augustana, but of the whole fable generally. Yet they are important at the moment of studying the Augustana. We already conclusively know their core: the fables of the Classical Age collected by Demetrius, fables that were fundamentally agonal and endowed with a structure and some formulas that we have discussed. And also the new types of fables of the Hellenistic Age, developed, moreover, starting from previous precedents, but in a new ideological and literary context. More specifically, I conducted a small analysis of the first 40 fables of the Augustana, distinguishing the various fabulizations, the fables derived from fables, the new fables among those of Classical tradition. The

"mixed" and human fables increased in number, as did the situation structures and the anomalous ones, which are added to the traditional ones and to the standardized archaic ones.[17]

Yet these fables, I repeat, are also, for the most part, outside of the Anonymous Fables. Within this general panorama of the fable starting from the Hellenistic Age, we must attempt to draw conclusions that refer more precisely to the pre-Augustana and the Augustana. And I am going to begin by analyzing the situation of the different fables of this within the *stemmata*, to see to what extent we are dealing with unique or widespread fables and, among these, in what state of development of the text they are. Perhaps this suggests to us some conclusions on the mediated sources of our Augustana; on the collections on which it depends.

Prior to this, we must observe that the remnants of verse in the Augustana are very unequal. This depends on the existence sometimes of primary verse, sometimes secondary, sometimes of semiprosifications spread out at intervals. A secondary situation of a fable in the *stemma* does not always mean that it preserves less verse, since it may be secondary verse well preserved. Yet the important thing is to note that, considering how limited and problematic the verse may be in some fables, I would not dare to affirm today, as I did in "La tradición fabulística...", pp. 264 ff., the existence in the Augustana of fables originally without verse. In this book, Vol. I, pp. 74 ff., I already showed that a rigorous examination leads to the discovery of more and more metrical remnants: now I will add that the existence of fables without original verse is not demonstrable.

When attempting to assign a position to the Augustana (and the pre-Augustana) within the fabulistic tradition, we must start from the principle, already enunciated, that it belongs to the main line of this: it contains many elements in common with the other collections we have more or less reconstructed. This principal line also differentiates itself from the marginal elements that may have reached other collections, very significantly from the fables of the Rylands Papyrus, which have a different versification. Cf. Vol. I, p. 71. They date back, conclusively, to Demetrius and to his later expansions, but starting from a certain moment the line split off into two, and the

[17] On all this, see Vol. I, pp. 519 ff.

branch of the Rylands Papyrus rarely finds echoes outside of it. The pre-Augustana, is, then, the continuation of the more diffused branch or of the more diffused group of branches; although it does not represent the whole tradition of the fable, as a series of fables did not reach it and, on the other hand, paved the way, as I have been saying, for other collections that also used the line of the Augustana.

2. *Stemmatic structure*

With this I will begin the study of the stemmatic structure of the Augustana, on the basis of the 237 fables that I have not yet considered in this respect and which represent its main core and also that of the pre-Augustana. I do so, as always, on the basis of the data of Appendix I, where more detail may be found. And on the basis of the studies already carried out in the previous chapters.

It is a matter, in short, of studying whether the stemmatic structure clarifies something on the sources—and, in a second phase, on the character—of the Augustana collection and on its precedents in the various phases of the pre-Augustana. I must recall, then, that Phaedrus and Babrius took materials from collections derived from this in a phase in which it still lacked regular epimythia; that the models of the Syriac fables knew it at a time when it already had these epimythia, but had a more archaic text than the one preserved; and that those ancient archaisms, through intermediate collections, sometimes reached authors such as Aphthonius and Dositheus. On the other hand, we must recall that these and other authors (including the Medieval Latin fabulists) sometimes worked with collections independent of the pre-Augustana and the Augustana, which did not reach the point of being subsumed into it.

As regards the archaisms that can be reconstructed for the pre-Augustana and that have disappeared from our Augustana, I am not going to repeat these here: I refer the reader to the various previous chapters, particularly to those on Phaedrus and Babrius, and also to Appendix I. Yet sometimes they are well known: we may recall the stag in the Augustana (H. 76) that escapes from a lion and not from the hunters, which was undoubtedly in the pre-Augustana and other sources preserved; the dog that "held" a piece of meat in our Augustana (H. 136), but "carried" it in the ancient version; the crow that our Augustana (H. 126) made carry "meat" in its beak,

compared with the "cheese" of its source, etc. These are mere details, at other times in the Augustana there are more substantial modifications. Yet in our studies on the fables that we can control better, as they have given derivatives in a number of collections, we have also seen that, in any event, this is not common: our Augustana is habitually more faithful than Phaedrus and Babrius, who tend to expand, describe, dramatize; and than the Pseudo-Babrius and the source of Aphthonius and the Pseudo-Dositheus, who generally reduce. Also in other collections there are, habitually, more alterations. In reality, the one closest is the Syriac, which is reconstructed on the basis of Syr. and Synt.: although it used a precedent of our Augustana as a source, it is very close, although on occasions it preserves an archaism and on occasions it innovates (sometimes it is difficult to check). It is not a very original collection, which shows us that most of the time our Augustana essentially preserves the text of the pre-Augustana.

We must conceive this pre-Augustana as an aggregate of collections that has been progressively expanded into a text already semiprosified, which lived in a series of closely related drafts, but with differences in textual terms and as regards the number of fables. We have already discussed these internal differences. Here I will concern myself with its central facts: its 237 fables common to most of the mss. and with a text that is, approximately, reconstructable. It is a question of seeing what the origin of this aggregate is and what relationship it has with other lost collections, to which I have made reference: the collections I and II that Phaedrus and Babrius had available, the abbreviated rhetorical collection known by Aphthonius and the Pseudo-Dositheus, the marginal fabulistic elements used by Avianus, the Syriac fables, the Medieval Latin fables and others. And, of course, by Ia and Ib, which added a certain number of fables to a core taken from the pre-Augustana (not, necessarily, with the text that the Augustana has transmitted it us).

As in all aggregates, we may attempt an analysis on the basis of various criteria, and here I will begin with the *stemma* system.

A fable exists, H. 234 "The Worm", that is present in the three branches of I and also in Ia, which is derived from a Byzantine fable of Dod.: it has traces of *politici* dodecasyllables. This is a special case, even more anomalous than others indicated above (p. 275) in which isolated mss. introduce fables coming from a line external

to the Augustana and present in the Byzantine collections Dod. and Par. Yet it is the only one: outside of here, the Augustana comes from the ancient tradition through the pre-Augustana.

Leaving aside this fable, the 236 that remain can be described in terms of their *stemma* in the following groups:

1. From a single primary version: a) widespread, b) together with Sy., c) only in the Augustana.
2. From one of various primary versions: same subdivision.
3. From a secondary version: same subdivision.

a) *Fables of the Augustana from a Single Primary Version*

We already know that there were numerous fables that never produced more than one primary metrical version: from this comes the whole tradition. It is significant that there are a large number of fables of this type that are only represented in AnF.: evidently, in manuscripts prior to I, since many were known in the Byzantine Age by II and III, which obtained more verse from them. Yet they were not known by the rest of the tradition: it could be said that the sources of Phaedrus, Babrius, etc., did not know them, although it may be the case that they were in those sources and were rejected by all the fabulists, as was undoubtedly the case sometimes, it is likely that more often they were absent from them. If not, one or another of the fabulists would have used them.

In a certain sense it may be established that the core of the pre-Augustana is formed by primary fables, that is to say, by the non-mediated ones derived from Demetrius: they are considerably more frequent. Within them, there is a very widespread core: it undoubtedly crossed over to our collections of fables through others that have been lost. A second sector was known by the source of the Syriac fables, at a time when it already regularly had epimythia. And a third was not known by this source. Of course, the length of these sectors is not definable precisely: a fable may be simply rejected by the author of a new collection. Yet they may be established in general terms.

I call "widespread" fables those that, in addition to I (leaving aside II and III now), are in at least one of the collections preserved, with the exception of Sy. and *Tetr.* Also those that only appear in I directly, but which have produced a secondary version, traces of which remain in other fabulists: I give them, in the list that follows, with an asterisk. They are the following:

H. 1, 2, 9, 10, 11, 14, 18, 22, 24, 27, 45, 47, 49, 53, 61, 64, 66, *73, 76, 80, 81, *87, 89, 93, 95, 100, 102, 106, 107, 109, 112, 114 I, 117, 119, 120, 126, 134, 136, 137, 138, *139, 142, 145, 148, *149, 151, 152, 154, 155, 156, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, *168, 170, 173, 174, 176, *177, *178, 179, 180, *181, 183, *184, 191, *192, 198, 199, 207, 208, 219, *220, 230, 232, *237, 239, 242, *243, 255, *259, *260. In total, 84 fables, 15 of them in which the other collections used sources that were secondary with respect to the primary one preserved in I.

Together with these, there are a few fables that have reached I, but whose model in the pre-Augustana was also known by Sy. (they are either in Syr. or in Synt., or in both collections); they are also sometimes in *Tetr.*:

H. 58, 59, 60, 78, 88, 122, 194, 195, 206, 213, 217, 244, 256. Total, 13.

We continue with the fables of a single metrical model that are known to us solely and exclusively through the AnF. I make some exceptions: there are some that are also in *Tetr.*, but this is a Byzantine collection that depends on the same sources as AnF.; and there are others alluded to or told outside of collections, in various authors of the Roman Age. They are witnesses, I believe, of our collection or of one that influenced it. We have marked the fables that are in *Tetr.* with an asterisk; those known outside of the collection show the indication of this fact in brackets. They are:

H. 3 (*Vita Aesopi*), 4, 5, 8, 13, 16, 17, *19, 20, 21, 23, 25, 26, 28, 29, 30, 33, 34, 36, 37, 38, 41, 42, 43, 48, 52, *54, 55, 56, 57, 63, 67, 68, 69, 74, 75, *77, *79, 82, 84, 85, 86, 90, 92, 94, 96, 97, 99, 101, 104, 105, 108 (Cercidas), 110, 111, 115, 116, *118, 123, 124, 125, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 133, 135, 144, 150, 153, 157, *166, 175, 182 (Varro), 185 (Plutarch, Aelian), 187 (*Vita Aesopi*), 196, 201, 202, 203, 210, 212, 216, 218, 221, 223, 225, 233, 235, 236, 246, 248, 250, 251, 252, 253. Total, 96.

There is a very significant number of single primary versions only known in the collections through AnF.; also very significant is the low number of allusions to these. As may be proven, these fables are almost as many as the sum of the other two groups, of single

primary versions, appearing, as well as in AnF., in collections (and sometimes in indirect translation). Also the fact that, of the 236 fables that we are studying, no less than 139 are single primary versions, does not fail to have significance, if we recall the panorama that we have traced for the other collections. I will return to this.

In any event, the idea that the 96 fables only appearing in AnF. (except for a few in the indirect tradition, or else, subsequently, in *Tetr.*) have been created by an "expander" of the pre-Augustana at a date subsequent to that of the stage of this used by the other fabulists, is a hypothesis that is easily offered to us, but has its difficulties. The main one is that various of the fables of the above list are continuations of Classical fables: I am not talking about more or less personal derivatives that may have been drafted at any moment (for example, H. 60 by Euripides, *Alcestis* 669–672, H. 233 from Callimachus, *Iamb* IV) or derivatives that may have been created from fables of Classical origin (for example, the fables of the camel, H. 142, 210, 246, certainly come from 86, not from the model of this in Archilochus). I also leave aside Oriental parallels, since these fables may perhaps come from the Greek ones. And the simple echoing of ancient themes. Leaving all this to one side, we find, in the latest list, various fables from a Classical model: H. 3 (Semonides), 4 (Hesiod), 8 (Aristotle), 17 (Timocreon), 26 (Simonides), 83, 85 and 94 (Archilochus), 225 (Aeschylus?), 235 (Archilochus). The list is comparable to that of the fables of the first list, those that are in other collections: H. 1 (Archilochus), 11 (Herodotus), 14 (Archilochus), 174 (Archilochus), 199 (Plato), 207 (the *Ahikar*), 233 (Callimachus?). And a similar proportion is found in the fables that we have yet to study. For the documentation on these assertions, I refer the reader to Vol. I, pp. 398 ff., and to Vol. III, Appendix I.

Of course, it could be thought that a writer from a relatively advanced date "found again" certain Classical fables and incorporated them in his appendix, formed for the most part by new fables. It is more likely, however, that fables as well known as those mentioned were already in Demetrius' collection. It is most likely, consequently, that they were also in the pre-Augustana, although they were not used by the later authors of fables. On the other hand, I continue to think that a large amount of new or derived fables not known outside of the Augustana come from a relatively recent phase, later than that known by the models of Phaedrus, Babrius, etc., and even of the Syriac fables. However, I must return to the theme con-

tributing different data, concerning the typology, the origin and the range of themes of the fables.

b) *Fables in the Augustana from One of Various Primary Versions*
Here too we must establish the three groups: a) "widespread" fables; b) fables in I and Sy.; c) fables only found in I (I leave aside II and III). All this refers to the stemmatic structure of the version followed by I; I add the date on whether the primary versions are 2, 3 or 4, giving the number in brackets (I only give it if it is 3 or 4). I also indicate the Classical tradition.

a) "Widespread" fables: H. 31, 32, 44, 46 (Sophocles), 113, 140 (Assyrian fable), 158, 167 (3); total, 8.
b) Fables in AnF. I and Sy. (*Tetr.*); H. 7, 121, 215; total, 3.
c) Fables only found in AnF. I: H. 6, 12 (3), 35, 39a (4), 40, 50, 70, 83, 132 (3), 146, 172, 188, 193, 197, 211 (Attic *scolion*), 222, 224, 254; total, 18.

There are, then, 29 fables with two primary metrical versions which are represented in I. And if we wish to make the totals of the three groups of primary fables (whether I follows the single primary version, or one of the two or more), the result is a total of 99 "widespread" fables, 17 in I and Sy. and 120 only in I: that is to say, the Augustana presents, out of 236 fables, no less than 221 in the primary version and of these 114, almost half, only preserved there.

However, let us return to the fables with a double, triple or quadruple primary version. We may observe that H. 7 and H. 146 are doubtful: perhaps we are dealing with a double derivation starting from a single primary model. And H. 132 presents the special case that seems to contaminate a version 1 with another 2. Moreover, I habitually follows a version 1 compared with a 2 in Par. and/or Dod., that is to say, in the Babrian tradition. This with certain exceptions, such as H. 83 (compared with Lucian, an "Egyptian" version of the fable of the monkey), H. 254 (compared with Libanius, who shows a horse and a tortoise, not a hare and a tortoise), H. 113 and 224 (compared with the Rylands Papyrus, it is also one of the three lines of H. 39a), H. 121, 158 (compared with the *Vita Aesopi*). Things are more complicated for the few fables with 3 or 4 primary versions, for which (and for all the others) I refer the reader to my previous expositions and to Vol. III, Appendix I.

The problem, in the case of these "double" versions, is whether they come from the early Hellenistic Age or whether some, those that are only in I and those of the line not in AnF., are perhaps later. In any event, the double version requires the existence of an ancient Hellenistic fable, in prose (Demetrius) or in verse. The typological and thematic study may contribute data on this problem. In any event, what interests us for the moment it to check that to the ancient core of the pre-Augustana there belonged not only fables with a single primary version, but also some with a primary version alongside which, sooner or later, a second was created. The pre-Augustana was fundamentally a collection of primary versions. Yet it is very possible that only half, approximately, belong to the ancient core and that the rest was added later, even deriving these from the ancient originals themselves.

c) *Fables of the Augustana of Secondary Origin*

I call fables of secondary origin, firstly, as so far, those that derive from a metrical version derived from the primary one: with new verse or remodelled verse, depending on the case. But also others that come from derived versions which I am not sure have new verse. Rather, they are semiprosifications, sometimes one of various known ones, from a primary verse known by a more direct source or by hypothesis. Sometimes the secondary verse or the semiprosification is common to other versions of the same fable, sometimes to I and Sy., sometimes only to I.

Firstly, we have a few fables that come from a secondary verse, alone or together with other versions:

H. 51 "The Farmer and the Serpent". For this complicated fable, I refer the reader to pp. 107 ff. AnF. I is one of the various derivatives in verse of one of the 4 branches of the fable. Only this fable comes from that verse.

H. 71 "The Oak and the Reed": this comes from a secondary verse (together with Aphthonius) derived from the primary one, from which comes H. 239.

H. 72 "The Coward who Found a Golden Lion": we are dealing, hypothetically, with a secondary verse taken from a primary one, from which the *AP* version also comes. Only this fable comes from that verse.

H. 147 "The Lion and the Fox": from a secondary verse, together with Aphth. and Ps.-Dositheus; from the primary one come Lucian, B., Par. and Dositheus.

H. 189 "The Piglet and the Fox": from a secondary verse, with Aphth., Sy. (the primary in H. 87).

H. 226 "The Shepherd who Joked": from a secondary verse; from the primary, IIIγ, δ, Par., Dod. Only this fable comes from that verse.

H. 247 "The Swan": from a secondary verse; sometimes from an intermediate step, from the primary in H. 198 come Rom., Par., Dod.

The fables coming from derived semiprosifications come later, it may be presumed, from a previous phase more or less accessible to us:

H. 15a "The Fox and the Grapes": from one of the two lines with complementary verse, together with Ph.; it is presumably, then, a version in verse or an older semiprosified one.

H. 62 "The Farmer and the Serpent": this fable and 186 present complementary verse; alongside various "summaries", they presuppose a version in verse or an older semiprosified one.

H. 98 "The Viper and the Fox": this represent a semiprosified summary of a primary version, traces of which remain in Dod.

H. 103 "The Rook and the Birds": this derives from a secondary semiprosification, with Ph., of a primary one in Aphth., Lib., etc.; there is also a secondary verse that comes from this (in B., etc.).

H. 143 "The Hares and the Frogs": from a semiprosification, also in Ph., Sy.; the primary version leaves traces in II and B.

H. 258 "The Swallow and the Crow": from one of the two lines with complementary verse, together with Sy. and Par., it is presumably a primary version.

Of these 14 fables, we find 8 "widespread" ones and 6 only in I.

In this case, no matter which of the three groups we are dealing with, the hypothesis seems likely that a very small number of fables

with these characteristics together with a very large amount of others with different characteristics (primary versions) is a late addition to the initial core of the pre-Augustana: a second addition, in addition to the one consisting of new primary versions.

Saying "second" is not intended to be a chronological reference. Since some of these fables were also known by Phaedrus or by Sy. or by the two collections (H. 15a, 103, 143, 215, 258), it seems logical that they were in the pre-Augustana on the date when it was used by these authors. On the other hand, this material belongs to a certain degree to other lines partially different from that of the Augustana: that of Aphthonius and the Pseudo-Dositheus, including that of Par., Dod.: cf. H. 71, 147, 189, 226, 257. It was incorporated in it at an early date, just as at a later date some isolated mss. introduced various secondary materials once again.

It is very interesting to show that the problem of the secondary versions in the Augustana is intimately linked to the problem of the double versions. From among the fables of the list that we have just given, we must highlight that H. 62 and 189 are two secondary versions in the sense that we have given to this word; that H. 71 derives from the model of 239, H. 189 from that of 87, H. 257 from that of 198. This proves, if it were necessary to demonstrate this further, that the inclusion of the few secondary fables of the Augustana is a phenomenon, though ancient, due to a remodelling of the collection.

In fact the writer who added the fables that we are considering in the pre-Augustana anticipated what the writer of Ia and those of various isolated mss. carried out later on a somewhat larger scale: they introduced fables generally coming from secondary versions and, sometimes, duplicated versions. Ib proceeded in a not dissimilar manner: with one or two exceptions, he devoted himself to looking for new fables on the fabulistic line that was the model for Par. and Dod.

In a certain sense, we may understand the mentality of these refounders of the basic collection. They introduced very well-known fables that were absent from the pre-Augustana (or tended to be lost): fables such as that of the swallow, or the feet and the stomach, or the farmer and the serpent (the two fables with this title, with different themes), or the boar, the horse and the hunter, etc. They sometimes made lamentable mistakes, introducing a second version of fables that were already in the collection, which evidently lacked a good index. For all this, they had recourse to secondary

collections, sometimes undoubtedly external to the tradition of Demetrius, others coming from it, but in secondary phases: collections that had broken off and that were later to end up in other collections used by the "Babrian" tradition, by Aphthonius and the Pseudo-Dositheus, by the collections I and II, which Phaedrus and Babrius used.

In any event, all these subsequent additions by the writers of the different phases of the pre-Augustana (before Phaedrus, before the scission of the basic collection of the Syriac fables, even later) did not contribute a great increase in material. More considerable was the increase of material that we studied on the subject of the fables that have only been preserved for us in I. In turn, this material must be studied to see to what extent it was taken from ancient collections and to what extent it was created by the new writers. I will attempt to gain a full understanding of this from viewpoints already announced.

Before this and as a summary, I believe it appropriate here to show a table of the 261 fables attributed by Hausrath to the Augustana, leaving aside the split numbers:

Fables of the Augustana	*Widespread*	*In I-Sy.*	*Only in I*	*Total*
From single primary version	84	13	96	193
From one of various primary versions	8	3	18	29
For secondary or derived version	8		6	14
TOTALS	99	17	120	236
Fables of Ia (definite or probable)				24
Byzantine fables				1
TOTAL				261

VII. *The Augustana Collection (I): Typology, Range of Themes and Derivation of the Fables*

1. *General Remarks*

It is appropriate at this point, before going into the study of this theme with the aim of moving further in the history of the creation

of our collections of AnF.s, to draw the attention to a series of points that I have already discussed in Vol. I of this work. In Chap. I, Part I (pp. 37 ff.), I discussed the anomalous fables, which are often of secondary origin. In Part II, Chap. II (pp. 169 ff.), I looked into the problem of how to isolate the Classical fable in the collections, giving a collection of samples of the main types of this: this, automatically, leads to conclusions on the Hellenistic fable. In Chap. V, on the Archaic and Classical fable (pp. 367 ff.), I gave a list of Archaic and Classical fables with their correspondences in the Hellenistic collections and I added a list of "themes" of Classical fables developed in these. However, it is in Chapter VI (pp. 410 ff.), on the fable in Demetrius' collection, that I presented in the greatest detail the characteristics of the fables of this collection, adding hypotheses on the possibility of a series of specific fables belonging to it. And, particularly, in Part III, Chap. I (pp. 501 ff.), I presented the most significant features of the Hellenistic fables, analyzing the first 40 of the Augustana and suggesting certain conclusions on their origin and age. Finally, in Chap. III (pp. 604 ff.) I looked into the content of the Hellenistic fable, and particularly its Cynic and moralizing themes, with the pertinent examples.

Clearly, all this would refer to the Classical fable and the Hellenistic fable generally, not to a particular collection, as is the Augustana, whose stages of formation I am attempting to elucidate. It is a matter, then, of applying all the criteria operated precisely to the fables of the Augustana, adding the new one of the stemmatic structure and eliminating that of the presence or not of verse, since all the fables of the Augustana, as far as we can tell, come from originals in verse. In this study, I will take into account, in any event, the conclusions reached in the passages cited of Vol. I for each fable.

We are, in short, at the point that the Augustana is a derivative from Demetrius' collection: undoubtedly the most direct derivative. Since it preserves a large amount of fables obtained from versions in primary verse which, in many cases, clearly, for all the reasons indicated, come from Demetrius. And we must add that only rarely did a second version exist in primary verse. However, even among the fables derived from versions in primary verse, there are many that, for reasons of structure and of content (and even, sometimes, of external data), are hard to attribute to Demetrius. On the other hand, we have also seen that those post-Demetrian fables must have entered the pre-Augustana not suddenly, but gradually, since many

are not known by the sources most used by the later fabulists.

It is a matter, then, firstly, of beginning an analysis of the "widespread" primary fables, that is, 84 from a single primary version and 8 from a primary version alongside which there is another or others. These 92 fables are those that have the most presumptions of antiquity in their favour (together with a few only found in AnF. I or in AnF. I and S. that have a Classical tradition or other favourable presumptions of antiquity). We would need to isolate, within them, those of the later ones coming from Demetrius.

I have already said, on the other hand (cf. p. 75), that there are reasons for believing that Demetrius' collection contained fables that were lost to the Augustana. Some have been preserved for us in the *Vita Aesopi.* And I think that various fables found again by the Augustana itself in the secondary tradition or found again by other collections, may come from Demetrius. To give an example, I will cite H. 238 "The Boar, the Horse and the Hunter", a fable I have discussed in various passages of this book and to which I have dedicated a special study.[18] This fable clearly comes from Demetrius; it is the most faithful continuation of a series of alterations with respect to the original model in Stesichorus that must be attributed to Demetrius. It is only found in E (the idea that it reached there from Ia is only conjecture). Evidently, this ms. completed the model of the principal line of the pre-Augustana with a fable taken directly from a primary versification of Demetrius. And what happens with this fable happens, I repeat, with others from various collections, including Ia and Ib.

That is to say, the ancient core of the Augustana contains fables of Demetrius, but not the whole collection of Demetrius. And it contains recent, Hellenistic fables, that are not from Demetrius and that were also known by other fabulists, that sometimes, as we know, give us data to reconstruct them in a more archaic phase: let us say in the phase of the pre-Augustana known by Phaedrus, which I have called the "Ancient Augustana".

The complete reconstruction of Demetrius' collection is impossible, just as isolating the Demetrian and post-Demetrian elements of that ancient core that I am discussing in a clearcut manner is also impossible. Since throughout this work, in passages that I have just

[18] "Neue jambische Fragmente . . .", cit.

cited, I have indicated the characteristic features of the Archaic and Classical fable, on one hand, and of the Hellenistic fable, on the other; I will not repeat them here. But I will indicate how other criteria should be operated.

Evidently, the argument in favour of the archaism of a feature is that it already occurred in the Classical Age. Then, in general terms, we must suppose that a fable that possessed the archaic features mentioned (of content and form) comes from this age through Demetrius; fables that do not possess them must be from later. Yet things are not always so clear for a series of reasons.

1. The Classical fable reached Demetrius and our collections, sometimes, in a rather modified form: the simplification of its traditional schemes, the introduction of late themes. I have given examples of this.

2. The Classical fable is more complex in form and structure than one might think: in fact, almost all the structures and many themes of the Hellenistic fable are already in the Classical fable, except that now they are more frequent. For example, very short situation fables with schemes of the type sit.-Adir. (lament or criticism), sit.-Bdir./Adir. are often Hellenistic; but these structures were already known in the Classical Age (the fable of the eagle and the arrow in Aeschylus, that of the octopus in Simonides). Animal anecdotes or, particularly, human ones, in which a situation is developed through the action of a protagonist until its conclusion, are often Hellenistic; but there are already these in the Classical Age, cf. for example, the fable by Archilochus of the fortune-teller (H. 170). Also the aetiological fables, based on a scheme of this type, are Classical in origin, although later they were developed a great deal. As regards the themes, some that we could consider Hellenistic, such as the punishment of those who go against nature or the mockery of the boastful or the punishment of the bad, already appear in the Classical Age.

3. It is, then, in short, mainly a question of statistics: certain motifs and certain structures were more frequent in the Hellenistic Age. Yet this does not add certainty for the fables on a one-to-one basis. It is a question of a combination of motifs: it is the union of various late features, or features frequent in the late fable, that makes it more likely that the fable in which they appear is also late. For example, a short situation fable, derived from a known model and

with a Cynic range of themes is almost certainly late. Yet there are many intermediate, doubtful cases. And the fact is that the fabulistic genre, although it has evolved, presents continuity. And if in the Hellenistic Age it was favoured by the schools, as we have stated, it is because they found themes in it that were familiar to them.

Of course, to this consideration of the confluence of presumably ancient features, we may sometimes add data that we would call "objective". Thus, the presence of a fable in the Classical tradition or, on the contrary, its character of a fable derived from a Classical, or presumably Classical one. Thus, the factual data (Egyptian or Hellenistic environment generally); certain very complex ternary structures, of which there is no example in the Classical Age; and certain themes that seem exclusive or almost exclusive to the Cynics and other Hellenistic philosophies (scorn for beauty, criticism of athletes, doctors and women, preaching of resignation, etc.).

It is the combination of all this information that may offer us some certainties or, at least, likelihoods. In our Appendix I we bring this information together and we also propose, when this is feasible, data on derivation and antiquity. Here we will proceed, in particular, by way of examples.

2. *Analysis of the Ancient Core of the Augustana ("Ancient Augustana")*

a) *Fables Probably Coming from Demetrius*

We must start, of course, with the fables appearing in the Classical Age, although the degree of certainty may vary, particularly when the reference is to more or less closely related Oriental fables: for this reason we leave some fables for the section on those that we consider to be of Classical origin, but not attested directly. Among these, the most numerous group is that of the fables with agonal structure, with their different variants: with simple or double *agon*, with or without final closing statement, focused on the debate, etc. Although it must be taken into account that the structure of the fables, as it appears in the Augustana, is a modification of the one they had in Demetrius, who, as we have already seen, simplified and standardized.

Therefore, these Classical fables only preserve a Classical structure and range of themes on general lines, there may be slight variations.

And it may be the case that the non-agonal form in which they appear in the Augustana comes from the subsequent age, although this is not absolutely certain, as we have seen that there were situation fables already in the Classical Age.

We give the data in summarized form, referring the reader, as always, to Appendix I and to studies on the previous pages for the details. Within the group of fables that we are considering, we have from the Classical Age:

α) Agonal Fables.

These are H. 1 "The Eagle and the Fox", H. 11 "The Fisherman and the Fish", H. 14 "The Fox and the Monkey", H. 46 "Boreas and Helios", H. 140 "The Mosquito and the Bull", H. 174 "The Mice and the Weasels", H. 207 "The Bird-catcher and the Lark" (the descent from the *Ahikar* is only likely), H. 239 "The Trees and the Reed".

β) Others.

We have fables in which an initial situation or action is followed by a direct speech: in H. 139 "The Dog and the Hare" the latter tells the former to stop kissing or biting him, in H. 199 "The Ass and the Lionskin" the fox says that he would have been scared if he had not known it was an ass. Evidently, there has been a Hellenistic composition, certainly of the short type, in four verses. Likewise in H. 136 "The Dog that Carried a Piece of Meat", except that here there is no speech, only situation and action (the punishment of the dog's greed). Another different type also exists: that of the anecdote in various acts, without speeches (H. 170 "The Fortune-teller").

Starting from here and with greater or lesser certainty, some fables for which there is no documentation of this date may be recovered as Classical (although there are sometimes more or less close parallels). I complete what I stated on the theme in the places in Vol. I mentioned above. We have:

α) Agonal fables in one or two acts, sometimes with debate or simple dialogue:

H. 2 "The Eagle, the Rook and the Shepherd". *Agon* with "survenant", theme of nature.

H. 9 "The Fox and the He-goat". I have already explained that it is a complex *agon* with a closing statement in which the clever villain triumphs. It produces derivatives: H. 70 and the well-known Medieval fable of the fox and the wolf in the well.

H. 44 "The Frogs Asking for a King". Animal anecdote in two acts, with an identical structure to H. 46. On the theme, cf. H. 238 (from Stesichorus).

H. 66 "The Walkers and the Bear". Double *agon* against bad friends. There is a derivative in Phaedrus V 2.

H. 81 "The Mice and the Cat", *Agon* with closing statement by a mouse. The bad cannot be disguised, although they camouflage themselves. Egyptian or Indian theme.

H. 87 "The Piglet and the Sheep". Simple *agon* Bsit.-Cdir./Adir. with the Cynic theme of φιλοζωία. There is a derivative, H. 189.

H. 117 "The Bird-catcher and the Snake". A double *agon* (with two rivals, as in H. 46, H. 66, etc.), on the theme of enemies (like H. 66, it is on false friends).

H. 126 "The Crow and the Fox". This fable, with its simple *agon* followed by a conclusion, has the same theme of vanity as the fables by Archilochus of the monkey.

H. 148 "The Lion and the Bull". Its scheme A/B sit.-Aact./Bind.-Adir. is Classical, as well as its theme: the clever weak who distrust and survive.

H. 149 "The Lion and the Farmer". *Agon* with closing statement by "survenant", moral that you must not challenge the powerful.

H. 152 "The Lion and the Bear". Structure also Classical; theme of discord. Cf. the Indian theme of the bull, the lion and the jackals in the *Panchatantra*.

H. 154 "The Lion, the Ass and the Fox". Two implicit *agones* plus closing statement, the theme is that you must not go against the powerful.

H. 155 "The Lion and the Mouse". The same structure: theme of the grateful animal, already in Stesichorus and the Indian fable.

H. 156 "The Lion and the Ass". Similar, although abbreviated structure; theme that the ass will always be an ass; echoes of H. 154 and 199.

H. 158 "The Wolves and the Sheep". *Agon* of deception with conclusion: we must distrust the powerful.

H. 161 "The Wolf and the Heron". Double *agon*, with closing statement: do not ask the bad for what they cannot give, it is sufficient to get rid of him.

H. 162 "The Wolf and the Goat". Simple *agon* with closing statement, in a short composition: the subtle deceptions of the uncovered bad. Cf. H. 147, 166, 168. And the Sumerian fable mentioned in Vol. I, p. 348.

H. 167 "The Lioness and the Fox". Situation fable with closing statement by the "survenant". Very short. It derives from a χρεία on the virtue of the superior individual and against the πολυγονία. The role of the fox is atypical.

H. 168 "The Wolf and the Lamb". Structure sit. Bind./Adir., as in H. 14: the fact that it is repeated a great deal in recent fables does not imply that in this fable it is not ancient; there is no data to support this (the theme is the Classical one of the weak who do not allow themselves to be deceived by the powerful).

H. 198 "The Ass and the Wolf". Double scheme with final lament by the wolf; it is the same theme, this time with ingenuity in action.

H. 242 "The Bull and the Wild Goats". This fable (sit. Bact./Adir.) is directed against the boastful, who believe they are feared: it does not have recent elements.

H. 259 "The Eagle and the Tortoise". Classical scheme: Bsit.-Bind./Adir.-ABact. The abbreviation must have been secondary. The

theme is that of nature and there are specific parallels in India (cf. Vol. I, p. 323), cf. also H. 2.

To these 22 agonal fables that we suppose to be Archaic, we must add the 8 cited above, which appear as such, and an unspecifiable number of those that, tentatively, we assign to a recent age, since it is clear that the demarcation cannot be made with complete accuracy.

β) Other Fables.

I do not dare to indicate as ancient any of the very numerous situation fables to which I will make reference later: they always present some recent feature (beginning with their very frequency, although this does not affect them individually). It cannot be ruled out that some, in spite of everything, are ancient. And this must also be said of the frequent anecdotes that I will mention.

In spite of what I stated in Vol. I, pp. 440 and 495, H. 22 "The Fox and the Woodcutter", in fact an anecdote, is perhaps ancient. The structure is complex, in the first act the woodcutter and the hunters take part (in ind. speech), in the second (in dir. speech) the woodcutter and the fox: there are examples of this in the fables given before. It is the theme of uncovered hypocrisy and false friends.

Various aetiological fables could also easily be ancient; these are sometimes simple stories with conclusions (H. 119 "The Camel and Zeus": Zeus punishes the camel for asking for something that is against nature, cf. the Sumerian fable in Vol. I, p. 352), sometimes stories in various acts (H. 102 "Zeus, Prometheus, Athena and Momus", H. 107 "The Horse, the Ox, the Dog and the Man", H. 109 "Zeus and the Fox": the former on the theme of creation, the latter closely related to the theme of H. 119, although it is Zeus that in a first phase spontaneously obliges the fox). There is no certainty, of course: the themes, which in themselves are ancient, as well as the structure, could have been imitated later (as they were in various fables by Phaedrus, for example).

As may be verified, of the 92 "widespread" fables of the ancient core of the Augustana, only 37 appear to us, definitely or probably, to have come from the Classical Age: that is to say, coming from Demetrius' collection. It is very clear that the creator—or creators—

of the versification of the fables of Demetrius restricted himself, initially, to taking a small selection of these and adding to them with a significant number of new fables. Then, later, the rejected fables from Demetrius continued to enter the collections: we have already seen this in the Augustana itself and in Ia and Ib or in isolated mss., also in other collections (and in the *Vita Aesopi*). In any event, I have already said that it cannot have been a very large collection.

b) *Fables Probably Created Recently*

The primary type situation structural schemes, that is to say, sit.-Adir. and other closely related ones, already make the idea seem likely at first sight that the fables that involve them are recent; and even more if we are dealing with anecdotes and other characteristics are added (original version in 4 verses, conclusion of a Cynic or moralist type, the fable derives from a known one). The same applies if we are dealing with anecdotes in which a situation is developed through an action in various acts, either with a closing statement or not. Yet there are also fables or anecdotes of the type sit.-Bind./Adir. (and other similar ones, with a "survenant" C, etc.) and even of the double agonal type, which may be recent. This is more likely in various anomalous structural types.

Taking all this in to account, I am going to offer a list following the numerical order, of possibly recent fables. Fables and anecdotes, in fact, since the latter are significantly common, which is definitely characteristic. On the other hand, there are those that we could call animal anecdotes, with some of the structures mentioned, but without properly agonal characteristics.

H. 10 "The Fox and the Lion". Animal anecdote of situation-action: this is derived from H. 147, parallel to 210 and 220 (theme of custom). All this indicates the recent character (but perhaps Branc. comes from AnF. II, that is to say, it is a fable of the "non-widespread" type).

H. 18. "The Fisherman and the Anchovy". This has a Classical structure (sit.-Bdir./Adir.), but seems to derive from H. 4 and 11; it is of the short type.

H. 24 "The Fox Whose Stomach Swelled". It is Bsit.-Cind./Bind.-Cdir., and is centred on the "survenant". The atypical character of

the fox who falls into the trap and the theme of greed indicate a recent character.

H. 27 "The Fox and the Bust". Everything points to the recent character of this situation fable, with 4 verses, directed against useless beauty (Cynic theme).

H. 31 "The Middle-Aged Man and the Two Hetairas". This is an anecdote in two acts, short, with misogynous features, as is frequent in the Cynic fable.

H. 32 "The Murderer". This anecdote in various acts, short, on the punishment of evil and with an Egyptian environment, is recent.

H. 45 "The Oxen and the Axle". Situation fable preaching resignation, a modern motif.

H. 47 "The Boy who Vomited his Bowels". The scheme of *agon*-debate is traditional, but it is an anecdote ending in a simple joke.

H. 49 "The Oxherd". Anecdote with one act and a closing statement, on the theme of religion that is only followed out of self-interest. Like all those of religious criticism, it is late.

H. 53 "The Farmer's Sons". Anecdote in three acts with closing statement, which represents a modern scheme. It is certainly a derivation that contaminates H. 42 and 132.

H. 61 "The Farmer and Fortune". Situation fable with "survenant": the theme of Fortune and criticism of the gods, together with its brevity and scheme, indicate a Hellenistic character.

H. 64 "The Man Bitten by the Dog". Another situation anecdote, short, with the theme of the evil man.

H. 73 "The Dolphins and the Gudgeon". Traditional scheme, but it is an imitation of Callimachus in short style.

H. 76 "The Stag and the Lion". Here an animal situation fable has been lengthened into various episodes (as happens at other times

with anecdotes). This and the theme of the criticism of useless beauty lead to us the environment of the Hellenistic fable.

H. 80. "The Sailors". Anecdote in two acts with closing statement on the theme of Fortune; H. 178 certainly derives from this. Cf. the recent fables H. 13 and 21.

H. 89 "The Goose of the Golden Eggs". Anecdote of situation and action, without speeches. Short, Cynic theme of punished greed.

H. 93 "The Dog and Its Master". The scheme of the anecdote is not very common (ABCsit.-Aact./Bact.-Cact.). The theme is the ancient one of the person who does not know his nature; but the emphasis on ἄνοια or foolishness of the ass (which is not in the Classical Age) and on ἀκαιρία or untimeliness, indicates a recent character.

H. 95 "The Snake and the File", related to other recent ones (H. 19 and 59). There is sit.-Bind./Adir, and emphasis on the ἄνοια of those who do not know their nature. Short fable.

H. 100 "The Wolf and the Kid". The same scheme in an isolated fable on timeliness.

H. 106 "Zeus and Apollo". Theme of ἔρις (which is recent) with a scheme sit.-Bact./Aact., which is not at all frequent and, also, with praise of Zeus (Stoic theme?).

H. 112 "The Hero". Short situation anecdote with critical gloss.

H. 113 "Heracles and Plutus". This is a divine anecdote: expanded situation with closing statement. Wealth, together with evil men and the character Heracles are Cynic motifs.

H. 114 Ib "The Ant and the Cicada". Expanded situation with closing statement serving the Cynic theme of the praise of πόνος or work. There are various derivatives.

H. 120 "The Beaver". Story in various acts. Fabulization of a theme of Natural History serving the Cynic theme of φιλοζωία or love of life.

H. 134 "The Dog and the Butcher". Situation anecdote on a moralist theme (we must take precautions against the bad).

H. 137 "The Dog and the Wolf". Traditional double *agon*, but one that reverses customary themes (that of H. 4, etc.) and presents the dog in an atypical position.

H. 138 "The Hungry Dogs". Pure situation and action, perhaps derived from H. 136 (against greed).

H. 142 "The Camel". Anecdote derived from H. 85. Unconcealable ugliness.

H. 145 "The Lion and the Farmer". There is a double *agon* and the fable seems traditional, but the theme of the madness of love is Cynic.

H. 151 "The Lion who was Scared by the Mouse". Situation fable with "survenant" and closing statement. It contaminates themes of H. 135, 155, 242. It reverses the theme of the fright of the lion, introducing the theme of the powerful who are indignant at the audacity of the weak.

H. 160 "The Wolf and the Lamb". Although the theme is ancient (cf. H. 4), the debate in three acts seems recent.

H. 163 "The Wolf and the Old Man". Situation anecdote in two acts, with closing statement of lament.

H. 164 "The Wolf and the Sheep". The debate in three acts and the atypical character of the wolf and the conclusion very clearly indicate a recent date.

H. 173 "The Priests of Cybele". Anecdote in two acts, with a Hellenistic environment (as the theme of resignation is Cynic).

H. 176 "The Ant and the Pigeon". Animal anecdote in two acts, an imitation, it seems, of H. 155, which it expands.

H. 177 "The Fly". Short situation fable, with an ironically unheeded final lament. The animal and its philosophy are Cynic.

H. 178 "The Shipwrecked Man and the Sea". Anecdote in two acts, derived from H. 80 with a change of theme (crossing over from that of Fortune to that of Nature).

H. 179. "The Youth and the Swallow". Another anecdote in two acts with closing statement of lament (cf. H. 163). It is the theme of the ἄνοια of not knowing καιρός or timeliness.

H. 180 "The Sick Person and the Doctor". Anecdote in three acts, Cynic criticism of doctors.

H. 181 "The Bat, the Bramble and the Gull". Aetiology with a complex structure: two acts, three interventions in each one, triple conclusion.

H. 183 "The Woodcutter and Hermes". Full-blown story with a very long and complex structure, theme of divine punishment.

H. 184 "The Walker and Fortune". Situation fable, with closing statement by Fortune.

H. 191 "The Ass that Carried Salt". Anecdote in two acts, with the punishment of the ἄνοια of the ass. For the beginning, cf. H. 136.

H. 192 "The Ass and the Mule". Anecdote in two acts, with final lament. Once again, theme of the ἄνοια of the ass and mixture of two structures.

H. 208 "The Bird-catcher and the Stork". The scheme sit.-Bind./Adir. is normal, but the plea of the weak is rejected for a different reason from the customary one and there is a moralistic ending (theme of those who join up with the bad).

H. 219 "The Monkey and the Fishermen". Once again, anecdote in various acts with final lament. From the theme of nature we move over to the new one of what is known and what is not known.

H. 220 "The Rich Man and the Tanner". Anecdote in various acts on the theme of custom, parallel to H. 10, 210 and 226.

H. 230 "The Boy Who Took a Bath". Short anecdote (scheme: sit.-Aind./Bind.-Adir.) on the Cynic theme of φιλοζωία.

H. 232 "The Shorn Sheep". Short situation fable, which seems to derive from H. 139.

H. 237 "The Worm and the Snake". Short anecdote with conclusion, in various acts. Theme of vanity which leads to ruin, certainly deriving from not-H. 273 and 308.

H. 243 "The Children of the Monkey". Story in various acts, fabulization of a theme of Natural History, applied to the new one of Fortune.

H. 255 "The Swallow and the Snake". Situation fable with final lament, derived from H. 39 and introducing the theme of Fortune.

H. 260 "The Flea and the Athlete". Fable with situation, an *agon* and a final lament (contaminated structure). The theme of the criticism of the athlete and the victory of the small, pugnacious animal is Cynic.

c) *Conclusions*

Compared with the 39 fables that we have considered to be ancient and which for the most part are animalistic agonal fables, we have found 53 recent ones, including many anecdotes; both the anecdotes and the fables are very frequently short (from an original presumably of 4 verses) and of situation. Others have anomalous compositional schemes; in any event, they are often derived from ancient fables and introduce recent themes or modifications.

It seems clear that Demetrius' collection, exploited by the first Cynic versifier, included a core of animalistic agonal fables and a marginal amount of anecdotes and aetiologies. The three types may occasionally, though rarely, have had a short "situation" structure.

The author of the first metrical collection of fables (the "Ancient Augustana") used the typological and compositional models that were available to him, but modified their frequency: now it is the situation type that becomes common, and this both for the animalistic fables and for the anecdotes, which are now very frequent (and, on

the other hand, are not always situation anecdotes). The author uses various anecdotes, derived from the ancient fables, stories of Natural History, sentences χρεῖαι: all this sometimes serving the ancient themes, sometimes for the new Cynic and moralistic themes. On the other hand, he modified the fables of Demetrius, occasionally, in terms of their structure and theme.

Thus, Demetrius' collection was the model for the mixed character of the fable starting from the first metrical collection. Mixed as regards structure, themes, length and origin. This mixed character always continued, as did the procedure whereby a collection based on two or more was created. In the following phases of the development of the Augustana, the procedure was to be the same.

VIII. *The Successive Developments of the Augustana*

1. *General Ideas*

The oldest core of the Augustana or "Ancient Augustana", which we have just considered, must have included about 100 fables, approximately the same number as Demetrius' collection, but replacing more than half of the fables of that collection with other new ones. It was a collection that did not yet have promythia or epimythia with a fixed character and that was the model for the collections that in turn were the model for Phaedrus, Babrius and other fabulists, as has already been explained. A collection that, on the other hand, offered variants, in the different mss. or groups of mss., with respect to the text and to the number of fables.

It has also been said that this ancient core underwent additions that are sometimes reflected in a collection with systematic epimythia, known by the author of the Greek collection on which the Syriac fables depend. And later it underwent other additions that have not left traces (at least for us) outside of the AnF. And others from fables of secondary derivation. The collections Ia, Ib and the additions of certain mss. or groups of mss. of I, must be considered as the result of other additions, which sometimes paradoxically introduced fables already in the collections, but with a different text, coming from a ramification of the *stemma*.

Thus it happened that, on one hand, Demetrius' collection was preserved, which was exploited again and again by the expanders

of I; on the other, they introduced new fables, created by them or by some model; and they also introduced versions of the same fables or of others, but coming, as has been said, from ramifications of the *stemmata* of the ancient fables in various collections that proliferated. We must conceive, then, the pre-Augustana in its successive phases as a point around which there crystallized ancient and new fables and "varied" fables from various collections that simultaneously proliferated—and which we know through the elements derived from them that entered the pre-Augustana and other collections by authors to which we have referred.

I cannot perform such a meticulous study as the previous one: I am only going to indicate the fundamental lines of the process.

2. *Fables in AnF. and in Sy. and Fables only in Sy.*

Already in the phase known by the author of the Greek original of the Syriac fables, the Ancient Augustana had evolved, being converted into a collection of fables with systematic epimythia; and so it continued to be from then on. This modification did not take place without the addition, at the same time, of different fables; and later there were more additions, which now are only known to us through I. It gives the impression that, starting from a certain moment, the pre-Augustana thus defined had limited diffusion and, on the other hand, the large collections that used part of its materials were widely diffused, adding to them with others and creating secondary versions. In fact, the pre-Augustana was transformed into one of many collections, and not the most widely considered.

Of course, our indications of the number of fables added to the ancient core of the pre-Augustana (to the Ancient Augustana) to give it the form that Sy. knew and of those added later, are only approximate: the ramshackle state in which the fabulistic tradition has reached us does not allow us to guarantee clearly that a fable has not been known outside of AnF. I or of AnF. I and Sy., although for us there is no evidence of this. Yet they have a certain value as a general indication.

It is not worthwhile to study in isolation the two groups of "added" fables to which I have been referring: there is insufficient data to show us a different character of these "additions". In fact, the technique that was followed was always the same, approximately the one already employed by the author of the Ancient Augustana. Certain

fables of Demetrius were taken and other new ones were added of the types that we have already discussed: human and animal anecdotes, animal fables, aetiologies, with a predomination of the situation and anecdote types in various acts and the themes that are already familiar to us.

Adding the material to which we refer and without distinguishing, since it does not interest us to do so, the fables of one and of various models, we observe that we continue to work with material fundamentally from primary fables: the tradition of the Ancient Augustana was maintained. Restricting myself to this, I must refer to 13 fables from a single model in AnF. I and Sy., to 96 also from a single model in AnF. I; and from two or more models, to 2 in AnF. I and Sy. and 18 in AnF. I. In total, to 129 fables. The original collection remained, as we see, rather than being duplicated.

There is a series of these new fables, as has been said, which come from Classical Ages and were already in Demetrius. Leaving aside the fables appearing in Hellenistic authors such as Callimachus, Cercidas, Philodemus, the *Vita Aesopi*, Menander (which, on the other hand, are probably derivatives from Demetrius), to stand on firmer ground, I will restrict myself to indicating the fables with a Classical model: from Hesiod H. 4; from Archilochus H. 83, H. 85, H. 94, H. 245; from Semonides H. 3, H. 26; from Timocreon H. 17; from Aeschylus H. 225 (?) and H. 273; from Euripides (?) H. 60; from Achaeus (?) H. 254 (cf. a 5th century vase); from Aristophanes (?) H. 163; from an Attic scolium H. 211 and H. 102 (?); from Antiphon the Sophist H. 253; from Democritus H. 136; from Plato H. 40; from Aristotle H. 8; from Philistus H. 238; from Herodotus (?) H. 205; from Demosthenes H. 158; from Demades H. 63. I do not cite the fables with Egyptian or Indian parallels, because they may be secondary derivatives or may, on the contrary, have derived starting from Greece.

In any event, it is clear that the expanders of the Ancient Augustana found again in Demetrius important fables such as that of the hawk and the nightingale or the fox and the monkey or the eagle and the beetle, a fable that the oldest compiler had left out. They are generally agonal fables, of medium length, on the additional themes. And there is no lack of anecdotes, plus an aetiology doubling as an anecdote (H. 8).

Outside of these Classical fables, the problem is raised of the chronology of the total of the expansion and that of the origin of the other fables added. Given the Hellenistic verse and the existence

of allusions in the Hellenistic authors cited above (and in Varro, H. 182), as well as the fact of internal derivations from some fables to others, it is clear that the total of the collection must have been completed in the Hellenistic Age. Note, nevertheless, that it was used as a model for Ia and Ib, which knew the same models and continued to add material that was sometimes ancient.

I am not going to study here the 129 fables of these expansions one by one starting from the primary verse. On the basis of the criteria already established, the reader may do this with a certain ease starting from the data of our Appendix I (adding, sometimes, particular studies throughout the book). Yet I will make some observations of a general type.

If it is recalled, in the case of the "widespread" fables, we arrived at the conclusion that a large part of the collection, more than 40 per cent, came from Demetrius. Of course the method to establish which the fables of Classical origin without a preserved model were was conjectural. Applying that same method, the results are different. The number of fables of the Classical type, judging by the agreement of the criteria of form and content that we have been using, as well as other external ones, is now very much lower. There is a much larger proportion of fables and anecdotes (particularly anecdotes) of the types that we know as recent.

To begin with, the animalistic agonal fables (simple or double) that in view of their content and absence of features (derivation from an already known fable, Hellenistic environment, etc.) may be classified as Archaic or Classical are relatively rare. Particular mention could be made, I believe, of H. 6 "The Wild Goats and the Goatherd", H. 7 "The Cat and the Birds", H. 16 "The Cat and the Cock", H. 39 "The Swallow and the Birds", H. 41 "The Fox and the Wolf", H. 84 "The Ass, the Cock and the Lion", H. 99 "The Kid and the Wolf", H. 125 "The Rook and the Crows", H. 166 "The Wolf and the Sheep", H. 182 "The Bat", H. 250 "The Sow and the Dog", H. 252 "The Boar and the Fox".

In other fables with a similar structure, the detailed examination of the fable and the data in our Appendix I make us more cautious. To give some examples, note how in H. 19 "The Fox and the Bramble", structurally normal, we are dealing with a derived fable with an atypical fox; H. 43 and 70 are two fables derived from this one (it is doubtful whether one of them is the model for the other); H. 48 "The Bat" touches the theme of appropriateness, which is Hellenistic; the theme of H. 86 is also anomalous; in H. 203 "The

Ass, the Fox and the Lion" there is derivation and the inversion of motifs; etc.

It is clear that there are also fables of another type, which may be Classical. This is the case of anecdotes such as H. 66 "The Two Friends and the Bear", H. 222 "The Shepherd and the Dog", H. 224 "The Shepherd and the Sheep".

As I have said, the expansions of the collection are full of anecdotes of one and two acts (cf. H. 13 "The Fishermen", H. 28 "The Liar", H. 116 "The Doctor and the Sick Person", H. 253 "The Miser", etc.), situation fables with Cynic content (H. 20 "The Fox and the Crocodile", H. 58 "The Woman and the Hen", H. 88 "The Thrush", H. 244 "The Peacock and the Rook", etc.), aetiologies derived from the traditional ones or else Cynic (H. 104, H. 108, H. 110, H. 175, H. 191) and from other Hellenistic material. Their general range of themes has been studied in Vol. I, so it is not necessary to repeat here.

3. *Secondary Fables*

Breaking with the order of the exposition a little, I wish to say something on the secondary fables that were introduced into the pre-Augustana, undoubtedly in its different phases: in the one that we have just studied and also in the additions of Ia and Ib and even of some isolated mss. (which, it is usually said, use Ia).

This material has already been studied on previous pages, so it is only appropriate at this point to recall it to add some conclusions.

Firstly, sometimes the secondary versions derive from primary versions that appear in our Augustana; at other times, from lost primary versions; at others still, we preserve two secondary versions, not the primary one. I have already said that, in the different moments of its evolution, our collection continued to add new fables, without its expanders realizing, sometimes, that they were adding new versions of fables already collected. I will not list this material, as it can easily be found on the preceding pages.

What is clear is that, together with the collections with primary fables, derived directly from the Hellenistic verse (of greater or lesser age), others soon arose that varied the theme, introducing new verse or re-versifying prosifications, etc. together with the central line of the pre-Augustana (and some other primary fables preserved in the Rylands Papyrus, the *Vita Aesopi*, etc.), collections arose that mixed the primary fables with other secondary ones. And we have seen

that these lateral paths are sometimes related to the fables that ended up in the Babrian tradition (not only Babrius, but Par. and Dod.), sometimes reverted to the Augustana, expanding it.

Certainly, occasionally only along this path have fables reached us whose primary version has been lost. It is appropriate at this point to review this secondary tradition which, starting from a certain moment, entered the pre-Augustana and its various derivative collections.

Let us re-examine, firstly, the list of fables that I presented on pp. 322 ff.; sometimes fables with secondary verse, sometimes fables coming from semiprosifications of previous models that are inaccessible to us. We leave separate, in it, a series of secondary duplicates of other primary ones (or with a second semiprosification) present in our collection: although their introducer very clearly attempted to gather together important fables, such as that of the oak and the reed, which he believed to be absent from it.

After this, we must notice that the expander or expanders we are considering introduced very important fables, starting from sources that are certainly not primary. No less than, among others, H. 147, the fable by Archilochus of the lion and the fox or H. 15a "The Fox and the Grapes", documented on a vase from the 5th century BC or H. 62 "The Farmer and the Serpent", alluded to by Theognis. We have reason to believe that other fables are ancient, even without explicit documentation, on account of their structure and theme: this is the case of H. 51 "The Farmer and the Serpent" (theme of their irreconcilable enmity), H. 103 "The Rook and the Birds", H. 143 "The Hares and the Frogs". Of course properly Hellenistic material also entered, such as situation fables with a Cynic range of themes, such as H. 98 "The Viper and the Fox", H. 215 "The Boy who Hunted Grasshoppers", H. 258 "The Swallow and the Crow".

This search for ancient fables in various collections of secondary versions is not limited, as I have already said, to the Augustana as such. May I remind the reader of the list on pp. 283 ff. of fables introduced by Ia and by different mss. that, according to some, used this collection: apart from five duplications, on which the same observations may be made as above, there are 20 fables. They are almost always single primary versions, often only known by Ia; there is also a primary version, together with another known one (H. 39b, perhaps H 240 and 241). The only example of secondary verse is in H. 114 I (Ia) "The Ant and the Beetle", a new version of H. 114 Ib = I "The Ant and the Cicada".

On the other hand, in Ib, insofar as we are dealing with fables added to I, the secondary fables predominate, as I already showed on pp. 296 ff. They are either a second version of an already known fable (such as in H. 15b "The Fox and the Mouse": it is a mouse "survenant" that says that "they are green"), or a fable only known to us through this source. Yet there are also primary ones.

4. *New Fables in Ia and Ib and in Different Mss.*

To be complete, we emphasize the new fables of the collections and mss. that we have just dealt with, saying that, together with the secondary ones, there are also primary ones.

There are some of these primary fables that are undoubtedly Classical, although more are Hellenistic. The most clearly Classical is H. 238 (in E, perhaps from Ia) "The Boar, the Horse and the Hunter", which comes from Stesichorus through Demetrius.[19] Others are Hellenistic fables, but certainly from older originals: such as H. 141 "The Walnut" (a variant of H. 185, cf. an Oriental parallel in Vol. I, p. 362) or H. 169 "The Hares and the Foxes". At other times we are dealing, simply, with very successful Hellenistic fables, such as H. 229 "The Two Knapsacks". All this in Ia. The author of this collection found it strange that fables such as these were absent from the pre-Augustana, which he used. Yet generally, as I have said, he preferred Hellenistic fables, almost all primary. And some isolated mss. whose added fables appear in our list of fables in Ia. Almost all these fables are primary.

There are also new primary fables (although most are secondary) in Ib. They may be seen in our list on pp. 294 ff.: their Hellenistic character is established by the structure, the theme or the fact of the source from which they derive being known.

All this shows us that primary fables of Classical origin continued to be accessible, which undoubtedly arrived in the Hellenistic Age through Demetrius. Yet it shows us that at the time primary Hellenistic fables and secondary Classical and Hellenistic fables existed. That is to say, the expander of the pre-Augustana did not exhaust his material: there must have been not only one, but various collections of fables that added this other material to the Classical material. And

[19] Cf. my article "Neue jambische Fragmente ...", cit. above.

in these they used not only this expander, but the writers of Ia, Ib and various mss. And later the authors of the collections by authors that have reached us. Thus, the pre-Augustana, which at a certain time—that of the Ancient Augustana—constituted the very centre of the fabulistic tradition, with its traditional fables and the new ones, saw that, starting from a certain time, various other collections of Classical and modern, primary and secondary fables flourished alongside it. They of course used the pre-Augustana. Yet, in its successive phases, this collection used these collections in turn. It was now one more collection, undoubtedly the largest, but neither the only one nor the one that exercised the most influence. I will return to this theme.

5. *The Process of Creation of the New Fables*

In the hands of the Cynics first, of their continuers later, the traditional fable was more or less modified as regards its structure and intention and a long series of new fables was created. These continued the ancient structures and themes to a certain extent, but with a major shifting of emphasis and the addition of anomalous structures and new themes. All this is already known to us and it is not necessary to specify it in detail.

I have also already presented, in Vol. I, pp. 509 ff., the sources of the creation of the new fables: related genres, anecdotes and χρεῖαι, ancient fables, stories of Natural History. From there some exempla. I will add, because it is very illustrative, the process of creation of new fables starting from the Augustana (I, Ia, Ib). I will recall, before doing so, what I have already said on double fables, derived either one from the other or both from an older third.

We are not dealing now with subsequent derivations starting from the fables of the Augustana, such as some cited in Vol. I, pp. 396 ff. Indeed, I already showed a series of derivatives starting from Archilochus fr. 238 A. (theme of the untamed dog and the domestic one), *Ep.* IV (theme of the fox and the lion, in the latter's cave), *Ep.* VII (theme of the fox and the monkey), as well as from Aeschylus, *A.* 717 ff. We could offer more material of this kind, but what we are particularly interested in now is the internal derivation starting from Hellenistic fables, a theme that remained almost intact there. And one that is essential for an understanding of the successive flourishing of new primary fables, which sometimes, later, produced

complete *stemmata* of secondary fables. Clearly, these *stemmata* go much further than the Augustana, we must follow them through all the collections, even into the European Middle Ages.

It is advantageous, however, to start from the derivations of Classical fables, presumably through Demetrius, to then go on to the derivations of these derivations: this procedure provides a model for following the derivations of the fables that are properly Hellenistic (or without a transmitted Classical model).

The fable of the hawk and the nightingale, in Hesiod, produces H. 4, whose theme of the uselessness of the arguments of the weak is repeated in H. 16 "The Cat and the Cock", H. 124 "The Thieves and the Cock" and H. 160 "The Wolf and the Lamb; from here comes H. 137 "The Dog and the Wolf", with an "inverted" ending (the wolf allows himself to be persuaded and is deceived).

The Archilochean theme of the monkey that showed off the tombs of his ancestors to the fox produced H. 14, and from here undoubtedly comes H. 75 "The Dolphin and the Monkey". Yet it is the model, also, of a long series of fables criticizing εὐγένεια or noble birth, for example, H. 20 "The Fox and the Crocodile".

The other fable by Archilochus of the fox and the monkey, which includes the dancing competition to become king, a competition from which the camel was rejected, produced H. 83 "The Fox and the Monkey" and H. 85 The Camel and the Monkey". From these, in turn, came secondary derivatives: H. 142 "The Camel and the Monkey", H. 246 "The Camel, the Elephant and the Monkey". In turn, the theme of the election of king of the animals, with the satire on those who only have their vanity and are useless in that position, comes from here (sometimes contaminated with other motifs): cf. H. 103 "The Rook and the Birds", H. 244 "The Peacock and the Rook", H. 249 "The Peacock and the Crane". And from here spread themes such as that of uncovered vanity, useless disguise, etc.

The theme, again from Archilochus, of the fox and the lion produces yet more descent (I discussed this in Volume I). Leaving aside other descent indicated there (abundant particularly in Phaedrus and the European Middle Ages), I will restrict myself to drawing attention to a derivative from H. 147, as is H. 10 "The Fox and the Lion", from where, in turn, undoubtedly come H. 210 and 220, on the theme of custom (cf. also H. 226).

Yet another fable coming from Archilochus, H. 294 "The Wolf and the Dog", has produced H. 194 "The Wild Ass". And H. 170

"The Fortune-teller" has given rise to H. 56 "The Enchantress".

In turn, the Sophoclean fable H. 139 "The Dog and the Hare" is certainly the model for H. 22 and 232, on ambiguity and hypocritical caresses.

In turn, the Fable H. 62 "The Farmer and the Serpent", whose ancestor had been mentioned by Theognis, produced H. 206 "The Bird and the Swallow" and H. 215 "The Boy who Hunted Grasshoppers", perhaps also H. 206 "The Bird and the Swallow" (contaminated with H. 39).

Another ancient fable, judging by the figurative tradition and a Mesopotamian parallel (cf. Vol. I, p. 361), is H. 15, the fable of the fox and the grapes. It is from its secondary variant 15 b "The Fox and the Mouse" that H. 128 "The Rook and the Fox" seems to come, on deceptive hopes.

Therefore, the creators of new fables that were added, in successive stages, to those coming from Demetrius and that were organized into various collections that later contaminated each other, started in a first phase from the Classical fables of Demetrius. Yet from those derivatives came other derivatives. And, of course, from the Hellenistic fables, of whatever origin, came new fables.

I am going to offer some examples, without distinguishing, on the other hand, between Hellenistic fables of probably Classical origin and properly Hellenistic fables:

From H. 126 "The Crow and the Fox" comes H. 245 "The Fox and the Cicada", with inversion of the theme; from H. 136 "The Dog that Carried a Piece of Meat", H. 138 "The Hungry Dogs" and perhaps other fables on the theme of greed; from H. 178 "The Shipwrecked Man and the Sea", H. 223 "The Shepherd and the Sea", with modification of the theme; from H. 155 "The Lion and the Mouse", H. 176 "The Pigeon and the Mouse" (which copies the motif of gratefulness).

At other times we must propose that a fable comes from the contamination of two or three, no more and no less than happens, as we have seen, in Phaedrus. Thus in H. 201 "The Ass and the Frogs" we have the initial motif of H. 191 "The Ass that Carried Salt" and H. 136 "The Dog and the Meat", plus the theme of H. 45 "The Oxen and the Axle" (theme of those who complain without good reason). In a similar manner, in H. 156 "The Lion and the Ass" there resonate motifs of H. 154 "The Lion, the Ass and the Fox" and of H. 199 "The Ass with a Lionskin". Cf. also H. 18 "The

Fisherman and the Anchovy" with elements of H. 4 and H. 11; and H. 53 "The Farmer's Sons", with elements of H. 42 and H. 132.

Of course this theme of derivation, as I have already pointed out (Vol. I, pp. 513 ff.), sometimes lends itself to doubts. For example, we have pairs of fables that are in fact variants on the same theme; the difference with respect to the duplications that we have discussed is only one of degree. What it is not easy to see is from which of the two fables the other derives or whether both come from a third. As in the case of H. 43 and 70 "The Frogs", of H. 59 "The Weasel" and H. 95 "The Snake and the File", of H. 141 "The Walnut Tree" and H. 185 "The Walker and the Plane Tree" (a case already cited). At other times the agreement is only initial: cf. H. 151 "The Lion who was Scared by the Mouse" and H. 155 "The Lion and the Mouse" (it adds elements of H. 135 and H. 242) or else it is final: H. 99 "The Kid and the Wolf" and H. 198 "The Ass and the Wolf".

We also find groups of three or more fables with a common theme and even a common structure, which we may suspect derive some from others or all from yet another, without being able to prove this. Thus, on the theme of those who die through pleasure: H. 82 "The Flies", H. 88 "The Thrush", H. 217 "The Thirsty Pigeon"; on those who are dishonest in their vows: H. 28 "The Liar", H. 34 "The Man who Promised the Impossible", H. 188 "The Walker and Hermes"; on the theme of *ataraxia*: H. 84 "The Ass, the Cock and the Lion", H. 146 "The Lion and the Frog", H. 199 "The Ass with a Lionskin"; on the theme of ingratitude: H. 74 "The Honeycomb Collector", H. 122 "The Gardener and the Dog", H. 224 "The Shepherd and the Sheep".

These are no more than some examples: further references may be found in the Appendices. Yet it is sufficient, together with my exposition in the previous Vol., to show the process whereby, starting from a limited inventory of fables, there was a transition to another longer one which partly continued the same schemes and themes, partly modified and expanded them, adapting them to suit the new times and ideas. We have seen how the different individual fabulists followed the same path. Yet it has been important to show that this sometimes happened within the fable of an anonymous character, influenced by the Cynics and their continuers, of which the most direct evidence that has reached us is precisely the Augustana collection (as well as the paraphrases and Byzantine dodecasyllables, insofar as they do not depend on Babrius).

IX. *The Ancient Augustana and the Pre-Augustana within the Fabulistic Tradition*

A book of fables as was that of Demetrius Phalereus, with these having the average length that we know to be the most characteristic of those fables deriving directly from him, must have contained approximately 100. From these came primary versifications (one or more of each fable), which ended up arriving, for the most part, in the various collections. However, we have calculated that in the collection that formed the core of the pre-Augustana, that is to say, the "Ancient Augustana", there only arrived about 40, with approximately 60 new ones being added, also primary: these were derived from the others or from various anecdotes, χρεῖαι, etc.

This is, fundamentally, the collection (still without systematic promythia or epimythia) that was used as the point of departure for various lost collections and, through these, to the more or less well preserved collections of the Imperial and Byzantine Ages. Another ancient collection, that of the Rylands Papyrus, was left practically isolated. Yet at a given moment, still in the Hellenistic Age, it received successive expansions, which I have already discussed; and it also received modifications to its text. Later, through the Imperial Age, it received further modifications to its composition, vocabulary and style, which culminated in the 4th and 5th centuries AD. This completed pre-Augustana, unknown in general terms to the other collections (with the exception, for the oldest expansion, of the original of the Syriac fables; perhaps, also, certain authors who mention isolated fables), was yet another collection among those that abounded in the Hellenistic and Imperial Ages. I have already said that, irrespective of this collection, various primary versions of the same fables, primary versions of other fables (old and new) and various secondary versions continued to exist: all were organized into collections, together with the material coming from the Ancient Augustana.

We must take into account that, according to my calculations, the independent fables of the Augustana (after adding those of Ia and Ib and those of isolated mss.) were 236: of course, among these there are some duplications with independent numbers, alongside others with the same number. Yet we are only interested in the approximate numbers. Hausrath's collection contains 306 fables, which are those cited plus others from II and III evidently found again in branches of the ancient independent tradition of the pre-Augustana,

but also sometimes in the pre-Augustana itself, where its continuer the Augustana left fables untranscribed. I will return to this later.

In any event, and apart from this, as I have just said, some fables of Hausrath were certainly never in the pre-Augustana; we must take into account that our list of fables absent from Hausrath (in Appendix II, not-H. fables) contains up to 312 fables: most, undoubtedly, coming from collections of fables (some may come from the oral tradition, or else from collections of myths, etc.). We may also add a few Medieval Latin fables from the ancient tradition (cf. p. 527). The result is that, apart from the fables attributable to the pre-Augustana, in Antiquity approximately another 370 fables appeared in various collections. This implies the existence of numerous collections that are difficult to reconstruct, collections sometimes used as a secondary model by the later ones that have reached us. And that only about 100 of the fables of the pre-Augustana may be attributed to the ancient core, to the "Ancient Augustana".

This collection was, I repeat, the point of departure for the other collections, although I have already discussed the existence of primary independent versions of it. It is appropriate at this point to attempt to establish more precisely its connections with the others, on the basis of the results of the various chapters of this volume, where hypotheses are formulated on the prehistory of the various collections. Thus the programme of investigation stated at the beginning of this chapter is completed.

It is important to point out that this study is very different from the one performed in Part I of this volume. There we concerned ourselves with the collections in which the fables of the *stemma* concerned are included. It is clear that a collection may tend to bring together fables from a type of *stemma* or from two or three types, depending on the sources, which are usually mixed.

When talking about Phaedrus, I established as his main source what I have called collection I: fables from a single tradition plus an aggregate of primary versions followed by the Augustana where various existed, plus primary versions also followed by the Augustana where a secondary version also existed. In short: it seems clear that this source of Phaedrus is, purely and simply, what I have called the core of the pre-Augustana, or also the Ancient Augustana. Certainly, in an older phase than the one we know. And this not only as regards the text, but also as regards the non-separation of

some fables (cf. Phaedrus IV 20 and H. 62 and 186) and the preservation, even, of the primary version of H. 294 (corresponding to Phaedrus III 7). We may add that in that Ancient Augustana were included H. 238 and 239, which only the mss. E and EO, respectively, have preserved for us: the collection used by Phaedrus was possibly of the type expanded by Ia.

This Ancient Augustana, with the expansions that we have discussed and endowed with systematic epimythia, was also the basis for the Greek collection translated by the Syriac fables.

However, together with it there proliferated the collections, as I have been saying. Phaedrus subsequently used other sources: apart from anecdotes, χρεῖαι, etc., various sources, which we have called collection II (the main source of Babrius and of the "Babrian" Medieval tradition): this is a line that caused a split in a large part of the fabulistic tradition. See Part III, Chaps. 4 and 5.

As has been stated on the subject of Babrius, together with "single" fables, the basic collection of this author contained others with a different primary version from the one followed by AnF. or with a secondary one where AnF. followed the primary one. This collection leaves abundant traces, in addition to in Babrius, in the paraphrases and Byzantine dodecasyllables to which I have just referred. And also elsewhere: such as in Phaedrus, who occasionally follows it; in certain fables added in the Syriac collection to the basis coming from AnF. (see p. 419); even in certain secondary versions added to the AnF.s themselves, which I have already discussed, plus others that I will discuss on the subject of AnF. II and III (Part III, Chap. 3).

Of course, neither is this the only source of Babrius, who in some cases even presents a primary version in common with AnF. III, compared with the secondary one in AnF. I. On the other hand, both Babrius and Phaedrus select the fables they choose from their viewpoints and add other new ones. That is why, although they sometimes preserve archaisms that have been lost in other collections, they present a more distorted panorama of the ancient anonymous fable than AnF. I (the Augustana) and Par. and Dod., which are the two major lines of continuation of the two traditions that we are discussing. However, we must emphasize that: a) collection II takes its core from I or the Ancient Augustana; b) the two have reached us in significantly expanded form in our anonymous collections; c)

collection II (and certain additions of I) have used various secondary collections that are not directly accessible to us. For the details, see our chapters on Phaedrus and Babrius.

Outside of these two collections, the one we can reach best is a collection of abbreviated Hellenistic fables, prosified in the 2nd century AD, which is the main model for Aphthonius and the Pseudo-Dositheus and is also perceptible in the Codex Brancaccianus, Avianus, Libanius, Themistius, etc. It is mixed in terms of its *stemmatic structure* and typology: undoubtedly an anthology mainly for rhetorical use. The abbreviations sometimes meant that the verse needed remodelling, before the prosification mentioned. Also in this case I refer the reader to the respective chapters.

In any event, we have seen that, together with these collections—and others that are not reconstructable that were more or less subsumed into them or have left fables preserved in isolation here and there—that of Demetrius and other ancient ones must have been preserved for a long time. Indeed, in authors such as Avianus and Romulus we find some ancient fables, even derived from models that are prior to the differentiation in the branches experienced by other sources. See the study of these collections in this same book.

This is not strange, because the fables of the Augustana were also preserved in Byzantium until the 9th century, with more remnants of verse than in our Augustana and with fables lost from it. On this, see Chapter 3 of Part IV. Other ancient fables were also preserved, cf. Chaps. 4 and 5 of this same part.

In any event, we must recall that at the time of the Empire, together with the new collections, the Ancient Augustana continued to grow. Enriched with new Hellenistic material (sometimes of Classical origin) it went on to be converted into what we have called the pre-Augustana, a group of more or less closely related semiprosified versions. Alongside this there arose Ia and Ib, which eliminated fables, added others and created their own text. Yet it is the Augustana and the pre-Augustana that are at the basis of the Byzantine collections: only the Accursiana seems to have received some influence from Ia, cf. pp. 457 f.

The creation of new fables and their integration into new collections, which habitually combined fables selected from two or more ancient collections and added others that were derived, contaminated, etc., did not automatically eliminate the ancient fables or the ancient collections. In fact, we must think that only very late, in the

full Middle Ages, did our fabulistic material remain reduced to the state of ruin in which we find it. Even so, particularly in the case of the more widespread fables, it offers bases to make a summary reconstruction of the history of the genre. The next chapters will complete this task.

Supplement to Part Two, Chapter Six

It is significant that no new bibliography exists on the origin of the Augustana Collection, except, on chronology:

I. OPELT, "Krokodile als Gymnasiarchen—zur Datierung aesopischer Fabeln", *RhM* 125, 1982, pp. 241–251,

and, on the chronology and the verse of the collection as a whole, the article by M.J. Luzzato already cited and my response, see above.

Cf. also A. ZINATO, "'Possibile' e 'impossibile' nella favola esopica", in: D. LANZA – O. LONGO (eds.), *Il meraviglioso e il verosimile tra antichità e medioevo*, Florence: Olschki 1989, pp. 239–248;
J. CASCAJERO, "Lucha de clases e ideología: introducción al estudio de la fábula esópica como fuente histórica", *Gerión* 9, 1991, pp. 11–58;
J. CASCAJERO, "Lucha de clases e ideología: aproximación temática a las fábulas no contenidas en las colecciones anónimas", *Gerión* 10, 1992, pp. 23–63;
G.-J. VAN DIJK, "Aesop", in: G. Speake (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Greece and the Hellenic Tradition*, London: Dearborn 2000 (forthcoming);
G.-J. VAN DIJK, "Fable", *ibid.* (forthcoming).

There is an index, that by F. MARTÍN GARCÍA – A. RÓSPIDE LÓPEZ (eds.), *Index Aesopi fabularum*, Hildesheim/Zürich/New York: Olms-Weidmann 1991.

CHAPTER SEVEN

MINOR COLLECTIONS AND EXEMPLUM-FABLES

I. *Minor Collections*

1. *Collections on Papyruses*

As we have been able to confirm during the course of this book, the temporal gap between the collections that existed in the Hellenistic and Roman Ages and those that have been transmitted to us is enormous and insuperable, in spite of certain approximations that have been achieved. In any event, to be complete, I must nevertheless add some data on collections preserved to a certain extent and on exemplum-fables that can illustrate the lost ones (as well, moreover, as the first ones) for us.

I have already mentioned the two collections of the Rylands Papyrus 493 and the *PColon.* 64, the former represented by four fables, the latter by one and the beginning of another. Only the former is capable of illustrating to us to a certain extent collections of whose existence we would not even have a suspicion, if we did not have this information. Even so, the mere fact that the collection of the Cologne Papyrus exists, with one fable "The Bitch that Gave Birth" that until now was only known to us through Phaedrus and a derivative in Justinus (cf. p. 4) and with a second fable "The Ram and the Monkey" that is completely unknown to us, shed light on this wealth lost to us. And fables on papyruses also shed light, undoubtedly coming from collections, as do H. 32 "The Murderer", in the *PGrenf.* II 84 (cf. p. 3) and H. 39 "The Swallow and the Birds" (in *PMich.* 457 and *PYale inv.* 1158 v., cf. p. 112). Both are known fables, but in versions that are new to us.

As regards the Rylands Papyrus, I am not going to add very many elements to those already given in Vol. I, pp. 54 ff., and in this Vol., pp. 82 ff. What we do wish to recall is that it is a collection of fables with primary verse different from that of AnF., a collection that remained practically in isolation, because one of its fables only finds an echo in Dio Chrysostom, namely "The Owl and the Birds".

I must say something further, however, on the situation of this collection within the Hellenistic collections, to which it belongs, which is this: if its basis is in Demetrius Phalereus, as is clear, after other studies of mine, in the case of H. 238 "The Boar, the Horse and the Hunter", we must add that one fable at least, that of "Heracles and Plutus", is—as has been recognized many times—a Cynic fable. That is to say, the versifier added others of Cynic origin to some fables of Demetrius, no more and no less than the creator of the "Ancient Augustana". For this expansion he used exactly the same source as this, and likewise in the case of "The Shepherd and the Sheep", a fable of Hellenistic origin on the theme of ingratitude (only in AnF. and *PRyl.*). We do not know, on the other hand, whether the fable of the owl (the swallow in the rest of the tradition) is Classical or Hellenistic.

However, it is clear that the creator of the prosified metrical version in the papyrus in question used the same sources as the Ancient Augustana, Classical (through Demetrius) and Hellenistic; and that, like that one, he preferred the primary versions. These versions, on the other hand, were very free: this can be seen in the fable of the boar, but particularly in that of the owl, which has replaced the bird protagonist.

We must place the creator of the Collection of the Rylands Papyrus, then, in the same environment as the creator of the Ancient Augustana, that is, in the early Hellenistic Age: he independently versified fables of Demetrius and others. These others, judging by the existence of double (and even triple and quadruple) primary versions were also, it seems, prosaic. What happens is that a collection, that of the Ancient Augustana, gradually produced derivatives and expanded, while this other proved to be little known to posterity. Yet its very existence testifies to the wealth of the fabulistic tradition and the large number of collections that circulated among the reading public.

2. *The Assendelft Tablets*

The same must be said of the collection of the Assendelft Tablets, which I discussed in Vol. 1, pp. 115 ff. As is known, it was a collection of fables dictated (undoubtedly partially) to a child in Palmyra in the 3rd century AD: it is a very clear example of how mixed collections were developed from ancient times.

Initially, as has already been stated, it included seven choliambic

fables that are in the Athous of Babrius and four others that may also have been (they belong to the "lost letters"), without this being certain. In any event, here we have a mixed "Babrian" tradition, since various of these fables are those that above, on p. 219, I attributed to the Pseudo-Babrius. And a tradition that was not yet put in alphabetical order by any of the alphabetizers we know, cf. p. 467.

That is to say, the process was this: at a given moment Babrius underwent a selection process, the order of the fables in his books was broken and added to with various choliambic fables. Yet in turn the author of the collection followed by the teacher of Palmyra had taken a new step: he had certainly reduced this "Babrian" collection, but also, he had added new material to it, without worrying that it had partially prosaic material (prosified Hellenistic verse) and partially verse in iambic trimetres. With this I am going to refer to the three fables that, in addition to the 11 "Babrian" ones, makes up the small collection of the Assendelft Tablets.

Number 10 in the tablets is "The Farmer and the Serpent": it is a Hellenistic version in six trimetres, derived from the (single) primary model of this well-known fable; the so-called Babrius 143 (in fact, from the ms. G) is another summary, also in 6 verses. And there are also other summaries. That is to say, we find a Hellenistic metrical version of the fable in question, an independent version. A real find for us.

T.Assend. 8 is "The Lion that Aged and the Fox", from H. 147. We have studied this on the subject of the version of the Pseudo-Dositheus, which is very closely related; in fact, both come from the same prosification of a metrical version (cf. p. 227). This metrical version is complementary and on the same line, therefore, as that of AnF.; it is against that of Babrius, with antecedents in Lucilius (perhaps this is the primary one).

Finally, T.Assend. 9 is "The Lion and the Mouse", from H. 155. Here too underlying this version is a prosification in common with that of the Pseudo-Dositheus; it depends on the primary version, common to AnF.

Clearly, as a consequence, apart from Babrius and the Pseudo-Babrius, merged with him previously, the author of the collection of T.Assend. used other very different materials. On one hand, he gives us a Hellenistic fable independent of Babrius; on the other, two abbreviated prosifications, dependent on the same models as the

Pseudo-Dositheus. It is known that the latter used an abbreviated collection, certainly created in the 2nd century AD and also known by Aphthonius, among others. We cannot attribute the Hellenistic fable mentioned above to this collection, with verse complementary to that of AnF. However, we are still dealing with summaries on the same line as the AnF.

Thus, already in the 3rd century AD the two major lines of the fabulistic tradition were mixed by the anonymous creator of our collection. We will see that, with this, he did no more than anticipate what was to be repeated again and again.

3. *Fables in the* "Life of Aesop"

Fundamentally, here I am going to bring together things already said, but this should be of interest nevertheless. In fact, we are dealing with an intermediate case: the fables of the *Life* (as with other parallel materials: similes, "problems", various anecdotes, maxims, etc.) are not detached citations. We are dealing, in fact, with a special type of narration of the fable; a series of these goes within a biographical frame. Cf. Vol. I, pp. 299 ff., on the origins of the genre, pp. 647 ff., on the *Life of Aesop* proper.

I am not going to repeat here the problem of to what extent the fables emigrated from the oral legend of Aesop, in the Classical Age, to the iambographers and prose writers or to what extent the opposite was the case. The important thing is that in the continuation of that legend, the *Life*, we are dealing with a full-blown collection of fables, although they are dispersed, appearing at the appropriate moments of the biography of Aesop. They are one of the various characteristic elements of the genre of the Hellenistic realistic romance, influenced both by Cynicism and by Oriental precedents, as I have explained in the passages cited and in the bibliography referred to there. Because our two drafts of the *Life*, which probably date back to the 1st century AD, have deeper roots: the first version of the work is Hellenistic, as I have proposed.

The conclusions I drew on the origin of the fables of the *Life* in Vol. I, pp. 654 ff., have been modified to a certain extent by the results obtained in this volume, cf. pp. 75 ff. Yet certain essential things remain valid: that ancient fables lost from the collections exist in the *Life* and that they undoubtedly reached it through Demetrius; and that other fables from the *Life* appear in the collections with a

different text, which is not the origin of that in the *Life*. Today I think—it can be seen throughout this volume—that the text of the *Life* and that of the collections, including that of the Cod. F, present complementary verse.

Evidently, the *Life* depends on an ancient collection with fables that are sometimes ancient, sometimes recent, or that have sometimes crossed over to the collections no longer included in (or lost from) these. Standing out among those that crossed over to the collections are fables in which the collections and the *Life* depend on different semiprosified texts, but definitely from the same single primary metrical version. Or else the *Life* and IIIδ or the *Life* and F simply present complementary verse, also derived from a single model (cf. above, pp. 79 f.).

In short, the *Life of Aesop*, like the Ancient Augustana, the collection of the Rylands Papyrus and others besides, depends on an original that added other modern fables, many of them Cynic, to Classical fables of Demetrius. This collection was little known by posterity: various of its fables were never cited again, others were only saved late by IIIδ or F or M, which undoubtedly found a specimen of them in Byzantium. Of course there are a few cases in which a fable is in the two places, with verse, as I say, that is complementary; and some others in which the *Life* only offers an allusion to a fable known to us through the collections.

Thus, what the Hellenistic author of the *Life* had available was not Demetrius' collection, but a versified collection that added other later material of the Cynic type to Demetrius'. It was always primary verse; when a fable was the same one of AnF., the text was identical. This illustrates the character of the Hellenistic collections very well to us. And how from the three that we know (although that of the Rylands Papyrus worst, it is to be supposed that its fables do not agree precisely with those of AnF.), only one, the Ancient Augustana, was widely diffused (to be displaced later by its derivatives such as Collection II or the "Babrian" collection and by its same derivation the pre-Augustana). These three collections, on the other hand, must not have been alone: it is likely that there were others, with mixed material from Demetrius and later, from which collections such as that of Avianus, the *Aesopus ad Rufum*, the expansion of AnF. III, etc. obtained ancient fables. And, of course, the authors that we will consider below.

4. *Dactylic Fables*

I would also like to mention another collection (or perhaps collections) of fables that have not been mentioned until now: the one that underlies a series of dactylic quotations from fables that appear in Medieval sources, almost always in the Suda, attributed to the "fables" (ἐν μύθοις, ἐν μυθικοῖς), sometimes to Babrius (s. v. ἑταιρείη). The expression is ambiguous, and sometimes the content is too: various fragments have occasionally been attributed to Callimachus. But a sufficient number that are purely fabulistic remain to mean there is no question of the existence of an ancient dactylic collection: perhaps, as I have said, more than one. It was written in elegiac distichs: we never find two unbroken hexameters in the quotations.[1]

Crusius, who publishes these fragments,[2] sees very well that the Suda found this material mixed with that from Babrius proper (Babrian in a broad sense, I would say); he supposes that they were imitations of Babrius, precisely those alluded to in the second prologue by the poet (cf. Vol. I, p. 104). This was on account of the archaistic and skilful character of the language.

In fact, the fragments in question are too small to enable us to draw significant conclusions on them, except for that of the existence of a collection that gave this form to metrical fables that were known for the most part, insofar as we can identify them. Of course, this collection followed the ancient tradition of the fable in elegiac distichs, which I have discussed above: this tradition begins, for us, in Solon and Theognis and continues in the *Anthologia Palatina* with some examples outside of there, such as the distich of Diogenes Laertius II 5.42 on Aesop and the Corinthians, attributed to Socrates (not-H. 12). The point of departure is, evidently, the proximity of the themes of the ancient iamb and the elegy.[3]

Of course, in general terms the dactylic fables to which we refer meet with some correspondence in Babrius and in any event their form (to the small degree to which they are accessible to us) is more closely related to him than to the version of the AnF. or others: this is the case in 11 Cr. "The Eagle and the Tortoise" (speech of the

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[1] Those of fr. 2 Cr. were spread around in the fable, fr. 24 Cr. is from the *Anthologia Planudea*.

[2] Pages 215 ff. of his edition, cf. also p. XC.

[3] Cf. my *Líricos griegos, Elegíacos y yambógrafos arcaicos*, 3rd ed., Madrid, 1990, vol. I, pp. XIV ff.

eagle to the tortoise, asking for a reward for his teaching, and in B. 115, compared with AnF. 259) and in 12 Cr. "The Ass and the Wolf" (also direct speech, by the ass in this case, compared with AnF. 198). Yet this is rather inadequate, in any event. Where the dactylic text preserved is longer, as in 9 Cr. "The Stag and the Lion" (not-H. 95), the independence of the dactylic verses is considerable.

On the other hand, among the fables in question there is one, 14 Cr. = H. 100 = B. 96, which belongs to the fables that I have attributed to the Pseudo-Babrius. And there are three that are not in our Babrius: 15 Cr. = H. 190 (also in Dod. 274): 16 Cr. = not-H. 151 (from Plutarch 157 B); and 23 Cr. not-H. 278 (from *Tetr.* I 22).

Clearly, it cannot be ruled out that all this belonged at some time to the lost Babrius, as Crusius thinks: but this is not demonstrable.

For completeness' sake, here is a list of these fragments, insofar as they can be identified as fables with any degree of reliability and be attributed to the known ones (there are none that add new material, so it seems):

1 Cr. = H. 163 = B. 16 (?).
2 Cr. = H. 71 = B. 36.
3 Cr = H. 76 = B. 43 (?).
4 Cr. = H. 263 = B. 64.
5 and 21 Cr. = H. 154 = B. 67.
6 Cr. = not-H. 124 = B. 75 (?).
7 Cr. = H. 151 = B. 82 (?).
8 Cr. = H. 154 = B. 93 (?).
9 Cr. = H. 95 = B. 95.
10 Cr. = not-H. 210 = B. 108.
11 Cr. = H. 259 = B. 115.
12 Cr. = H. 198 = B. 122.
13 Cr. = H. 262 Ib = B. 38.
14 Cr. = H. 100 = B. 96.
15 Cr. = H. 190 (also Dod. 274).
16 Cr. = not-H. 151 = Plu. 157 B (?).
17 Cr. = H. 263 = B. 64.
20 Cr. = H. 229 = B. 66 (?).
22 Cr. = H. 24 = B. 86.
23 Cr. = not-H. 278 = *Tetr.* I 22.[4]

[4] The "doubtful" dactylic fragments of Crusius, pp. 225 ff., are not dactylic fragments, they are fables from AnF., iambic fables, despite certain adjustments by

II. *The Exemplum-Fable in the Hellenistic and Roman Ages: Study Fable by Fable*

1. *General Remarks*

The creation of the collections of fables starting from Demetrius Phalereus did not exclude the possibility that the ancient exemplum-fables of the poets, particularly the iambic ones, and the prose writers, continued to live in the Hellenistic and Roman Age. Of course, these fables may have been taken directly from ancient exemplum-fables: thus, the allusions to "The Eagle and the Fox" (in Catullus, Horace, etc.) are always through Archilochus, the fable of the stag and the horse in Horace presents elements proper to Stesichorus not in the version of Demetrius (cf. p. 86), etc. Most frequently, undoubtedly, they were taken from the collections and are very helpful for our reconstruction of the form of the respective fables in them. This is precisely the fundamental purpose of this study, which may be completed with the help of our *Supplement* to Vol. III.

We must make some observations. Whether the fables come from the Archaic and Classical authors or from the collections, on many occasions it is most likely that they have been alluded to or cited from memory: with this, they may retain important features of their content that have disappeared from the other versions, but they also underwent significant alterations, including the tendency for the verse to be lost. On the other hand, the reverse process to the one we are investigating cannot be ruled out: that an exemplum-fable has been taken from such and such an author to be incorporated in such and such a collection. This is what has been proposed for various fables, which some believe were added to certain collections starting from Plutarch, Achilles Tatius and, particularly, the *Life of Aesop*. I have rejected this in the cases referred to, but it may be true on some occasions.

A special problem is presented to us in the exemplum-fable of the Hellenistic Age. There is sometimes a problem of limits: this is the

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Crusius. I will take this opportunity to say that almost all of the iambic fragments that Crusius mentions as "doubtful" are fables of AnF. already known to us, not fables by Babrius. Only the fragments on p. 235, numbered as 2 and 3, may be iambic fables not known to us: fr. 2 Cr. (from the Suda) is a new iambic version of H. 259 (= B. 116), perhaps Hellenistic; fr. 3 Cr. appears to be a new fable, a trimetre, perhaps also Hellenistic.

case of H. 122 "The Gardener and the Dog" referred to by Menander, *Dysc.* 633 ff., but we do not know whether this is the source of Demetrius or whether it is derived from the model used by Demetrius or even derived from Demetrius himself. Other later allusions are evidently not the source of Demetrius, but the other two hypotheses remain valid as possibilities. If we re-examine the list in Vol. I, p. 534, this may be the case for H. 15a "The Fox And the Grapes" (a doubtful allusion in Theocritus), H. 40 "The Astrologer" (idem, in the Ps.-Callisthenes), H. 103 (idem., in Philodemus), H. 108 (idem, in Cercidas), H. 139 "The Dog and the Hare" (idem, in Demetrius, *Eloc.*), H. 178 "The Shipwrecked Man and the Sea" (idem, in the Ps.-Callisthenes). Please note that in this list I leave aside fables from the *Life of Aesop* (already considered) and the *Anthologia Palatina* (which I will examine as a group) and others in Latin authors of the 2nd and 1st centuries BC, which I will also examine later.

In any event, the above list, though reduced in size, does offer some elements of interest. The first, we give evidence of the Cynic fable independent of our collections: these are sometimes Classical fables, sometimes new fables, but almost always they are now narrated within this orientation: the theme of scorn for useless science (H. 40), of borrowed beauty (H. 103, cf. the Κολοιός of Diogenes, the probable source of the fable), of deceitfulness (H. 139); the theme of the freedom of life (H. 108) and of nature (H. 178). The diffusion of this type of fable in this age is very clear, and the creators of the Ancient Augustana and of the collection of the Rylands Papyrus both later used this type (cf. above, p. 317#). On the other hand, the version of the fable of the rook alluded to by Philodemus is particularly archaic. His reference to the "extraneous feathers" (ἀλλοτρίοις ἑαυτὸν π[τεροῖς κολοιοῦ τρόπον κε]κόσμ[ηκεν]) reminds us of the version of Libanius and *Tetr.*, of a type prior both to that of AnF. and to that of Babrius.

On the other hand, we know various fables, at least four (Volume I, p. 555), that are cited by Hellenistic authors, that is, Callimachus, the Ps.-Callisthenes and Antiphilus (in *AP*) without finding any correspondence in the collections. Evidently, apart from the fables of Demetrius, many others circulated, inherited or new, in the Hellenistic Age: only some of them were included in the collections. This age is thus presented to us more as the moment when the collections were created starting from ancient and new fables than as that in which the writers derived fables from the collections to illustrate their writings. This is something that comes later.

It is appropriate at this point to note that some references traditionally given, which may be found in Hausrath's Apparatus, are false or very doubtful. Since I include them in the Appendices, I will give them complete, accompanied by some that I cannot manage to identify. We must emphasize, then:

H. 3: Lucian, *Pseudol.* 3, *Deor. Conc.* 8–9; H. 13: Alciphron I 17, Lucian, *Herm.* 65, *Tim.* 22; H. 40: *AP* VII 172.5 ff.; H. 46: Demetrius Phal. 120 W., Plu. *Mor.* 139d; H. 96: Dio Cassius LVI 40.7, Libanius III 27; H. 102: Luc. *DIud.* 2, *Hist.* Cons. 33, *Icar.* 31, *Bacch.* 8; H. 106: Himerius, *Or.* XX; H. 126: Apul., *Flor.*, p. 23, 3; H. 136: Zenobius IV 90 (it is a gloss to Sophocles); H. 146: Plu., *Mor.* 139d (it is H. 46); H. 155: Julian., *Ep.* 8, p. 377D; H. 260: Gal., *Protr.* 13; H. 273: *AP* 9.223; not-H. 84: Diogenes Laertius I 8.105; not-H. 288: Stobaeus III 1.172.

2. *Allusions to and Citings of Fables that are Impossible to Locate in the Stemmata*

With the aim of separating the less interesting material, I am first going to give a list of allusions to or citings of fables that contribute nothing to the clarification or improvement of our *stemmata* of them: their main usefulness is that they show us that these fables were known by the authors in which these references appear. I will give the references in abbreviated form, with only the name of the author who introduces them: the complete citations can be found in Appendices I and II. The question marks refer to doubtful references.

There are three subsections in this section: the simple allusions, which include proverbs consisting of "closing statements" for fables or which summarize the intention of the fables or refer to them in some way; the simple references to the general theme of the fables; and the full exposition of some fables without it being feasible to locate them within their *stemma.*

a) *Simple Allusions*

H. 3 "The Eagle and the Beetle": Lucian.
H. 27 "The Fox and the Bust": Apostolius.
H. 30 "The Shipwrecked Man": Zenobius.
H. 33 "The Boastful Athlete": Apostolius.

H. 44 "The Frogs Asking for a King": Dio Chrysostom (?).
H. 45 "The Oxen and the Axle": Philogelos (?).
H. 62 "The Farmer and the Serpent": Arsenius, Plutarch, Petronius.
H. 65 "Diogenes Walking": *Gnomologium Vaticanum.*
H. 71 "The Oak and the Reed": *AP.*
H. 72 "The Coward who Found a Golden Lion": *AP*, Lib. (?).
H. 87 "The Lion and the Sheep": Gr. Naz.
H. 93 "The Dog and the Master": *App. Proverbiorum.*
H. 96 "The Father and the Daughters": Lucian.
H. 100 "The Wolf and the Kid": Diogenianus.
H. 102 "Zeus, Prometheus, Athena and Momus": Lucian.
H. 114 "The Ant and the Cicada": Lucian (?).
H. 117 "The Bird-catcher and the Snake": *AP.*
H. 119 "The Camel and Zeus": Lucian.
H. 139 "The Dog and the Hare": Demetrius, Lucian.
H. 141 "The walnut": Ps.-Ovid.
H. 147 "The Lion and the Fox": Horace, Seneca, Plutarch.
H. 150 "The Lion and the Dolphin": Aelian.
H. 155 "The Lion and the Mouse": Libanius, Ps.-Themistocles, Julian (?).
H. 160 "The Wolf and the Lamb": Basil.
H. 161 "The Wolf and the Heron": Gregory of Cyprus.
H. 165 "The Wolf and the Shepherd": Plautus, Terence, Cicero.
H. 172 "The Bees of Zeus": Nicander (?).
H. 177 "The Fly": Eustathius (?).
H. 178 "The Shipwrecked Man and the Sea": Ps.-Callisthenes (perhaps from the original theme).
H. 182 "The Bat and the Weasel": Varro.
H. 183 "The Woodcutter and Hermes": Macarius.
H. 185 "The Walker and the Plane Tree": Aelian and Plutarch (from the same source).
H. 190 "The Ass and the Gardener": Lucian.
H. 192 "The Ass and the Mule": Plutarch.
H. 193 "The Ass that Carried a Statue": Lucian.
H. 197 "The Ass and His Master": Horace, *App. Proverbiorum*, Lucian (?).
H. 199 "The Ass and the Lionskin": Apostolius, Themistius.
H. 228 "Prometheus and Men": Horace (?).
H. 229 "The Two Knapsacks": Catullus, Plutarch, Horace.
H. 271 "The Lark": Apostolius.

H. 284 "The Man who Broke an Image": *AP*.
H. 286 "The Horse and the Ass": Lucian (duplicated fable of H. 192).
Not-H. 234 is in fact an allusion by Zenobius to H. 93 "The Dog and the Master". More references are given in the *Supplements* to Vol. III.

As we see, the allusions refer to the fables of AnF., including its expansion and some duplicated fables. For the case of the paroemiographers, this does not seem accidental, and they often cite "closing statements" reproduced literally: they must have had access to an edition of AnF. For the ancient authors such as Horace, Lucian and Plutarch, it must have been a coincidence, since they transmit not-H. fables, see below.

We must suppose, clearly, that all these allusions, insofar as they appear in authors of the Hellenistic and Roman Ages, refer to versions of the fables of greater or lesser antiquity, but in any event predecessors of the Augustana. As regards the references of the paroemiographers, whether ancient or Byzantine, the influence of AnF. I or Augustana still dominates. This is the case of H. 30 (only in I), H. 33 (from I; II and III differ), H. 65 (only in E), H. 161 (only in I). Yet H. 27 presents the version of II–III (compared with I) and H. 271 is only in III (the proverb approximately reproduces the "closing statement").

b) *References to the General Theme of Some Fables*

For practical purposes, they are equivalent to the allusions. Those relative to two fabulizations of Natural History (H. 120 and 124) could refer either to the respective fables or to the basic beliefs of these. Of course, there are no verse fables: these are references from memory. I will cite:

H. 46 "Boreas and Helios"; Plutarch.
H. 87 "The Piglet and the Sheep" (or perhaps H. 189 "The Piglet and the Fox"): Aelian.
H. 120 "The Beaver": Pliny, Aelian, Apuleius.
H. 125 "The Rook and the Crows": Eustathius, Suda = Photius.
H. 136 "The Dog that Carried a Piece of Meat": Irenaeus.
H. 191 "The Ass that Carried Salt": Lucian, Plutarch and Aelian (the latter two from the same model).

H. 243 "The Children of the Monkey": Oppianus.
H. 291 "The Head and the Limbs of the Snake": Plutarch.
Not-H. 146 "The Cyclops": *AP*, Ausonius.
Not-H. 243 "The Youth, the Woman and the Man": Apuleius (apart from him, only in Babrius, from whom it may derive).

c) *Known Fables, Version Doubtful as Regards the Line of the Tradition*
These are fables that, being in the indirect tradition and transmitted in abbreviated form or in any event from memory, lack the necessary detail to frame them in a certain line of the tradition, within the respective *stemma*. I, at least, will not risk making a decision. They are:

H. 7 "The Weasel and the Hens": Plu.

H. 22 "The Fox and the Woodcutter". Ovid and Maximus Tyrius seem to come from the general theme, but we cannot see in what stage of formation; the former introduces the theme within the story of the robbery of the cows of Apollo by Hermes, the latter changes the animals, now it is the lion and the stag, with the fox acting as the "survenant", with the ending different (perhaps an innovation).

H. 32 "The Murderer". *AP* may come from AnF. I or from its model.

H. 72 "The Man who Found a Golden Lion". *AP*, which replaces the lion with a sword, may come from AnF. I[5] or from its model.

H. 73 "The Dolphins and the Gudgeon". Aelian (a proverb: the dolphin is at war with the whale) seems to echo Babrius (a summary or derived from a summary of the principal line); but if we looks closely, it could very well come from the ancient model reflected in AnF. I.

H. 141 "The Walnut Tree". *AP* may be an expansion of AnF. I or else come from its model.

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[5] That is to say, from the form of this fable, since it remained fixed. The same applies in the cases that follow.

Not-H. 128 "The Old Horse". Lucian may come from the Hellenistic model from which Aphthonius derives (primary branch), or else from the summary continued by Phaedrus, Par. and Babrius.

H. 270 "The Heifer Calf and the Ox": Gr. Naz. has a free, deviated story.

H. 284 "The Man who Broke an Image: *AP* 16.187 (being in distichs, we cannot see where it comes from).

Not-H. 221 "The Woman Giving Birth". Plutarch may be an allusion to Phaedrus or derive (as at other times) from his model.

3. *Fables that May be Situated in the Established* Stemmata

Other fables of the indirect tradition may be located with greater or lesser certainty within the *stemmata* that we have established for the various fables. I am going to distinguish three groups: those that derive from a single primary version, those that derive from a primary version together with which there is a secondary one, or else from a primary version 1 together with which there is a 2; and those that derive from a secondary version or a primary version 2.

In all these cases, the versions of the indirect tradition may add data for the restoration of the branch to which they belong: data on metre and content. Since we practically do not find derivations of versions known by us (making an exception for the Byzantine Tzetzes), this proves the wealth of the tradition. Very specifically, the versions that we will now deal with help us to restore a text of the Ancient Augustana that in some cases is more archaic than that of our Augustana.

a) *Fables Derived from a Single Primary Model*

H. 24 "The Fox whose Stomach Swelled". Horace modifies the original model considerably: he introduces a weasel instead of the second fox, and in him there is no tree but a granary.

H. 53 "The Farmer's Sons". The version of Plutarch, within the single line of AnF. and B., comes from an older model: it preserves remnants of verse]ἅπαντα δὲ ῥᾳδίως διέκλασε compared with I τῶν δὲ ῥᾳδίως κατακλώντων and B. ἑκάστης δ' εὐχερῶς καταγείσης.

H. 75 "The Dolphin and the Monkey". The version of Tzetzes seems to be a simple derivative of that of AnF. (single; we cannot see if it derives from I or III).

H. 126 "The Crow and the Fox". Tzetzes depends on this: it contains more archaic elements than AnF. I (rather altered), such as "cheese" instead of "meat" and others common to Par., but it eliminates the closing statement, as do the Pseudo-Dositheus and Ph.: perhaps it comes from a summary. The model is pre-Horatian.

H. 138 "The Hungry Dogs". Plutarch seems a prosaic summary of the single line (in AnF. I, Ph., Sy.).

H. 147 "The Lion and the Fox". Lucilius depends, as does B., on the primary verse.

H. 151 "The lion who was Scared by the Mouse". Tzetzes seems to derive from the ancient model of the single line, with special proximity to Par. and Sy. (Par. 2 χαῖται, Tz. αὐχένι; cf. also the end of the closing statement); AnF. and B., each for its own part, has modified substantially.

H. 164 "The Wolf and the Sheep". Perhaps referred to by Plautus, *Trin.* 169–172.

H. 229 "The Two Knapsacks". The version by Themistius (cf. an echo in Tzetzes) probably comes from the common model, which preserves the union of B. and Par. quite well.

H. 267 "The Mosquito and the Lion". Achilles Tatius and Ib come from a semiprosified model, and there is complementary verse in both.

H. 287 "The Frog and the Fox". Here the single line, in addition to being in Themistius, is in Aphth., Par., Av. and B.: the latter has introduced χωλός "lame", which is in its derivatives, the three preceding versions. Judging by the Arabic translation that is our source, Themistius preserves the ancient χλωρός "pale".

H. 290 "The Warrior and the Crow". If what I propose (cf. p. 436) is true, the version of Plutarch and that of the ms. F. are two derivatives of the same original text. It is a semiprosified fable.

H. 292 "The Lion, Prometheus and the Elephant". A text semiprosified preserved almost the same (cf. p. 437) in Achilles Tatius and the ms. F.

Not-H. 17 "The Fox and the Crane". Fable without verse from Plutarch, also in Phaedrus: undoubtedly from the same model.

Not-H. 209 "The Field Mouse and the Town Mouse". Cf. p. 232: it is a pre-Horatian model that Horace developed and is also in Pseudo-Dositheus and B. (abbreviated in Aphthonius and in Ph., preserved by Rom.).

Not-H. 288 "A Brother and a Sister", Cynic anecdote on beauty and virtue in Plu., Diogenes Laertius and Phaedrus.

Leaving aside H. 267, 290 and 292, found again by some mss. of AnF. at a later date, and H. 75, a derivation of AnF. in Tzetzes, we actually have he continuation of an ancient line that appeared in both Collection I (Ancient Augustana) and II: H. 50, H. 151, H. 209.

The first is interesting: it shows an archaic stage. Also the second, although it is possible that Tzetzes in fact used a secondary "Babrian" version. The third is important, as it shows the antiquity of the model. Elsewhere, it is a single line centred on the Ancient Augustana (H. 138) or the "Babrian" line (H. 287).

b) *Fables Derived from a Primary Model 1*

H. 31 "The Middle-Aged Man and the Hetairas". Cf. p. 94: the prosaic version of D.S. is probably closely related to the first of two primary versions (with AnF. I and F.).

H. 136 "The Dog that Carried a Piece of Meat". I believe that the version by Theon comes from that of the Ancient Augustana: it shows agreements with AnF. I, plus archaic elements preserved outside of there (such as φέρων and ὃ μὲν εἶχεν ἀφῆκε/ἀπέβαλε, cf. Aphth., Rom.). Doxopater also comes from this ancient version. Lucian is an allusion.

H. 158 "The Wolf and the Sheep". Libanius, as well as Aphthonius and Dod., represent an initial reduction of version 1 of AnF. I, F.

(there is another, complementary one in *Vit. Aesop.*; and another reduction in Par., B.).

Thus, in the same way as when the primary version 1 was unique, our indirect tradition sometimes reached archaic stages of this; this also happens here, when together with it there is a second primary version or a secondary one. However, note that sometimes the dependence starts from an already summarized version.

c) *Fables Derived from a Primary Model 2 or 3 or from a Secondary Model*

H. 31 "The Middle-Aged Man and the Two Hetairas". Doxopater seems to come from line 2, agreeing with Par., Dod. and B. in the first mention of the two women (τὴν μὲν γηραίαν, τὴν δὲ νέαν).

H. 39a "The Swallow and the Birds". Let us recall p. 88, where I show that the two versions of Dio Chrysostom depend on one of the three (or four) primary models, specifically, on the antecedent of the prosified version of the Rylands Papyrus.

H. 46 "Boreas and Helios". Leaving aside the version of Themistius now, which is possibly archaic, that of Plutarch comes from v. 2, judging by agreements with B. and *Tetr.* (ἔσφιγγε) and with Par., Dod. προσαπεδύσατο: only approximate agreements, moreover. It is a prosaic text, quoted from memory. V. 1 gives AnF. I.

H. 47 "The Boy who Vomited his Bowels". The "closing statement" by Plutarch is closely related to that of B., which derives from him or his model (in turn closely related to AnF. I, they derive from a common model). Small traces remain of the original verse.

H. 50 "The Weasel and Aphrodite". Gregory of Nazianzus and Tzetzes come from a common version that refers to παστάς; it is likely to derive it from Babrius, who belongs to a line of v. 2, from which are absent elements of v. 1 preserved in H. I.

H. 102 "Zeus, Prometheus, Athena and Momus". Lucian (at least the passage of the *Herm.*) comes from line 2, with Par. 1. 2 and B., since it introduces Poseidon instead of Prometheus.

H. 136 "The Dog that Carried a Piece of Meat". While Theon followed branch 1, Epiphanius knows 2 (in the Pseudo-Dositheus, Sy.,

B., Aphth., Branc.: abbreviated branch). There are clear agreements σκιὰν μείζονα, etc., cf. the Pseudo-Dositheus; ἀνῴξας τὸ στόμα, cf. Synt. This does not prevent the presence of archaisms, cf. κατεῖχεν ἐν τῷ στόματι and Ph. *et quem tenebat ore.*

H. 145 "The Lion and the Farmer". Diodorus of Sicily presents a version of type 2, with the final death of the lion (as Aphth., B.).

H. 274 "The Ethiopian". There are in fact three closely related fables; one of them is produced by Aphthonius = 274 III and is very close to Themistius. The verse of the model is reconstructed (cf. p. 112#). Diogenianus and Macarius refer to it.

Not-H. 59 "The Oxherd and Heracles". Photius follows Babrius (common source, the primary model is not preserved), clear remnants of its verse remain.

Not-H. 66 "The Farmer and the Fox". I consider it very likely that it comes from LXX (*Iud.* XV 4–5): from there it crossed over to line 2 or the "Babrian" line (Aphth., B.). Yet it also appears in Ovid and Lucian. That is to say, the fable was written in Greek (I suppose in verse, but I cannot prove this) on a date prior to Ovid. Lucian also comes from that ancient model, and sometimes agrees with Aphth., sometimes with B.

Not-H. 308 "The Frog that Swelled". Horace is clearly in the unique line of this fable, with B. and *Tetr.* Yet it is in fact a secondary line, the fable is derived from not-H. 273 (in Phaedrus I 24 "The Frog that Burst and the Ox").

The material gathered together shows us that the "Babrian" line had extensive diffusion, also in fables of which line 2 or that of the Ancient Augustana was known. Except in the case of Gregory and Tzetzes H. 50 (cf. also Photius for not-H. 59), who follow Babrius, we are dealing with ancient, Hellenistic models, since among the witnesses appear Ovid, Horace and Diodorus. The indirect tradition contributes new data for their reconstruction; and not only that of the authors mentioned, but also that of authors until the end of Antiquity. This is not at all strange, as we know that these versions reached the Byzantine Age.

What is very significant is the knowledge by Dio Chrysostom of a model version from the Rylands Papyrus, which, moreover, was unknown outside of him.

4. *Fables that Contribute to Enriching our* Stemmata

However, the most important contribution of the indirect tradition to the knowledge of the fable is in those fables that derive from lines of the tradition that are, so to speak, new, although they are related in one way or the other with those already known. Occasionally, this contribution has already been taken into account when establishing *stemmata* of fables in the various chapters of this book. I will restrict myself, in that case, to making reference to what I have already said; at other times we will need to expand this or say something new. I am referring to the following fables:

H. 12 "The Fox and the Leopard". Together with the models 1 and 2 (cf. p. 93), there is a third from Plutarch and perhaps a fourth from Avianus (cf. p. 269).

H. 35 "The Man and the Satyr". The version by Sextus Empiricus presents a verse (ὁρῶν τὸν αὐτὸν ἄνθρωπον | χειμῶνος ὥρᾳ and θηρίῳ συζῆν | ἐξ οὗ [τὰ] ἐναντιώτατα προέρχεται) that is different from that of the two models 1 and 2. It is, possibly, an archaic model; the other two, longer, are related to each other.

H. 40 "The Astrologer". In Diogenes Laertius, in addition to the line of AnF. I, *Tetr.* and Ps.-Callisthenes (derivatives), there is a second, which preserves the mention of Thales, as in Plato. It has its own verse:

φάναι τὴν γραῦν·
σὺ γάρ, ὦ Θαλῆ, τὰν ποσὶν ἰδεῖν οὐ δυνάμενος
τἀπ' οὐρανοῦ [⏑ ⏑] οἴει γνώσεσθαι.

H. 46 "Boreas and Helios". The allusion by Themistius is too short to enable us to relate it with 1 or 2; but its γυμνοὶ seems to take us to the ancient model, in Sophocles. This version would supposedly originate, then, from a model prior to the creation of the two metric models.

H. 83 "The Fox and the Monkey". The various allusions by Lucian (mentioned, in turn, by Tzetzes), refer to versions located in Egypt in which there are some fruits (and not meat, as Archilochus says mistakenly) thrown at some dancing monkeys, without the intervention of the fox. It is a version very different from the fable, certainly transmitted orally; perhaps from the remote model of Archilochus, cf. Vol. I, pp. 328 and 363.

H. 103 "The Rook and the Birds". I have explained carefully (cf. p. 63) that the version by Libanius is the oldest, certainly the source of the other two (and alluded to by Philodemus). Remnants of this version are also found in Aphthonius and Theophylactus. Between them there is complementary verse, see p. 248.

H. 132 "The Stomach and the Feet". Cf. p. 105, where I explain that the fable told by Livy, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Plutarch, Maximus Tyrius and Romulus (from Phaedrus) is the one that comes directly from an Egyptian original, through a Greek one. I suppose there to be contamination, starting from this, in the version of AnF. and Sy., moreover, also derived from the Egyptian one.

H. 140 "The Mosquito and the Bull". In Mesomedes it is the elephant; it derives directly from the Assyrian original. Cf. Vol. I, p. 324.

H. 162 "The Wolf and the Goat". In the *Appendix Proverbiorum* there are two allusions with metre from a model different from that of AnF. I and the rest of this line: the most complete is ἀλλ' ἡ λύκος καλεῖ ⟨γε⟩ τὰς αἶγας μολών.

H. 199 "The Ass and the Lionskin" (cf. p. 242, where I show that Lucian and Tzetzes belong to the same line of Par. and *Tetr.* 1). In these two witnesses of the indirect tradition (and in the proverb mentioned by Apostolius) the fable is located in Cyme. I do not believe that there is reason to deny that this feature (subsequent to the model of the fable in Plato) was introduced either in the model of Demetrius (later being lost outside of our witnesses), or at a given moment, within the tradition of this line. I think that the first hypothesis is preferable.

H. 238 "The Stag, the Horse and the Boar". As I explained elsewhere (pp. 85 ff., with reference to a previous publication), the ver-

sions of Horace and Romulus (from Phaedrus) contaminate the version of Demetrius with one that comes directly or indirectly from Stesichorus.

H. 254 "The Tortoise and the Horse". Cf. p. 105 on the relationship between this fable by Libanius, long and rhetorical, and "The Tortoise and the Hare" in H. 254, lines 1 and 2. Whatever the genealogy, they are two different elaborations of the same theme. Ours shows agreements with the two lines and remnants of verse:

γέλως τε ἦν[ ]κοὐκ ἠξίου διαμιλλᾶσθαι (choliamb).
οἷς τε ἄνθρωποι χρῶνται.
Καὶ μὴν ἐλάφους [⏓ –] συνήγαγεν ἡ φήμη
Ὁ μὲν ἵππος[ ]ἔμεινεν ἐν ἀργίᾳ τε καὶ κόρῳ, (trimetre).
τῇ δ' ἡ μελέτη τάχος δέδωκε καὶ νίκην (choliamb).

H. 285 "The Mule". Plutarch offers a different version of the theme (which dates back to Archilochus), in which he introduces as protagonist a Lydian mule. It is a prosaic quotation, from memory.

Not-H. 37 "Aesop and the Rustic". The version from Plutarch shows Thales and not Aesop (as in Phaedrus) as protagonist of the fable. Already on this subject, I have said (p. 148), that Plutarch comes from a Hellenistic model, whose verse can be partially reconstructed, and that Phaedrus is a modified derivative.

Not-H. 60 "The Ox and the Ass Ploughing". I have already said, on the subject of Babrius (p. 203), and I will repeat on the subject of Romulus (p. 555), that Plutarch presents one of the three existing versions, with partly different arguments whose genealogy is difficult to establish.

Not-H. 114 "Zeus, the Animals and the Man". The version by Seneca, more or less related with that of Phaedrus and derived, as the latter, ultimately from the well-known passage of Plato's *Protagoras*, has its own particular features, and we do not know whether these were invented by the philosopher.

Not-H. 182 "The Lion and Three Bulls". Themistius is closely related to the version by Aphthonius and Babrius. Yet Themistius agrees with another branch, that of the Syriac fables, in presenting only

two bulls, which are made enemies by the lion (certainly, the theme is related to the initial one from the *Panchatantra*). This seems to be the oldest. It is shown, then, that Themistius comes from an ancient model and preserve more archaic elements than Aphthonius and Babrius; the model of which, in fact, the version of Sy. is a summary (Av. introduces another modification, four bulls). The version by Themistius seems, then, to be the most archaic.

Not-H. 141 "The Lark and the Farmer". Cf. p. 203: it is not easy to establish the relationship between the three versions of Ennius, Babrius and Avianus; perhaps they come conclusively from the same model. But there are important differences of subject. In Ennius the mother appears (as in Avianus and in contrast with Babrius) and there are four acts (two in Babrius, three in Avianus).

Not-H. 198 "The Lion and the Shepherd". Cf. p. 555. In Aulus Gellius (from Apio) and in Aelian we have derivations from a Hellenistic fable previously introduced into a Roman environment. Phaedrus is a more altered derivative.

Not-H. 295 "The He-goat and the Vine". Cf. Vol. I, p. 361: it is an ancient fable, coming from the Assyrian *Ahikar*, which in the collections is found in Aphthonius (line 1) and in Par., *Tetr.*, Dod.; these last versions seem to come from a reduced one. Whereas Ovid, *Met.* and Martial are allusions that cannot be ascribed to a precise branch of the tradition, the epigrams of *AP* are independent. There are two, that of Leonidas and that of Evenus (also in Suetonius): they must come from the same model, the second verse agrees and the first (it is a distich) is close. It is not easy to restore the original iambic model starting from this distich, but there is a literal agreement with Aphth. (Aphth. ἐπισπείσω, *AP* ἐπισπεῖσαι). Very probably, the model of the two epigrams comes from the Hellenistic model from which Aphth. also comes; perhaps Ovid, *Fast.* also comes from the same (Ov. *rode*, Aphth. παρέτρωγε, Par. ἔτρωγε).

We find, then, 19 fables with versions at least partially independent of those of our collections or of the models of these that we have studied. This was to be expected *a priori*. Firstly, because our appearances are often from a date considerably prior to our collections.

Secondly, because we already know, from various indications, that the tradition of the fable in Antiquity was much more complex than our collections show at first sight and was also very persistent.

Among these versions to which I have referred, there are some that preserve the Oriental models better than the fables: this is the case of H. 83, the Egyptian fable of the monkey; H. 132, also an Egyptian fable, of the stomach and the feet; H. 140, an Assyrian fable of the elephant and the mosquito; not-H. 295, an Assyrian fable of the he-goat.

At other times we simply find traces of an ancient Greek version, prior to the models of the fables of the collections. This is the case in H. 40 (with a theme from Plato), H. 46 (with an echo of Sophocles, the origin of the fable of Boreas and Helios), H. 238 (with echoes of Stesichorus, certainly by contamination); also in H. 103 "The Rook and the Birds", H. 199 ("The Ass and the Lionskin"; those archaic traces are in a reduced version), not-H. 37 (the fable of the rustic, Plutarch comes from the model of Phaedrus), not-H. 183 ("The Lion and Three Bulls", the traces are in a "Babrian" version) and not-H. 198 (the fable of the grateful lion, in which our appearances are more faithful transmitters of the ancient version than Phaedrus). As we see, there are various cases: we sometimes have the model or an approximation of the model of a preserved fable or of the whole tradition; and that model is sometimes Oriental, sometimes Greek.

At other times what our witnesses preserve is a parallel version to others of our tradition: it is difficult to fix the genealogy. This is the case of H. 12 "The Fox and the Leopard", H. 35 "The Man and the Satyr", H. 162 "The Wolf and the Goat", H. 254 "The Horse and the Hare", H. 285 "The Mule", not-H. 60 "The Ox and the Ass Ploughing", not-H. 114 "Zeus, the Animals and the Man", not-H. 141 "The Lark and the Farmer".

This approach to ancient models that the indirect tradition obtains for us is of variable fidelity. Sometimes it is a matter, rather, of allusions or else of prosaic echoes of the ancient fables; or of the fables appearing in distichs or in Latin versions not far from the original metre. Yet there are a few cases, which I have mentioned, that allow us to see it with a clarity that is, moreover, variable. In spite of everything, this approximation to the ancient models thus achieved is important.

5. *The New Fables of the Indirect Tradition*

After what has been stated so far, it will not appear strange that in the indirect tradition there also appear new fables not brought together in the collections. We have seen, indeed, that Archaic and Classical fables did not cross over to them (or, if they did cross over, they have not reached us); above, in this same chapter, I have mentioned fables of the Hellenistic Ages that also do not appear in the collections. Leaving aside the 4 to which I have just referred (p. 352*ff*), I list below fables of the Hellenistic and Roman Ages that are only found in the indirect tradition; I leave those of the Byzantine Age, which I consider elsewhere. It must be taken into account, on the other hand, that in the collections quite a number of fables must have been lost to us; some of those I list may be in them. We need only think of a fable such as "The Wild Ram and the Monkey", whose beginning we find in *PColon.* 64, which we did not recognize (and we still do not recognize, since it is immediately interrupted).

I must advise that the approach that I have followed to elaborate the series of not-H. fables (absent from Hausrath's AnF.) has been very broad, which is noted mainly in the fables that will follow (and, of course, in a series of them from the Archaic and Classical Ages). Passages are included in this series that may also be described as myths, anecdotes, etc. It is clear, of course, that not only the fables had metrical versions, but also the myths and other genres of didactic literature: this does not make a distinction. In summary, below I give a series of fables, in a broad sense, that are absent from the collections. Many show iambic metre of the Hellenistic type that we have already discussed; in one case, there is a different, choliambic metre. Here is the material in question (the documentation, as always, will be in Appendix II):

Not-H. 24 "The Man who Counted the Waves". Only in Lucian: the fox gives Cynic advice on life to a man who, depressed, was spending his time counting the waves. Significantly, the fable is attributed to Aesop and contains remnants of iambs:]ἄμεινον ποιήσαις | βίον τε κοινὸν ἅπασι [⏑ ⏑] ἐλπίζων | καὶ οὐκ αἰσχύνῃ [⏑ – ⏑] ἥνπερ εὖ φρονῇς.

Not-H. 28 "The Helicon and the Cithaeron". I list two versions with this beginning, in the Ps.-Plutarch, *De fluviis* and in Himerius (this

collected by Perry, 432), to which I have dedicated a more extensive work elsewhere.[6] The first passage is attributed by the Ps.-Plutarch to Hermesianax of Cyprus, a poet who lived in the second half of the 1st century AD; we do not know from which poet the second comes. In short, both certainly come from Corinna, who poetized the myth of the dispute of the Helicon and the Cithaeron, the two mountains of Boeotia. Yet they are different versions, both with iambic remnants:

a) Hermesianax:

⏒ –] ἀδελφοὶ τυγχάνοντες [– ⏒ ⏒
⏒ – ⏑ – ⏒] καὶ προσηνής, συμπαθῶς
ἐγηροβόσκει τοὺς γονεῖς· ὁ δὲ Κιθαιρών
⏒ – ⏑ –] ἐφόνευσε τὸν γεννήσαντα
⏒ – ⏑ – ⏒ – ⏑] Ἐρινύων μυχός
Μουσῶν [⏑ – ⏒ – ⏑] ἐνδιαίτημα.

b) Poet in Himerius (ἐν τοῖς Αἰσωπείοις ἀθύρμασιν):

⏒ – ⏑ – ⏒] ποῖ φέρεσθε, ὦ Νύμφαι;
Ὑμᾶς πονηρὸς οἶστρος ἐξέμηνέ τις; (mss. τίς οὗτος)
⏒ – ⏑ – ⏒ – ⏑ –] ξυμπαίστορας
νῦν τ' εἰσὶ καὶ ἀεί [⏑ – ⏒ – ⏒ ⏒
⏒ – ⏑ – ⏒ – ⏑ – ⏒] σκυθρωπῆς
προοίμιον τραγῳδίας γένηται [⏒

Not-H. 33 "Aphrodite and the Merchant". Only in Plutarch. It is an aetiology of a cult of Aphrodite on Samos, with clear choliambic remnants:

⏒ – ⏑ – ⏒ –] πελάγει κατασχούσης
διψῶσιν[ ]ἄλλοις ἐμπόροις καὶ ναυκλήροις
ὕδωρ πιπράσκων ἀργύριον[ ]συνήθροισεν.

Not-H. 57 "The Basilisk on the Eagle". Fabulization attributed to Aesop, only in Plutarch (allusion). Doubtful verse.

[6] "Más fragmentos nuevos de poesía griega antigua", *Homenaje a A. Barigazzi*, *Sileno* 10, 1984, pp. 1–10.

Not-H. 63 "The Priest of Cybele and the Lion". Story from the *AP* (from Simonides Personatus) that uses the misunderstanding of the name γάλλος given to the priests of Cybele and the lion's fear of the cock according to the fable (cf. H. 84, H. 292). It is, then, a secondary derivation: the lion flees from the priest of Cybele.

Not-H. 84 "Dionysus and the Grapes". The saying on the effects of successive goblets of wine that are drunk already mentioned by Panyasis in the 5th century, it is later the object of two different poetic elaborations. In the *Life of Aesop* it is attributed to Aesop, who affirms that those effects of the wine were granted by Dionysus, when he invented wine. The two elaborations referred to are:

a) Themes of the three goblets (of pleasure, of intoxication and of insolence), referred to by Panyasis and developed by Maximus the Confessor and Georgides, with an echo in the *Life of Aesop*:[7]

Ἡ δ' ἄμπελος τρεῖς βότρυας φέρει,
τὸν μὲν πρῶτον ἡδονῆς
τὸν δὲ δεύτερον μέθης (δέ Max. Conf.)
τὸν δὲ τρίτον ὕβρεως (δέ Max. Conf., *Vit. Aesop.*)

It is a metrical composition of the choral lyric type: an iambic pentapody followed by two lecythia and an acephalous glyconic or telesileum.

b) Theme of the four goblets: the one of madness is added. This version is attributed to Anacharsis by Stobaeus and Antonius Melissa, who transmit the text; and it is mentioned by Apuleius and Fulgentius:

Ἀνάχαρσις εἶπε, κιρναμένου κρατῆρος ἐφεστίου (ἔφη Stob.)
τὸν μὲν πρῶτον ὑγείας πίνεσθαι, τὸν δὲ δεύτερον ἡδονῆς (δέ om. Ant. Mel.)
τὸν δὲ τρίτον ὕβρεως, τὸν δὲ τελευταῖον μανίας.

It is easy to see that the two versions agree in v. 3 of this group (4 of the previous one), but that the second is a recent derivative. It has changed pleasure to health (undoubtedly, on the basis of a well-

[7] See my article cited in the previous note.

known scholium) and has added madness, unnecessarily. Also, starting from the final choriambic verse of a), preserved, as I have said, in v. 3, it has constructed the total in some rather strange choriambic verses: each verse with two choriambs, except for the third with three, all this based on derivatives from the choriambic dimeter and the glyconic. The total has been attributed to the mythical Scythian Anacharsis.

It is, then, a later version, from which derives the version by Eubulus (in Athenaeus II 36 D), whereas the first, alluded to, as I say, by Panyasis, may come from a choral lyric of the Classical Age (which perhaps already referred to Aesop, judging from its presence in the *Life*, the theme must have passed through Demetrius).

Not-H. 87 "The Fugitive". Anecdote only found in Plutarch, perhaps derived from not-H. 128 "The Old Horse". It lacks definite verse.

Not-H. 97 "The Festival and the Following Day". A fable only in Plutarch, of the type of the fables of *eris* or dispute; it is attributed to Themistocles, as is H. 185: it must come, certainly, from the same source. It shows traces of Hellenistic verse:]παρεσκευασμένων σχολάζοντες, σὺ οὐκ ἂν ἦσθα[,]ποῦ ἂν ἦτε νῦν ὑμεῖς;

Not-H. 105 "Eros among Men". Aetiological myth in Himerius relating to Eros and the creation of men by Zeus. It has verse:

῎Ακουε δὴ τὸν μῦθον. ῞Οτε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους
ὁ Ζεὺς ἐγέννησε [⏑ ⏑ – ⏓ – ⏓ ⏓
ὡς νῦν κεκόσμηνται, ῎Ερως δὲ ταῖς ψυχαῖς (οὔπω *delevi*)
⏓ – ⏑ – ⏓ –] θεοὺς μόνους ἐτόξευε
⏓ – ⏑ –] ποιημάτων τὸ κάλλιστον
῎Ερωτα πέμπει [– ⏑ – ⏓ – ⏓ ⏓
⏓ – ⏑ – ⏓ –] ἀπένειμε ποιμαίνειν (π. ἀ. mss.)
αὐτὸς δὲ τὰς θείας [⏑ – ⏓ – ⏓ ⏓
῞Οταν μὲν οὖν ἴδῃς βραδύν τε τὴν φύσιν (ἴ. τινα mss.)
νόησον εἶναι [– ⏑ –] ξένον ῎Ερωτος (ν. τοῦτον . . . τοῦ ῎Ε. mss.)

Not-H. 138 "The Cuckoo and the Birds". Fable only found in Plutarch, attributed to Aesop: the theme of the hawk's chick, which, when it grows, will become a hawk, is ancient, but we can see no remnants of verse.

Not-H. 151 "The Dog's House". Again only in Plutarch. Aesop's dog—it says—thought of building a house on the winter, but in the summer did not do it: There is no clear verse (it is, like the previous one, a quick allusion). It is a Cynic fable, against idleness.

Not-H. 192 "The Wolf and the Ass". This very long rhetorizing fable from the *Anonyma Progymnasmata* is a new creation, certainly, starting from H. 160, on the theme of the useless efforts of the innocent weak to survive. Although not explicit, the theme of the wolf confessor already appears.

Not-H. 194 "The Wolf and the Shepherds". A short fable in Plutarch, without clear traces of verse, on the bad, in whose innocence nobody believes, and the hypocrisy of the false innocent. A cynic theme, undoubtedly.

Not-H. 210 "The Mouse and the Oyster". Fable from Antiphilus in the *AP*: the gluttonous mouse is captured and killed by the oyster. Cynic theme.

Not-H. 215 "The Fool and the Sieve". A short prosaic allusion in Galen to a fable against ἄνοια.

Not-H. 224 "The Young Man and the Mad Horse". An anecdote, in Lucian, of the young man who went "where it (the horse) wanted": a Cynic symbol of those who allow themselves to be carried away by passions. Prose.

Not-H. 229 "Give Vine to the Ass too". Anecdote on the death of Philemon, in Diogenes Laertius, Valerius Maximus and Lucian. Prose.

Not-H. 231 "The Ass and the Viper". Theme of the immortality of the snake (from Aelian, previously in Ibycus and others; it develops a motif of *Gilgamesh*).

Not-H. 235 "The Shadow of the Ass". An anecdote of Demosthenes in Plutarch, similar to that of Demades in H. 63: it criticizes frivolity. It contains remnants of verse. We can reconstruct:

νεανίας ὥρᾳ θέρους [⏓ – ⏓ ⏓ (mss. ν., ἔφη, θ. ὥ.)
ὄνον Μέγαράδε [– ⏑ – ⏓ – ⏓ ⏓
ἑκάτερος αὐτῶν ὑποδύεσθαι ἐβούλετο (mss. ἑ. ὑ.)
ὑπὸ τὴν σκιάν [⏓ – ⏑ – ⏓ – ⏓ ⏓
εἶθ' ὑπὲρ ὄνου σκιᾶς ἀκούειν βούλεσθε (mss. ἔφη β. ἀ.)
⏓ – ⏑ – ⏓] πραγμάτων οὐ βούλεσθε;

Not-H. 238 "The Eyes and the Mouth". A fable probably derived from H. 132, which is found in Dio Chrysostom with doubtful verse. Plutarch, Stobaeus and Maximus Confessor are an allusion to the fable (or, perhaps, to the belief about honey that underlies it).

Not-H. 245 "The Privilege of Bereavement". An aetiology only found in Plutarch; Bereavement demands tears. It does not seem to contain remnants of verse.

Not-H. 248 "The Shepherd and the Butcher". Theme of the evil man: the lamb trusts the shepherd and not the butcher. Only in Maximus Tyrius, with remnants of verse:

⏓ – ⏑ – ⏓ – ⏑ –] κοινὴν ὁδόν
⏓ – ⏑ –] ἄρν' εὐτραφῆ πλανώμενον
⏓ – ⏑ – ⏓] αὐτά, τὴν ἀμφοῖν τέχνην,
φέρων ἑαυτὸν ἐπιτρέπει τῷ ποιμένι

Not-H. 254 "Prometheus Creating Men". When creating men, Prometheus modelled the clay not with water, but with blood, says the fable by Themistius (there is a close allusion to Suetonius). It is a Cynic-Stoic theme. Themistius preserves remnants of verse:

⏓ –] ἐφύρασεν ὕδατι, ἀλλὰ δακρύοις
⏓ – ⏑ ⏑] αὐτὰ πειρᾶσθαι χρεών,
ἀμήχανον γάρ, ἀλλ' [⏑ – ⏓ – ⏓ ⏓
ταύτην γὰρ εὐμενῶς προσίεται [– ⏓ ⏓

Not-H. 277 "The Moon and her Mother". A pretty fable that presents the Moon as an example of inconstancy. Only found in Plutarch, it preserves important remnants of verse:

τοῖς μὲν σοφοῖς, ἔφη, μέτρον ὁ νόμος ἔδωκε (Plu. δέδωκε)
ἡ δ' εἶπε· καὶ πῶς σύμμετρον [⏑ ⏓ ⏑] ὑφήνω;
Νῦν μὲν γὰρ ὁρῶ σε πανσέληνον [– ⏓ ⏓

Not-H. 307 "The Lice and the Farmer". A small fable of the lice and the farmer in Appian: unable to rid it of them, he burns his tunic. It is the theme of the bad man. Perhaps there are remnants of verse:

Φθεῖρες γεωργὸν ἀροτριῶντα ὑπέδακνον

and traces of three others.

As we have been able to observe, among the twenty-four fables that I have listed, there are some of the most diverse types: *agones* and debates, anecdotes, aetiologies; the structures also correspond to the known ones, as, with one exception, does the metre, when remnants of it have been preserved. Two at least of these fables, not-H. 28 and not-H. 84, come from the Classical Age; others are clearly derived from known fables, others are new. Together with various themes, those of a Cynic or moralistic character dominate. I add anecdotes or fables on the theme of the miser in *AP* IX 52, and 391, XI 169 and 264 (cf. O. Weinreich "Zu antiken Epigrammen und einer Fabel des Syntipas", *Mélanges H. Gregoire*, III, Brussels, 1952, pp. 417 ff.).

III. *The Exemplum-Fable in the Hellenistic Roman Ages: Studies by Authors*

From what has been stated so far, we can detect the interest that the indirect tradition of Hellenistic and Roman Ages clearly has for the study of the fable; I have added some paroemiographers of the Byzantine Age. Though there are many deficiencies in the transmission—sometimes citation either quoted from memory or abbreviated or transformed into similes or mere allusions—it is clear that this tradition contributes to the knowledge of the fables of the collections, which it transmits in often more archaic phases. And that it adds new fables. All this knowledge refers both to the fables of Archaic or Classical origin and to those that are properly Hellenistic, either derived or newly invented. Among them, the Cynic and mor-

alizing ones are especially well represented in the indirect tradition. And, although the verse has been destroyed, it is in fact to the Hellenistic fables in verse that the later Hellenistic, Roman and Greek authors had access. Often the data that they contribute enable us to know the verse of those we already knew better. And they add new versions in verse.

We have seen that the authors to whom we are referring had access sometimes to models from which the whole tradition comes, sometimes to models for those we have called types 1 and 2, sometimes to others (to that of the Rylands Papyrus, to the reduced versions known by Aphthonius, to various isolated cases). The same author, such as Diodorus of Sicily, may know fables of the two lines mentioned (1 for H. 31, 2 for H. 145); likewise Doxopater (1 for H. 136, 2 for H. 31). The two lines are sometimes found in different authors: 1 for H. 136 in Theon and Doxopater, 2 in Epiphanius.

I think, conclusively, that to a large extent the references to fables in the various authors come from the existing collections. Not all, perhaps: I have already said that many are mere allusions or references to the theme, that others show all the traces of oral transmission. Even in this case, the last source must generally have been in the collections. With the exception already mentioned of the Hellenistic Age.

The list of fables of the indirect tradition during the course of this chapter clearly shows the great diffusion of the genre. Leaving aside the Hellenistic authors mentioned on p. 364 (among whom and those listed here there is sometimes not a clearcut distinction), during the course of the chapter I have mentioned exactly 66 authors or collections (such as the *AP*, with various authors). As regards Greek authors until the birth of Christ, more or less, we must cite Menander, Theocritus, Cercidas, the Pseudo-Callisthenes, Philodemus, Demetrius, various authors of the *AP*, Diodorus. On the other hand, the early and important introduction of the fable in Rome is significant: Ennius, Lucilius, Plautus, Terence, Catullus, Varro, Cicero, Horace, Ovid, Livy and some later authors. They often had access to very ancient versions of the fables. Yet the largest core is in the Greek authors of the Imperial Age, among whom Plutarch (31 fables) and Lucian (19) occupy the position of honour, also being important, among others, and not so much for the number as for the archaism of the fables they transmit, authors such as Themistius, Libanius, Maximus Tyrius, Aelian and Dio Chrysostom. Then come the paroemiographers

and commentators of the Byzantine Age: I will leave separate the new Byzantine fable.

We can guess something about the fabulistic sources of the various authors, which must not have been the only ones for each one, and in some cases it is very clear that they were not.

Horace (7 fables) provides some very ancient fabulistic material, without belonging to a precise collection nor systematic agreement of the quotations with other authors. The archaism of the fables of Libanius (3) and of those of Aelian (7) is also significant. In two cases (H. 185 and H. 191), the latter used a collection also handled by Plutarch: a secondary source that referred some fables to Themistocles and to Thales (cf. also H. 40, H. 235, not-H. 37, not-H. 97, etc.); it was perhaps a collection of anecdotes or χρεῖαι: cf. p. 151, on Phaedrus and this collection. He handled material that was undoubtedly dispersed, as in the case of the fable of the grateful lion (not-H. 198): material which in this case was also going to end up in Phaedrus.

I wish to make a very special reference to Themistius, who had access to both archaic versions (H. 46) and to the "reduced versions" that he had in common with Aphthonius (H. 287, not-H. 183) and come from an Imperial collection to which I have already referred (cf. p. 252).

Two especially important cases are those of Lucian and Plutarch. The former very rarely presents fables in verse (but cf. not-H. 24). He gives the impression that he mostly cites from memory, although he sometimes refers to fables of a specific, even archaic line, and to new fables. A few fables of his agree with those of other authors (H. 191 in Aelian and Plutarch, not-H. 229 in Diogenes Laertius and Valerius Maximus). All this points to a multiplicity of sources, general cited not very literally.

The case of Plutarch is, in fact, different: together with a series of fables cited in allusion or in reduced versions in prose, which reveal knowledge along an oral route or from memory, there are many fables in which this author follows step by step the poetic or semiprosified originals, of which he preserves the verse to a large extent. Sometimes these originals reveal a more archaic line than that of the collections and also frequently offer new fables.

The sources must have been very mixed: from a single line, from line 2 and these others, when it is possible to express an opinion. I have already said that, among others, he handled a collection that Aelian also knew. Another marginal source is that which procures

fables for him that, outside of here, are only in the ms. F. (H. 290, H. 291); a collection also known by Achilles Tatius and the *Life of Aesop* previously. Yet above all the presence is significant in Plutarch of fables that, outside of him, are mainly found in Phaedrus. I have already indicated them in Vol. I, p. 531 and I also concerned myself with this question[8] in this same Vol., pp. 149 ff. I have occasionally made it clear that the model reconstructable through Plutarch is older than Phaedrus, who reaches the point of altering it significantly: this is the case when he attributes to Aesop the anecdote of Thales in Plutarch on the semi-animal children of the shepherds. This must also be true in the less clear cases. Moreover, I have already placed on record that it is not certain that these fables all come from the same collection, as the last may come—along with other fables by Phaedrus—from a collection of Cynic anecdotes, as I have already indicated.

Thus, and to sum up, the indirect tradition confirms the existence of the versions that we have already more or less partially reconstructed, as well as of other more archaic ones and of small marginal collections that sometimes (as in the case of the fables incorporated in the ms. F) reached the Byzantine Age. Very diverse authors knew them. If Plutarch, for example, sometimes agrees with Aelian, at others with Phaedrus, he may at the same time agree with Phaedrus and Diogenes Laertius or with Maximus Tyrius and other authors; also, of course, with the line 1 of AnF. I, Phaedrus, etc. And there are important remnants of verse in authors such as Himerius, Maximus Tyrius, Sextus Empiricus and many others, in addition to those mentioned.

Nothing is more mistaken, then, than Perry's idea[9] that the presence of a fable in authors of the Roman Age demonstrates their existence in Demetrius Phalereus. The verses, the Cynic elements, the derivative character of some fables, etc., are decisively against this view: we are just dealing with the continuation of the versified fable with Cynic tendencies and its prosifications. In the indirect tradition there may be elements that are absent from the collections (generally from later) and of course vice versa: this is normal. We are dealing, in short, with the same tradition with countless ramifications. All the data is useful in helping us to reconstruct it.

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8 Cf. Perry, "Demetrius of Phalerum . . .", p. 321.

9 Cf. Vol. I, pp. 478 ff.

Supplement to Part Two, Chapter Seven

For the fables of the *Life of Aesop*, I refer the reader to what was stated in this volume, pp. 75 ff.; cf. also:

S. MERKLE, "Die Fabel von Frosch und Maus. Zur Funktion der λόγοι im Delphi-Teil des Äsop-Romans", in: N. HOLZBERG, (ed.), *Der Äsop-Roman. Motivgeschichte und Erzahlstruktur*, Tübingen: Narr 1992, pp. 110–127;
P. VON MÖLLENDORFF, "Die Fabel von Adler und Mistkäfer im Äsoproman", *RhM* 137, 1994, pp. 141–161;
G.-J. VAN DIJK, "The Fables in the Greek *Life of Aesop*", *Reinardus* 8, 1995, pp. 131–150;
G.-J. VAN DIJK, "The Function of Fables in Graeco-Roman Romance", *Mnemosyne* 49, 1996, pp. 513–541.

For the dactylics, I refer the reader to my work already mentioned "De la fábula griega a la fábula latina en dísticos elegiacos", in *La favolistica latina in distici elegiaci*, Assisi 1991, pp. 27–43, from where I have drawn some material for Vol. III of this work, *Inventory and Documentation of the Graeco-Latin Fable.*

On the *Life of Aesop* in general, a new bibliography exists:

N. HOLZBERG, *Der Äsop-Roman*, Tübingen: Narr 1992;
by the same author, *Die antike Fabel. Eine Einführung*, Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft 1993, pp. 80 ff.;
J.-Th. PAPADEMETRIOU, *Aesop as an Archetypical Hero*, Athens: Hellenic Society for Humanistic Studies 1997 (subsequent influence, on ideas already anticipated by me);
new edition of F. FERRARI, Milan 1997 (see my review in *Emerita* 66, 1998, pp. 187 f.).

As regards II *(The exemplum-fable)*, in Vol. III of this work, new exemplum-fables from the Roman Age and new documentation (very abundant) for already known fables can be found in various authors, all of this mostly coming from Van Dijk (who is preparing a new book on the fables in this period, as a continuation of his *Ainoi, Logoi, Mythoi. Fables in Archaic, Classical, and Hellenistic Greek Literature*, Leiden: Brill 1997), sometimes from my own work. I refer the reader once again to my articles "Más fragmentos nuevos . . .", 1984 and "Nuevos testimonios papiráceos de fábulas esópicas", 1999, also used in this *Inventory.*

The fables included in it, coming from other articles of mine already cited ("Documentación suplementaria . . .", 1990, "Fábula y cuento popular . . .", 1991 and "Literatura sapiencial . . ." 1993) may be from the Roman Age, also from the Hellenistic Age. And likewise fables referred to in another article, "Siria cruce de caminos . . .", 1983, also already cited.

For the exemplum-fables of the Roman Age, there is a further bibliography:

M. J. LUZZATTO, "Plutarco, Socrate e l'Esopo di Delfi", *ICS* 13.2, 1988, pp. 427–445.
C. DELHAY, "Achille Tatius fabuliste", *Pallas* 36, 1990, pp. 117–131.
M. HOEFMANS, "De speech van Menenius Agrippa, Livius, AUC II, 32, 8–12", *Kleio* 22, 1992–1993, pp. 23–35.

G.-J. VAN DIJK, "Intertextualiteit in de Griekse literatuur. De functie van een fabel van Aeschylus tot Eustathius", *Kleio* 22, 1993, pp. 141–155.
G.-J. VAN DIJK, "Fables in Ancient Historiography. I (text)", *Bestia* 5, 1993, pp. 27–42.
G.-J. VAN DIJK, "Fables in Ancient Historiography. II (notes)", *Bestia* 6, 1994, pp. 118–135.
G.-J. VAN DIJK, "The Lion and the He-Goat. A New Fable in Procopius", *Hermes* 122, 1994, pp. 376–379.
GARCIA GUAL, C., "Esopo en Plutarco", in M. García Valdés, *Estudios sobre Plutarco*. Madrid 1994, pp. 605–614.
F. R. ADRADOS, "Géneros helenísticos en el Banquete de los Siete Sabios de Plutarco", in *Estudios sobre Plutarco*, Salamanca 1996, pp. 125–142.
G.-J. VAN DIJK, "The Function of Fables in Graeco-Roman Romance", *Mnemosyne* 49, 1996, pp. 313–341.
G.-J. VAN DIJK, "Esopo, Plutarco, Platón y Aristóteles. La función de la fábula y el arte de la alusión", in Pérez Jiménez, A. – García López, J. – Aguilar, R. M. (eds.), *Plutarco, Platón y Aristóteles. Actas del V Congreso Internacional de la International Plutarch Society, Madrid-Cuenca, 4–7 de mayo 1999*, Madrid: Ediciones Clásicas 1999, pp. 141–156.

PART THREE

THE FABLE IN THE MIDDLE AGES

CHAPTER ONE

THE FABLES OF THE CODEX BRANCACCIANUS

I. *General Remarks*

In Vol. I, p. 129 we referred to the 14 fables of this codex, published by Sbordone in his article of 1932.[1] We described them as rhetorical and pompous and this so, at least in general terms. In his article cited, Sbordone reviewed the characteristics of vocabulary and style of these fables and described them as highly poeticizing and skilful. He emphasized rightly, on the other hand, that the epimythia of these fables, which frequently include the apostrophe "oh boy" and are new, characteristic of the collection, demonstrate that the fables were devoted to teaching. And he indicates that most of the fables of this collection offer the customary exempla of the *Progymnasmata* of the rhetoricians.

All this justifies the qualification of these fables as "rhetorical", given by Sbordone and myself in the treatment which I devote to them in Vol. I together with those of Aphthonius and others. In fact, the characteristics that I have described so far suggest the idea of an origin in the 5th century AD, within the poeticizing current of rhetoric, in contrast to the more Atticist one of Aphthonius. If it is added that in general terms they belong to the type of "short" fables and that occasionally, as we have seen, they are parallel (more or less closely related, that is another question) to the short fables of the Pseudo-Dositheus and Aphthonius, one may propose, in a second stage, the idea that fundamentally they belong to the same type of rhetorical abbreviated fables for use in teaching which, on the basis of previous precedents, flourished starting from the 2nd century AD. And it may even be thought that their sources may be the same.

However, things are not so simple. Together with the rhetorical and poeticizing fables, there are some that are much simpler; these

[1] "Recensioni retoriche delle favole esopiane", *RIGI* 16, 1932, pp. 35–68 (the edition on pp. 35–38).

are usually shorter, the others sometimes add small flourishes. On the other hand, there are three fables of the Brancaccianus in iambic verses; and iambic verses of the same type are found as the epimythia of various others. I say "of the same type" because we must discard the temptation to see Hellenistic verse preserved in these trimetres. The fact is that: a) these trimetres always have twelve syllables, that is to say, there is no substitution of feet of three syllables; b) they have the accent on the penultimate; c) they contain metrical errors. If we add all this, only one conclusion is possible: these are pseudo-iambic verses that attempt (not always successfully) to introduce the quantitative schemes of the ancient iambic trimetre into a verse which is, moreover, the *politicus* Byzantine dodecasyllable. That is to say, there is a mixture of fables that in form at least are Byzantine. It is, in short, a mixed collection.

The only attempt made to date, as far as I know, to place these fables within the fabulistic tradition in general is that of Sbordone in the article cited. He considers, using certain agreements to support his argument, that "they were modelled on a codex belonging to Chambry's second class" (that is, to II or the Vindobonensis), specifically, a codex similar to Mh (Hausrath's codex W, of the class IIIδ). Of course, for him this idea did not have the inconveniences that it has for us: based on Hausrath's ideas, Sbordone still thought that the Vindobonensis (in which he already includes IIIδ) was an ancient, "popular" collection, when we know that it is a collection from the first Byzantine Age.

It is not credible that fables of our codex, with poeticizing and rhetorical language, sometimes closely linked to those of the Pseudo-Dositheus and Aphthonius, come from a Byzantine collection of rather vulgar language and style. The study of the *stemmata* will show this. The agreements that Sbordone indicates must be explained in another way. For example, we have seen that Aphthonius entered certain mss. and collections of the Anonymous Fables and also certain paraphrases and dodecasyllables: the same may have happened to our fables. Neither can the idea be ruled out that the lessons common to AnF. II (or IIIδ) and to Branc. come from lost ancient models. However, we must also indicate that some fables of Branc. may, indeed, come from Byzantine models: we have already indicated the recent character of the fables in verse. We will see that in the case of those in prose the influence of the AnF. (the different collections, depending on the case) on ours is palpable.

Everything indicates, then, that we are dealing with a mixed collection. In short, a detailed analysis, fable by fable, is required.

II. *Analysis of the Fables*

1. *Fables in Common with the Pseudo-Dositheus and Aphthonius*

Six of the fourteen fables of our codex are also in the other rhetorical collections we have studied: either in that of Aphthonius or in that of the Pseudo-Dositheus, or in both; and these and others are frequent, as we have just said, in the exempla from fables used by various rhetoricians.

All this, as we have just said, suggests the hypothesis that Branc. works with the collection of "short" fables that we have been discussing: that it is a derivative, at least partially, from that same source. This hypothesis is only confirmed to a certain extent. If we saw that the other collections were sometimes independent of this source, this is more so. On the other hand, the same stylistic deformation to which it has subjected its models, whether secondary or tertiary, or even primary, makes them difficult to recognize. It is, in this case, the range of themes, rather than the metrical remnants, that can offer us an orientation.

Branc. 2 (= H. 2, Aphthonius 9). We have dealt with "The Eagle, the Rook and the Shepherd" above, cf. pp. 55 and 242. We have seen that from a secondary metrical version, a summary that cuts out the ending, derive Aphthonius, Branc. and the Syriac versions. Yet in fact Aphthonius and Branc. agree almost exactly; there are a couple of variations of the ones customary in the transmission of a text. I think that Branc. simply copied the fable of Aphthonius, as did various rhetoricians and various mss. of the AnF. with others, as we have seen; just as Branc. copied other fables, as we will see.

Branc. 4 (= H. 136, Aphthonius 35) "The Dog that Carried a Piece of Meat". Also in this case we have seen, cf. p. 71, the intimate relationship between Aphthonius and Branc., with both depending on a secondary version to which, among others, the Pseudo-Dositheus belongs. We discussed the independence of this and Aphthonius. The relationship between Aphthonius and Branc. is not very clear:

Aphthonius summarized much more, Branc. has clear metrical elements that relate it to the primary one, particularly the ending Ὁ μὲν κατεῖχε κρέας [εὐθὺς] ἀπώλεσ' ἐμπεσών. It could be thought that they are independent witnesses of the secondary version, with a contamination of one by the other (the theme of the dog that walked "along the river"). On the other hand, Branc. clearly contaminates with AnF.: κρέας ἔχων (instead of φέρουσα), ῥεῦμα τοῦ ποταμοῦ (cf. AnF. II), ὅτι οὐδὲ ἦν ἀληθές (I διότι μηδὲν ἦν, II διότι οὐδὲν ἦν).

That is to say, in short: Branc. comes, indeed, from a secondary model, which it rhetorized at the same time as it contaminated it with Aphthonius and with AnF. I: it knew both texts, as we have seen and will see.

Branc. 6 (= H. 155, Ps-Dos. 2) "The Lion and the Mouse". We have already said (p. 222) that in the Pseudo-Dositheus and Branc. we find two summaries of the primary version, with indirect style and the ending eliminated. The truth is that their composition is independent, they may both come from the metrical summary (complementary verse) or independently from the primary version.

Branc. 14 (= H. 114, Pseudo-Dositheus 17, Aphthonius 1) "The Cicada and the Ant". Leaving aside the Pseudo-Dositheus, which, as we already know, is a prosification of the Pseudo-Babrius, we have seen (pp. 66 ff.) that there is a secondary derivation in Aphthonius, Branc. (and possibly in Theophylactus and Doxopater).

Indeed, in all these versions the order of narration is reversed: there is talk first of the summer—the ant works, the cicada sings—then the winter—the cicada pleads, the ant mocks. AnF. I, in which the beetle replaces the ant, must come from that model; it possibly had verse, preserved in Aphthonius. Yet each version (including that of Branc., poeticizing and with dialogue) is independent.

Branc. 8 (= H. 126, Pseudo-Dositheus 9, Aphthonius 29) "The crow and the Fox". We have seen (cf. pp. 225 and 241) that the Pseudo-Dositheus and Aphthonius present secondary derivations that help us to reconstruct the verse of the primary one (Pseudo-Dositheus perhaps shows remodelled verse), but that are independent. Thus, for example, Aphthonius has a final closing statement, the Pseudo-Dositheus has lost it; and the composition varies considerably, although

in both there are elements from before AnF. I. The same happens with Branc., which presents similar ancient remnants, a closing statement that is close to that of AnF. II, Par., Dod., B. (not to that of AnF. I, continued by Aphthonius) and an independent version. It is not at all certain that there is a common model for these three versions, each of which prosifies the primary version in its own right, with different variants, moreover.

If this ending (imitated by Branc. in its iambs) is, as I believe, innovated with respect to that of AnF., there is perhaps a contamination.

Branc. 7 (= H. 161, Aphthonius 25) "The Wolf and the Heron". I have already said, on p. 244, that there are two primary versions in this fable, that of AnF. I and that of Par. Dod., Babrius, with Aphthonius coming from the first, of which it possesses complementary verse, and Branc. from the second. This continues to seem the most likely to us, although its ending is contaminated by Dod.: I also think the ending of Cas (it introduces the final dodecasyllable of Dod., ἐξῆρας κάραν σώαν μηδὲν παθοῦσαν, slightly altered in Branc.). It does not seem acceptable that the fable of Branc. derives precisely from those manuscripts, as Sbordone proposes.

As we see, our codex had access to ancient versions of the fables, primary or secondary, sometimes the same ones that Pseudo-Dositheus or Aphthonius knew. Yet it worked on them independently. And at the time it knew Aphthonius, the various collections of the Anonymous Fables and the dodecasyllables, which it sometimes copied or contaminated with its main source. The collection of short fables to which we have referred, an ancient collection, has been used by him in short measure and with many liberties. And it has given the work as a whole a Byzantine tinge. The iambic epimythia confirm this.

2. *Fables Not in the Pseudo-Dositheus and Aphthonius*

This impression is accentuated by studying the other fables, those not in the other two ancient rhetorical collections. Let us analyze them one by one, following the order of the codex.

Branc. 1 (= H. 71 "The Cat and the Hens"). This fable has two lines of verse that modify the same model. It is a summary closely related to the line of Babrius, Par., Dod., with its elimination of the

beginning preserved in AnF. I (αἴλουρος ὡς ἤκουσε) and its preservation of the direct style (πῶς ἔχεις;), but the ending follows AnF. I, not this line. That is to say, it is an independent summary of the single primary model. More or less, as in other fables seen. Yet this is not the case in some others that follow.

Branc. 3 (= H. 254) "The Tortoise and the Hare". Of the two lines with primary verse that we know of this fable (of which there is also an independent version in Libanius), Branc. belongs to that of AnF. I and Syr., a short fable with the theme of the *eris*. Yet there is no proof that it derives from the model for this line: it does not give any metrical traces, whereas there are some in I (cf. p. 105). It would not be strange for Branc. to have restricted itself to modifying the original of the Augustana slightly, adding three iambic verses.

Branc. 5 (= H. 10) "The Fox that had Never Seen a Lion". Traces of the existing single primary model remain in AnF. I, II and III. The version of Branc. is practically the same, particularly as II, from which it certainly derives (unless we believe that it dates back to the model: there is no data to support this).

Branc. 9 (= H. 89) "The Hen of the Golden Eggs". Here there is a single primary line, likewise reconstructable above all through AnF. I, II, Par., Dod. 1, Babrius and Syntipas. Dod. 2, Branc. and *Tetr.* (Ignatius the Deacon), though belonging conclusively to this line, have a special relationship with each other. Branc. presents an iambic version identical to that of *Tetr.*, except for minor textual differences and the fact that it adds a fifth verse: it is undoubtedly a derivative. Sbordone believes that this version (he talks of Branc., as he does not know that of *Tetr.*) comes from Mh (our Dod. 2), which offers a similar version in only six verses and—Sbordone does not see the difference—in *politici* dodecasyllables. The truth is that there are two possible interpretations: that a version in dodecasyllables may, on one hand, have crossed over to Mh and, on the other, may have provided the model for Ignatius the Deacon (and the latter for Branc.); or that the dodecasyllables of Mh depend on Branc.

Branc. 10 (= H. 100) "The Kid on a Roof and the Wolf". Here too there is a single model. I believe that the version of Branc. clearly

comes from AnF. I, the Augustana, or its model. It does no more than introduce some expansions in its text:

> αἰπεινοτάτου καὶ ὑψηλοτάτου, καὶ τὴν πορείαν ἐντεῦθεν ποιούμενος, καὶ ὠμὸν ἀπεκάλει καὶ αἱμοβόρον, ἐν ᾧ ἵστασι.

It proves significant that Branc. has collected the version of Mk Mh.; and also that it has been slightly modified in the Trivultianus ms. (classified as Ib), where, instead of ἔριφος, it says ἀρνός (!), instead of δῶμα, πύργος. It also introduces a ἔσκωπτε, which, surprisingly, is also in AnF. III: perhaps it is a contamination. All this reflects the ambiguous relations between Branc. and the ancient and medieval versions.

Branc. 11 (= H. 99) "The Kid and the Wolf Flute-player". Here too there is a single model which, in this case, apart from in our codex, is only reflected in AnF. I and III. Here too Branc. presents a derivative version: I believe from III, which like that one changes the gender of ἔριφος, which it makes feminine (against the metre).

Branc. 12 (= H. 284 IIIγ) "The Man who Broke an Image". From the single model comes, on one side, a Babrius, on the other the group of versions of III, Par. and Dod.: we must note that III offers prosifications of the political dodecasyllables of Dod. As regards Branc., it has Byzantine iambs, with a few metrical errors. It is likely that it comes from Dod., with which it shows multiple agreements; but neither can it be ruled out that it derives from an ancient metrical, semiprosified model, since there exist certain agreements with Babrius (B. ξύλινόν τις . . . εἶχε/Branc. θεὸν ξύλινον εἶχεν/Dod. III ξύλινον θεὸν ἔχων) and certain metrical elements that could be ancient. The hypothesis of a contamination is perhaps the most acceptable.

Branc. 13 (= not-H. 18) "The Fox and the Farmer". Only Branc. preserves this fable for us, undoubtedly derived, on one hand, from the theme of the fox and the grapes in the well-known fable, on the other, from the theme of the harmful animal that apologizes in vain (cf. not-H. 62 = Babrius 27 "The Captured Weasel"). Indeed, the fox, who eats up the grapes from the vineyard in the night, says to the farmer who has hunted him that all he is doing is protecting it

from harmful animals (cf. also H. 235, by Archilochus). The fable, in short, must have an ancient tradition, but in Branc., the only source, it appears in the Byzantine iambs that we have discussed. We cannot offer any hypothesis on the sources.

III. *Conclusions*

The collection of fables of the Codex Brancaccianus is clearly a Byzantine collection. Its author had access to the Augustana and the other anonymous collections, as well as the fables of Aphthonius and Ignatius the Deacon. He also knew the fables in political dodecasyllables. He sometimes copied or adapted this material, sometimes used it to contaminate his other sources.

These other sources are ancient fables derived from the tradition of ancient semiprosified fables: sometimes from primary versions, sometimes secondary; among them, some abbreviated versions also known by Aphthonius and the Pseudo-Dositheus. On this basis, a rhetorician had created a small collection at the end of Antiquity, moreover, proceeding in an independent manner. Although he tended towards the short fable, he introduced minor expansions to give colouring to the fable, adorning it with a poeticizing and rhetorical vocabulary and style.

There are a few fables that formed, so to speak, the core of the collection by the rhetorician of the Brancaccianus. He even reached the point of contaminating the fables of the core and providing them with epimythia in Byzantine iambs; and he added the other fables taken from the sources that we have discussed.

On the other hand, the different fables of this collection, whatever their origin, did not fail to be influenced particularly by certain manuscripts of IIIδ, and by the *politici* dodecasyllables.

As regards the date of the definitive writer of the fables of the codex, this is given by the antiquity of some of its models. While the core, for reasons already stated, must belong to the end of Antiquity and have used semiprosified versions that were later lost, the last writer has as *terminus post quem* the 9th century AD: his imitation of Ignatius the Deacon and of the collection AnF. IIIδ and the dodecasyllables is evidence of this.

CHAPTER TWO

THE SYRIAC FABLES

I. *General Remarks*

We call Syriac fables as a group both those that have been preserved for us in this language, which we use following the translation by Sister Bruno Lefèvre, and those of the so-called Syntipas, translated into Greek by Manuel Andreopulos in the 11th century AD, and which we study following Hausrath's edition. We use the following abbreviations: Synt. = Syntipas, Syr. = Syriac fables by Sister Lefèvre, Sy. = group of both. Within Syr., we may distinguish between the three collections using the same symbolism as the translator: the Roman numbers indicate collection 1, the Arab ones 2, the Roman ones in italics 3.

In general terms, all these fables come from the same originals, which are Greek originals from the end of Antiquity. We gave an initial overview of them in Vol. I, pp. 132 ff. Restricting ourselves now to the fables themselves and not to their origin, we must indicate that it is quite normal for the fables to appear at the same time in both lines of the tradition, but there are some that are in Synt. and absent from Syr., and vice versa; within these last fables, the presence is rare of a fable in all three collections (the last only has 10): they are normally in two or one. It seems clear that the different manuscripts of Syriac fables selected in different ways from within the common source. On the other hand, the fact is that this tradition is insufficiently published. A collection derived from the same sources, but which transcribes the Syriac into Hebrew characters, adds a fable, "The Dogs"; and particularly, the Arab collections of fables attributed to Loqman, which also come from this same tradition, are for the most part unpublished. Thus, in short, the fact that a fable is in such and such a collection of Syr. or in all Syr. or in Synt. does not say anything against its ancient membership of the whole of this tradition.[1]

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[1] For the inventory of this in its various lines of transmission, see the "Avant-propos" of the ed. by Sister Lefèvre.

In our cited passage of Vol. I of this work, we said something on the proposals of Sister Lefèvre and Perry regarding the origin of the Syr. collection. We have already seen that these proposals were totally inadequate, due to the state of the knowledge of the fable in the times in which they were made. Later, in this same Vol., pp. 316 ff., we presented the essential data on the problem and a programme for research into it. We advanced, since in general terms it is to the AnF. that the Syriacs are closest, but we did not hide that their situation within this tradition is problematic: that fables of the Syriac versions are sometimes absent from AnF., that there are some that are only known through these. All this may of course create difficulties for our understanding of the ancient tradition of the fable (sometimes resolvable by simply accepting secondary losses in AnF. or elsewhere), but it may also be a good point of support for our better knowledge of it.

The first thing required is a rough classification of the material. A first group consists of those Syriac fables that are in the Anonymous Fables and also appear elsewhere: this does not offer decisive information yet on their situation in the *stemma*, but it gives a basis. A Syriac fable can, in principle, come from one of our versions of the Anonymous Fables (in some of the examples we may choose between I, II and III, in others only III exists), or else from their original source or from some stage of this that is reconstructed with its help. A second group is that of the fables only transmitted in the Syriacs (Syr.) or one of their branches and, also, in the Anonymous Fables: when there is no third appearance, it is difficult to decide on the *stemma*, the differences may sometimes be attributed to archaism, sometimes to innovation, although sometimes there are criteria to enable us to decide. Clearly, the difference in documentation between this group and the previous one may just be due to secondary losses. There follows the third group: fables that are in Sy. (or Synt. or Syr.) and outside of the Anonymous Fables. And the fourth: fables only transmitted in Sy. (or Synt. or Syr.). We must observe that when we do not go into the detail of the transmission within the Syriac tradition, we only speak of Sy.

Below we give the classification of the Syriac fables in these four groups. We cite them by their number in our first two Appendices (fables H. = in Hausrath and, therefore, in AnF.; and not-H., the opposite case). In the Appendices the details can be seen of the correspondences in Sy.

1. Fables in Sy., AnF. and another source or other sources: H. 1, 2, 7, 9, 11, 14, 46, 49, 51, 60, 62, 64, 76, 78, 87, 89, 100, 112, 114, 119, 132, 134, 136, 138, 139, 140, 143, 144, 145, 147, 148, 151, 155, 162, 169, 174, 181, 191, 205, 215, 219, 230, 242, 254, 255, 256, 258, 264, 266, 272, 274. Total, 51 fables. We may note some special cases: fables only in Ib (H. 264, 266), only in III, in one of its variants (H. 272, 274, or in the ms. M (H. 298), in two versions of the Anonymous Fables distanced from each other (H. 87: I, Ia; H. 100 and 114: I, Ib; H. 148: I, II; H. 143, 247: I, III).

2. Fables only in Sy. and AnF. (apart, sometimes, from the Classical model and from an independent appearance, *Vit. Aesop.*): H. 58, 59, 88, 121, 122, 194, 195, 206, 213, 217, 244, 247, 298. Total, 13 fables.

3. Fables in Sy. and outside of AnF.: not-H. 94, 96, 122, 155, 164, 182, 190, 246. Total, 8 fables.

4. Fables only in Sy.: not-H. 3, 25, 70, 81, 123, 136, 146, 147, 157, 208, 224, 242, 252, 253, 255, 292, 296. Total, 17 fables.

As can be seen, from a total of 89 Syriac fables, 70 per cent are also in AnF.; of them, only 20 per cent are absent from other collections. And of that 30 per cent that are absent from AnF., only a small proportion, between 20 and 25 per cent, are also in other collections: the other fables are exclusive to the Syriac collections. We need to see whether this is the result of the insufficient transmission of the ancient fable or they are creations of these collections or their Greek antecedents.

II. *Fables that are in the Syriac Collections and in the Anonymous Fables*

Initially, we will approach the problem of the list of Sy. and AnF. where we have more data to attempt to resolve it: in the fables in which there are also other appearances, that is to say, those of group 1. We must observe that, in principle, we consider all Sy. as a block, whatever its representative is: all the collections, or Synt. or Syr. (and, in this case, whatever its manuscript tradition). At most, we can indicate in passing occasional discrepancies within Sy.: we will leave the study of the problem as a whole for later on.

We have already indicated what the question is: Does Sy. derive from one of the collections of AnF. I or another, in the form that it has been preserved for us? Or does it derive from a form

not preserved, related to this tradition and, then, from which?

The study must be conducted, of course, on the range of themes and composition, not on the metrical remnants, which have disappeared. However, at times the incompatibility of the text of Sy. with the metrical remnants preserved in AnF. or elsewhere implies either alteration or membership of another line. On the other hand, certain formulas, even in translation, reflect certain metrical schemes.

We will state our conclusions at the beginning, so that what follows may be understood better. They are these:

1. There are fables in which it is not feasible to decide between the two hypotheses.

2. Examples do not exist, as far as we know, to decisively impose the former hypothesis.

3. There are some that impose the latter: specifically, the fact that Sy. comes from an ancestor of our AnF. and, sometimes, from other versions. Later this is the conclusion that must be accepted with a general character, even for the fables of the group 2, not considered now, in which the decision between the two hypotheses, as we have said, is especially difficult. We must add that other fables do not come from AnF. nor from its source, but from other branches of the tradition. On the other hand, the problem does not finish here: we must attempt to specify the characteristics of the models in more detail.

The fables of type 1 in which it is not possible to decide between the two hypotheses—derivation starting from a fable of our collections of AnF. or starting from a lost one that is at its basis—are numerous, and we are not going to examine them one by one, but we will mention them, leaving the reader, with the help of Appendix I, to confirm our conclusions or not, as the case may be. Let us at least look at some examples. We must observe first that the epimythia are often changed (in all Sy. or in some of its branches) and that there are sometimes slight alterations in such and such a version of Sy. We do not make reference to all, but to some that could be significant. We use the usual headings for the fables: with the number H., the correspondences in the fables studied (Sy.) and the title.

H. 14 = Synt. 15, Syr. 75 "The Fox and the Monkey". Sy. is a summary independent from another that is in Babrius: it may come

from AnF., which depends on the primary version, or from this same one.

H. 64 = Synt. 56, Syr. 83 "The Man Bitten by a Dog". In this fable, with a single line derived from the primary one, S. is very closely related to AnF. (Phaedrus varies). The problem is that the advice that a man gives to one who was bitten goes in indirect style in I, in direct in Sy. and II, III: does Sy. come from one of these versions? Or from the model X, altered by AnF. I?

H. 78 = Syr. XLVI, 46 "The Stag". In this fable, from a single primary version, there are some small differences between AnF. I and III, with Sy. being closely related to the latter version: particularly, in III the lion is described as ἀγριωτάτῳ and Syr. talks of "cet animal vigoureux"; in III the beginning of the relative sentence is missing, as in Syr. (but there is no absolute agreement). Again the same double hypothesis is possible.

H. 134 = Synt. 33, Syr. 76 "The Dog and the Butcher". S. must have come from the model of AnF., since in both sources the beginning, which is preserved in Dod., is missing; it summarizes by eliminating some elements. Yet it may also come from one of the collections of AnF. (rather; from II or III, which have ὁ δὲ μάγειρος/I ὁ δέ).

H. 148 = Syr. *XLVI*, XXVIII, 63 "The Lion and the Bull". The invitation of the lion is in AnF. II in direct style and is more explicit than in I (in indirect style): its συνεστιαθῶμεν (metrical) is translated by Syr. Yet it is not necessary for it to come from that collection, it must have been in the model, since Dod. maintains it, even if varied: συνευφρανθῶμεν.

See more or less similar cases in H. 1, 2, 112, 155, 169, 254, 256.

Some observations are worth making on special cases. Although the examples we have given refer to primary versions (with or without secondary derivatives), with the question being whether Sy. comes from these (in whatever degree of evolution) or from one of their derivatives in AnF., the case also applies with regard to secondary versions. This occurs in H. 215 = Synt. 39, Syr. XXXIX, 80 "The Boy who Hunted Grasshoppers", where Sy. expands somewhat on

a model followed by AnF., with a second existing (with partly complementary verse) in Par., Dod. A similar case is that of H. 174 = Synt. 51, Syr. XLIV, 44 "The Mice and the Weasels" in connection with the primary line (there is a secondary one, with other verse, in Par., Dod., Babrius). Here there are certain divergences between Synt. and Syr. which make us think that they used the same original independently, whether AnF. or its model. Likewise in another of the fables already mentioned, H. 254, in which a scission between the AnF.s is added.: Sy. goes on the primary line, with I, whereas on the secondary one, in addition to Par. and Dod., is IIIγ. On the other hand, in H. 87, 189 = Syr. 82 "The Piglet and the Sheep", Sy. goes with the secondary line, with 189 Ia or its model (87 I goes with the primary ones).

There are, on the other hand, other fables from group 1 in which the derivation seems clear of Sy. starting from the model of AnF.; there are also others in which this seems the most likely.

Fundamentally, there exist two types of argument. The first is the more decisive: it is that occasionally the version of Sy., even presenting elements in common with AnF., also presents elements in common with other witnesses, elements that for different reasons must make them date back to a previous model. The second argument is stronger or weaker, depending on the occasion: it consists of seeing an archaic character in elements of Sy. that are absent from AnF. First let us look at the first group.

H. 11 = Syr. 35 "The Fisherman". In Sy. there are elements of AnF., such as the belief of the fisherman that the fish would jump out at the sound of the flute, and there are some from Babrius (the final closing statement); there is also some innovation. That is to say, the model is prior to AnF. and Babrius, a primary model (not a secondary one, reflected in Aphthonius).

H. 62, H. 186 = Synt. 25, Syr. 37 "The Farmer and the Serpent". Sy. does not go with either of the two derived versions in AnF., both in I. It gives us an abbreviated version, in which the beginning of the second version and the end of both are absent, sometimes agreeing with one, sometimes with another. It is an independent summary, prior to the creation of those other versions; sometimes it is close to Par., sometimes to Phaedrus (with another ending), sometimes to Babrius (with the original ending).

H. 114 = Synt. 43, Syr. XL, 40 "The Cicada and the Ant". The version of Sy. belongs to the primary line, whose main representative is Ib, with considerable verse. But sometimes it does not offer its innovations, but elements close to Babrius that we must consider archaic: thus passages such as ὥρᾳ χειμῶνος, τί ἄρα πράττων διετέλεις, ἐπεὶ τότε ματαίως ἐμελῴδεις (citing from Synt.) find correspondence in it. The conclusion is the same: Sy. comes from the model of that primary line.

H. 147 = Synt. 37, Syr. XXXVII, 63 "The Old Lion". A fable with numerous appearances deriving from a primary original, altering it in various ways; S. does not always go with AnF. I. The fox asks his question to the sick lion in direct style, as in II and Babrius, among others (such as in Syr.; Synt. changes to the indirect style); the κακῶς of the answer of the former in I does not appear (nor the καλῶς of II); this answer partly agrees with Babrius, etc., as does the ending (traces "of those leaving", not "of someone leaving", I).

H. 151 = Syr. XXVI, 28 "The Lion who was Scared by the Mouse". Also in this fable, from a single line, Sy. sometimes diverges from AnF. and is closer to Par. and Babrius. As in these (and in contrast with AnF.) the lion is "plein de colère", while there is agreement with AnF. in other passages (ἀλώπηξ δὲ αὐτὸν θεασαμένη, certainly from a ἰδὼν ἀλώπηξ αὐτόν "un renard le vit" Syr., ἀλώπηξ δὲ ἰδοῦσα Par. 1 (this has been eliminated outside of here)). There are also additions. And there is a curious thing: in the ending (altered by Babrius), AnF. I says that the lion τὸ σῶμα ἐπιδραμεῖν ἐτόλμησεν (text of Perry and Chambry, Hausrath is mistaken): this is at the basis of Tzetzes (ὁρμήν) and of Par. 1, *Tetr.* (ὁδόν) and also of Syr. XXXVI ("sur moi qui suis lion une souris saute"). Yet in Syr. 28 there is talk of an "épreuve" that evidently has to do with the πεῖρα of Par. 2 (= Ib). That is to say, variants on the ancient tradition of the fable were followed by the different mss. of Syr. The conclusion is that they do not come from a single Greek model and that, partly at least, they use semiprosified, altered versions.

H. 191 = Syr. XXXIX "The Ass that Carried Salt". The beginning of Syr. is closely related to AnF., the ending to Babrius. Later it comes from the model.

H. 205 = Synt. 26, Syr. XIX, 31 "The Bird-catcher and the Partridge". Here too there are agreements with Babrius compared with AnF. I: the plea of the partridge in direct style (and not accusation in indirect), final death.

H. 219 = Synt. 46, Syr. XLVIII, 18 "The Monkey and the Fishermen". S. is closely related to AnF. I, but it contains some elements of Par., perhaps in turn from B. (the monkey drowns in the sea) or its own (the fishermen enter the cave to rest, against the metre preserved in I; the fisherman closes).

H. 230 = Synt. 23, Syr. XXII, 26 "The Boy who Took a Bath". There is generally agreement of S. and AnF. I, but Synt. is close to Par. in the initial indication that the boy did not know how to swim; perhaps the direct speech of the man to the boy, throughout Sy., is ancient.

H. 242 = Synt. 40, Syr. LIV "The Bull and the Wild Goats". Sy. generally goes with AnF. I (secondary line), but in the beginning it agrees with the whole of the rest of the tradition (primary line, with Dos., Babrius) against this version.

H. 255 = Syr. LVI, 56 "The Swallow and the Snake". Syr. is closely related to AnF. I (Babrius varies), but there is agreement with Babrius in the direct style and the mention of the young.

Let us now look at the other series of fables, in which the derivation of Sy. starting from a model of those preserved is proven by the existence of certain archaisms in the Syriac versions.

As we have said, there is a different degree of certainty depending on the case. The most hypothetical is that whereby Sy. maintains the direct style where in AnF. (particularly in I) the indirect appears, with the circumstance occurring that the direct appears in another version or other versions.

Proceeding from the less reliable cases to the more reliable, we will cite among the first those of some fables in which the essential fact is that Sy. maintains the direct style and, sometimes, a greater length, later reduced by AnF. and other versions. This is the case of H. 7 "The Cat and the Hens" (AnF., on the other hand, innovates and contaminates with H. 103, the direct style is lost, except

in the closing statement, while it is preserved in Babrius, *Tetr.*, Branc.); H. 60 "The Old Man and Death" (the double direct style also in *Tetr.*); H. 121 "The Gardener" (the direct style in the version of *V. Aes.*, an independent branch); H. 132 "The Stomach and the Feet"; H. 140 "The Mosquito and the Bull" (the direct style is in Babrius; certain elements of Sy. that are absent outside of there have possibly been eliminated); H. 162 "The Wolf and the Goat" (longer and more direct than in AnF. I, as in Avianus).

In other fables, with or without the argument of the direct style and of certain elements that are perhaps archaic, there are others that may be decisive. They refer to different facts.

H. 51 = Syr. L. Cf. pp. 107 ff.

H. 89 = Synt. 27, Syr. XXX "The Goose of the Golden Eggs". Sy. lacks the initial expansion of AnF. I (Hermes gave the goose to the woman). On the other hand, it shows agreement with the οὐκ ἀναμείνας of AnF. I (the only of the versions to do so); and it has a final closing statement of lament with an archaic appearance. It seems, then, to contain ancient elements later preserved or not, as the case may be, by the other versions.

H. 139 = Synt. 50, Syr. 70 "The Dog and the Hare". Here the key lies in the fact that in Sy. the dog licks the blood of the hare (Synt. αἷμα, Syr. "le sang") which is infinitely more logical than the fact that he licks his lips (τὰ χείλη), as AnF. I has it: it is an innovation starting from a false interpretation of the φιλεῖν of the dog to the hare. Sy. followed an archaic version, then. We do not know whether Babrius, who shortened the passage, also did.

H. 217 = Synt. 8, Syr. VIII, 10 "The Thirsty Pigeon". S. adds some elements to the text of AnF. I–III (it also removes others). They may be archaic: at least, this is very likely in the case of the final lament of the pigeon, which is missing in AnF.

H. 258 = Synt. 3, Syr. V, *XLIV*, 7 "The Swallow and the Crow". The closing statement of the crow eulogizing his own plumage and criticizing that of the swallow, in AnF. I–III, in Synt. and Syr., has three different versions that criss-cross each other. The four terms (behaviour of the plumage of both birds in winter and summer) are

preserved complete in Synt.; Syr. and AnF. have each chosen two, in a different form (Syr. restricts itself to cutting short the ending of Synt., AnF. abbreviates in a more complicated manner). That is to say, the original model has been followed by Sy. (with secondary abbreviation of Syr.) and was later abbreviated in AnF.

H. 272 = Synt. 29, Syr. XXXII, 38 "The Ass and the Horse". In this confrontation between the ass and the horse, Sy. presents a much longer description of the initial situation, undoubtedly clipped short by AnF. III, Par. and Dod. It is a significant case: only Sy. preserves the ancient original, the other versions come from a reduction.

It seems that our thesis is clearly demonstrated in these examples, relating to fables with different themes, structures, *stemma* and length; it is also demonstrated with partly different arguments, which is an additional guarantee. We continue with other cases in which Sy. is not in a primary line, as in all the latter series, but in a secondary one, as in some examples already seen.

To complete our study of the relationship between Sy. and AnF., we must add the case in which Sy. intervenes in one way or another in a secondary version: in the same way that we presented this case as of doubtful solution in some fables, we will now see that, in others, S. heads this version, so to speak. That is to say, that it comes from a lost model of the version, not from the versions currently preserved; in some cases in AnF., more frequently in Par., Dod., Babrius, etc. At other times it is one among various derived from the secondary version. That is to say, that if it is true that Sy. used models of the primary line (either the primary original or some derivative prior to those preserved), it is also true that it was not limited to these models. In the same way that in the collection of AnF., in its various versions, we sometimes find fables derived from a primary version, sometimes from a secondary one, sometimes from the two of the same fable, here we also find traces of the two versions (not of both of the same fable; this was undoubtedly avoided, as in Babrius and Phaedrus, on account of the shorter length of these collections).

H. 9 = Synt. 10, Syr. X, 12 "The Fox and the He-goat". Here Sy. goes with the secondary line, which shows verse remodelled in Par., Dod., *Tetr.* It is a summary of the primary model (in AnF., Phaedrus), in which the fox does not go down to the well, but speaks from above.

It cannot be said that Sy. is the model for this summary, since in other versions there is more proximity to AnF. (for example, in the closing statement of the fox). It is, then, an independent derivative.

In H. 143 = Syr. XLV "The Hares and the Frogs" AnF. I, Phaedrus and Sy. present different summaries, with some common elements, of the primary version from which AnF. III, Par., Dod. and Babrius come. They all eliminate the moment of reflection and decision of the hares. And Sy. modifies the ending. It seems to follow one of the various derivations of the secondary model.

Something similar could be concluded on H. 46 = Synt. 44, Syr. 81 "Boreas and Helios", in which S. lacks some elements of Par., Babrius, *Tetr.*, particularly of the ending; except that the relationship between this line and that of AnF., Dod. is not that of secondary to primary; they are both probably secondary, derived from an original verse, of which they preserve complementary remnants.

If we move on to H. 49 = Synt. 12, Syr. XV, 17 "The Oxherd", here there is a summary (in this secondary case, with verse 2, derived from the primary model followed by AnF.) followed by Sy. and Par.: the former may come from the model of the latter or, better still, from that of Par. 1 and Par. 2 (Par. 3 is considerably modified). Finally, in H. 266 = Synt. 7, Syr. 7 "The Two Cocks and the Eagle", in the secondary model followed by Aphthonius and Sy. the ending is missing (the cock that remains alive mounts the hens), with Aphthonius being more independent.

In these fables it is already possible that Sy. essentially represents the model of the secondary version. And it is highly likely in some others:

H. 76 = Synt. 15, Syr. XVIII, 19 "The Stag and the Lion" (the hunters, in the ancient version). We already know that AnF. I has modified this fable and that the Pseudo-Dositheus depends on this modification. In Sy. we sometimes find elements of the primary version of Par., Phaedrus, sometimes of the secondary one of AnF. For example, the hunters still appear, not the lion, as those pursuing the stag; but there is already the genitive absolute "on entangling its horns in the branches" and the "passive" ending characteristic of AnF. (cf. pp. 227 and 239). It seems clear that we are dealing with an intermediate version: the origin of the versions of AnF.

H. 119 = Synt. 59, Syr. XLIII, 73 "The Camel and Zeus". Sy., the same as Par. and Dod., comes from a summarized version, in 4 verses, derived from the primary one (in AnF. I, Avianus). Yet it preserves elements that have disappeared in Par., Dod. (in particular, cf. Synt. ὀργισθείς, Syr. "il s'enflamma en colère" together with H. I ἀγανακτήσας, Avianus *arridens*).

H. 136 = Synt. 28, Syr. XXXI, 33 "The Dog that Carried a Piece of Meat", Sy. belongs to the secondary version, characterized by the "snatching" of the meat and by "the shadow (or image) of the meat" larger than his own meat. Yet it is a much longer version than the summarized ones of Babrius, Par., Aphthonius, Pseudo-Dositheus and Branc., with some elements preserved in Babrius and lost in the others (the meat stolen "in a butcher's shop"). And it has the dog's final closing statement that has been lost in the abbreviated versions or else integrated into the fable. I do not doubt that Sy. comes from an intermediate model between the primary and the secondary version.

A rather special case is that of H. 264 = Syr. LIX, 59 "The Man and the Lion". In general terms, Sy. goes with the secondary version of Aphthonius, Pseudo-Dositheus, Avianus: a summary centred on the theme of the ἔρις or dispute. Yet it is in fact intermediate: it combines the theme of the road with that of the dispute and talks of the strangulation of the lion, as do Par. 1 and Dod. (from the primary model). It seems as though we are dealing with an intermediate between Par., Dod. and the secondary line.

We have, then, a situation where here Sy. does not come from the primary original of our tradition, but belongs to the secondary line, either faithfully following—so it appears—its model, or else it is one of its variants. It even gives us certain indications of its origin within the primary line.

On the other hand, a few fables exist in which Sy. seems to represent, alone, the secondary line of a fable: a summary of it. This is the case of:

H. 100 = Syr. XIX, 21 "The Wolf and the Kid". Sy., in fact, changes theme, as now there is a fox and a lion (line I in AnF. 1, Branc., Babrius).

H. 138 = Synt. 61, Syr. XLIX, 49 "The Hungry Dogs". The dogs become wolves and a man closes, instead of the ending with action (primary line in AnF. I, Phaedrus and Plutarch).

H. 181 = Synt. 36, Syr. 61 bis "The Bat, the Bramble and the Gull". There are two secondary derivatives. In that of Sy. the three animals, and not only the bat, "borrow", which makes the end of the fable not very intelligible.

H. 274 = Synt. 41, Syr. LX, 67 and I, 1 "The Ethiopian". Here, in addition to the fable of Aphthonius, Themistius and AnF. III, which is the original, there are two others that vary the subject: that of Synt. 41 and Syr. LX, 67; and that of Syr. I, 1. Just as in the original fable it was the owner that was unable to bleach the Ethiopian (or Indian), in the second it was the negro himself who proved unable to bleach himself and in the third a man apologized for not going to a banquet because he had to bleach a negro.

The problem is whether the secondary versions that are only found in Sy. were created by its Greek precursors or by the Syrian translator. In fact, it is the same problem that occurs with regard to the differences between these fables and those that are known to us through other sources. In general terms, it seems that the answer is that it is the Greek models that are innovated; the Syrian translator (and later Andreopulos) does no more than translate, although with errors, among others the occasional confusion of the names of the animals. The fact that some versions of fables have only reached us through this line of tradition is no stranger than the fact that some fables only appear in it, as we have already stated. However, it may be that sometimes things are different, as we will see later.

That is, that just as often Sy. has preserved for us versions closer to the original primary models than the fables of AnF. and the others, on other occasions it has preserved derivatives from secondary models: sometimes derivatives that practically repeat them, sometimes others that alter them in various ways. Among others, single derivatives, lost outside of here. All this speaks volumes to us on the great wealth of the ancient fabulistic tradition, only a minimal part of which is preserved. Of course, it cannot be ruled out that, where this is possible, we could establish the hypothesis that such and such

a fable of Sy. derives precisely from a preserved fable (either from AnF. or not). From what we have seen, this is, however, not very likely, since we have not found even a single example in which this can be proven without any doubt.

At this point let us move on to consider the group of fables 2, those that are only found in AnF. and Sy. Here is a list:

H. 58 = Synt. 42, Syr. LXI, 68 "The Woman and the Hen".
H. 59 = Synt. 5, Syr. VI, 8 "The Weasel".
H. 88 = Synt. 58, Syr. *XLIII*, LXII, 72 "The Thrush".
H. 121 = Synt. 32, Syr. XXXV, 60 "The Gardener".
H. 122 = Synt. 34, Syr. XXXVI, 61 "The Gardener and the Dog".
H. 194 = Syr. 34 "The Wild Ass".
H. 195 = Synt. 1, Syr. III, 5 "The Ass and the Cicadas".
H. 206 = Synt. 57, Syr. LVII, 57 "The Hen and the Swallow".
H. 213 = Synt. 18, Syr. 77 "The Snake Trodden on".
H. 244 = Synt. 53, Syr. LV, 55 "The Peacock and the Rook".
H. 247 = Syr. II, 2 "The Swan".
H. 298 = Synt. 62, Syr. L, 50 "The Man and the Cicada".

For the interpretation of this tradition, I refer the reader to pp. 341 ff.

It is now a matter of seeing what is the relationship, in these fables, between AnF. and Sy. or between the various subordinate collections: something that is difficult to establish due to the absence of terms of comparison, as we have said. In some cases these terms of comparison exist, however, in the Classical model or in a marginal branch such as the *Vita Aesopi.*

In general terms, it cannot be decided whether in these fables the model of Sy. is one of the Anonymous collections, or else an original prior to both sources. However, we must make some observations on certain details, which sometimes make a conclusion probable.

In H. 59, in a given moment Sy. uses as a source the εὑρών of PfPh (Ia), not I: the source was partly from the tradition of AnF., not wholly. In H. 121 the version of Sy. is more complete than that of AnF. and has, in contrast with this, direct style (also in *Life of Aesop*). It is likely that it comes from a previous model. In H. 195 Sy. expands AnF., unless it comes from its model, summarized by this collection. Other observations refer to modifications to details in

Sy. or its sources. In H. 88 Sy. changes the epimythium (and it is not the only case), in H. 121 (which we have just mentioned), it Christianizes the ending, and also changes it in H. 122 and in H. 194 (it changes the sense of the fable; now domesticity is good, the free animal is devoured). Cf. also similar elements in H. 247, 298. H. 244 has in Sy. a direct speech by the peacock, whereas AnF. I summarizes: undoubtedly, Sy. comes from its model, which it preserves better.

Thus, irrespective of the modifications that they present, sometimes of Christian origin, the fables of Sy. sometimes probably come from the ancient tradition prior to AnF. I in its preserved version; if one comes directly from the preserved version, this is not strictly demonstrable. And all that we have seen on the previous pages seems to advise against the hypothesis.

We have attempted to fix the precise moment in which Sy. used the precedent of our Augustana, on the other hand, in the chapter devoted to this (pp. 341 ff.). It is a moment later than that of what we have called the "Ancient Augustana" or Collection I: the model of Phaedrus and Babrius. Yet prior to the massive expansion of this collection by means of new primary fables and a few secondary ones. The systematic epimythia had already been introduced, however, but the text sometimes continued to be archaistic.

III. *Fables that are in the Syriac Collections and Absent From the Anonymous Fables*

We have seen above that there were some fables, 25 in total, which, though being in the Syriac collections, were absent from the Anonymous fables; and that seven of them, in addition to being in the Syriac collections, were in other witnesses external to them. To locate these fables in the *stemmata* is not easy, because it may have happened that some have been lost in the Augustana and that others may have been added by Sy. or by Syr. or Synt.; on the other hand, the documentation on them is limited. Even so, we will say something, although the conclusions, in these circumstances, cannot go beyond being partial. Consider that it may very well happen that the total of the material handled here represents one version or a series of secondary versions in some cases, dependent on a lost primary one.

There are, initially, occasions in which the hypothesis may be put forward that the Syriac collections depend on a version that approximately maintains the ancient primary text, while another version or other versions modify it extensively:

Not-H. 96 = Synt. 20, Syr. XXI, 23 "The Sick Stag". The other appearance, which is in Babrius, extends and adds a new ending, in accordance with his custom; Sy. maintains a short situation fable.

Not-H. 122 = Synt. 49, Syr. 64 "The Hunter and the Horseman". *Tetr.* is an abbreviation, as is customary, of the text of Sy., which appears to preserve the ancient one.

Not-H. 164 = Synt. 21; Syr. XXIII, 24 "The Fox and the Lion". The text of Phaedrus seems a simple expansion of that of Sy., a short situation fable with a closing statement.

Of course, there is no absolute guarantee. In other fables, Sy. and a second witness modify a lost original in various ways:

Not-H. 94 = Synt. 31, Syr. XXIV, 39 "The Olive and the Fig". Here the differences from the other appearance, Aphthonius, are two: Sy. has a longer beginning, summarized by Aphthonius; on the other hand, its ending, in which it is the ray and not the snow that punishes the τῦφος of the olive (who boasted of its perennial leaves), is less natural and has an undoubtedly Christian religious character ("a ray was thrown by God").

Not-H. 155 = Synt. 16, Syr. *L*, XVIII, 2 "The Dog and the Blacksmith". Sy. reduces the beginning, which in Par., Dod. preserves the metre; on the other hand, it has some elements of it own that may be ancient (it talks of the anvil "that makes the earth tremble").

Finally, the other two fables to which we are making reference represent a secondary model, in which Sy. is alone:

Not-H. 183 = Synt. 13, Syr. XVI, 18 "The Lion and the Three Bulls". As we have already said (p. 54), Sy. preserves the "two bulls", transformed in other versions into three. It derives, then, from the primary model and this we also see from the preservation of the

direct style (lost in the primary branch: Aphthonius, Themistius and Babrius). Yet we are dealing with a secondary derivative, that has lost the beginning; Syr. abbreviates, changing to the indirect style.

Not-H. 190 = Synt. 52, Syr. XLII, 42 "The Wolf and the Lion". Synt. alters the ending; instead of the final dialogue between the wolf whose prey the lion has snatched and the latter, there is closing statement by the wolf, who understands well that what he has stolen does not last. It is a Christian moralization.

Not-H. 246 = Syr. XXXVIII "The Monkey". Also in Herm., Priscian and in Byzantine versions, cf. Vol. III, *Appendix* III.

We find, then, the various types that we have already discussed in the fables in common with the Anonymous Fables, except that with the uncertainty and reservations that we have stated. I add below the list of fables that have only been transmitted to us in Sy.:

Not-H. 3 = Syr. 62 "The Eagle and the Hens".
Not-H. 25 = Syr. XII, 14 "The Man and the Serpent".
Not-H. 70 = Syr. XLII "A Maxim".
Not-H. 81 = Syr. 66 "The Master and the Dog".
Not-H. 123 = Synt. 6, Syr. XIV, 16 "The Hunter and the Wolf".
Not-H. 136 = Syr. XIII, 15 "The Beetle and the Bee".
Not-H. 146 = Synt. 48, Syr. LXIV, 3 "The Cyclops".
Not-H. 147 = Synt. 19, Syr. XX, 22 "The Dogs that Tore a Lionskin".
Not-H. 157 = Synt. 38, Syr. XXXVIII, 79 "The Dog that Pursued a Wolf".
Not-H. 209 = Syr. XL "The Ant and the Partridge".
Not-H. 223 = Synt. 54 "The Young Man and the Old Woman".
Not-H. 242 = Syr. 74 "The Trap".
Not-H. 252 = Syr. 65 "The Rivers and the Sea".
Not-H. 253 = Syr. 4 "The Priest and the Old Woman".
Not-H. 255 = Synt. 45, Syr. LXIII, 69 "The Man, the Horse and the Pony".
Not-H. 291 = Syr. XLVII, 47 "The Bull and the Lion".
Not-H. 292 = Synt. 11, Syr. XI, 13 "The Bull, the Lioness and the Boar".
Not-H. 296 = Syr. X "The Three Priests and the Patriarch".

It is not easy to place these fables within the tradition of the ancient fable: the fact that they are only found in the Syriac collections does not mean that in all cases they are their creations.

A simple observation could help us to move forward in our understanding of the problem of the origins of these fables. Just as, among those that we have seen until now, there was an exceptional case that a fable was found only in Syr. (the case of a fable only found in Synt. did not occur at all), here we see that more than half are in this situation: 12 out of 19.

This may be significant. The collection of Syntipas, more reduced than the others taken as a whole, could have left out some ancient fables: many well-known ones are absent from it. And among those we are seeing, one that is only found in Syntipas, not-H. 224, is an obscene novelette that was undoubtedly eliminated on purpose by Syr., a more Christianized collection than Syntipas, as we will see. Yet the existence of 12 fables out of 19 that are only in Syr. cannot be accidental.

And less if this fact is accompanied by other equally significant ones: specifically, all or almost all the fables that are in this situation show traces of a recent character, as we will see.

However, before going on to this point, let us dwell on another that is complementary to this: the fables that are at the same time in Synt. and Syr. have traces of being ancient, and likewise the one that we have said was subsequently lost from Syr. This we see both from the structure and from the content; occasionally, on the other hand, they are fables derived from other known ones.

For example, not-H. 123 is a situation fable followed by a closing statement: the hunter sets the dogs on the wolf that was attacking the sheep and accuses him of cowardice. A fable of this type is, on account of its structure and its intention, perfectly comparable to many known ones. The same could be said of not-H. 147 (the theme of the φύσις of the lion), of not-H. 157 (theme "I do not fear you, but . . ." of H. 242), of not-H. 255 (the theme that we must wait for an animal to grow for it to be useful), of not-H. 292 (the theme of the man who sees his own pain and not that of others). These are situation fables, sometimes fables of situation-*agon*, with closing statements. The same could even be said of not-H. 146, the story of the man who was going to commit suicide and found the treasure of the Cyclops—whereupon it was the latter that committed suicide with the man's sword. Indeed, in *AP* I 84 ab and Ausonius, *Ep.* 14,

p. 316 Peiper there are epigrams with substantially the same story, although without mention of the Cyclops: O. Weinreich, "Zu antiken Epigrammen und einer Fabel des Syntipas", *Mél. H. Grégoire* III, Brussels, 1952, pp. 417–67, believes that they come from a common model. The theme is that of *Tykhe* or Fortune and its type, the one relating together a man and a god, for example, in this same collection, that of H. 112 "The Man and the Hero".

The panorama of the fables that are only in Syr. is very different. Sometimes the structure, sometimes the Christian ideology (which sometimes gives anomalous symbolisms to the animals), sometimes the Oriental origin, and two or three of these factors, reveal their recent origin.

Not-H. 3 "The Eagle and the Hens" develops the Cynic theme of the animal that perishes, the victim of its own greed (the fly, the thrush, etc.), but in a manner that is complicated and structurally anomalous and, also, with expressions more proper to Christian preaching than to the ancient fable. This is best preserved in not-H. 25 "The Man and the Snake", but the theme of the judge in a dispute becomes that of the villain who mediates in a dispute between villains. In not-H. 81 "The Master and the Dog", the theme of the truth is ancient, but the dialogue is anomalous. On the other hand, not-H. 208 is not only a lax and structurally late fable, but the theme of envy and humility is Christian. The intention, I believe, of not-H. 252 "The Rivers and the Sea" is also Christian (the theme that we must avoid infection and corruption), although it perhaps starts from the "problem" of drinking the sea in the *Life of Aesop* 69 (Aesop solves it by proposing that first somebody separates the waters of the rivers). And, finally, that of not-H. 291 "The Bull and the Lion", against the pride of those who wish to live alone, relying on their force.

There also exists another fable, certainly a very curious one, which I believe is derived from the Assyrian *Ahikar* (cf. Vol. I, pp. 299 ff.). This is the case of not-H. 242 "The Trap", a fable to which I referred in Vol. I, p. 363; the relationship had already been seen by Sister Lefèvre, *op. cit.*, p. XXXVIII. From this collection come, of course, introductions with advice directed to "Son of mine . . ." (which, on the other hand, have entered other fables more than those already seen); there is also the fact that among the fables a maxim has been allowed to enter, also introduced with a "Son of mine . . ." (not-H. 70). I cannot locate the fable not-H. 246 "The

Monkey", introduced in the same way, outside of the Greek fable, but it is clearly of Oriental origin (Mesopotamian or Indian).

On the other hand, one cannot fail to mention the Christian anecdotes or novelettes, not only on account of their intention, but also of their environment: not-H. 253 "The Priest and the Old Woman", not-H. 296 "The Three Priests and the Patriarch".

Moreover, it cannot be ruled out that in some cases a fable that is only in Syr. may be of ancient origin, though not being collected by Synt.: no more and no less than what occurs in fables studied above. I believe, indeed, that not-H. 136 "The Beetle and the Bee" is ancient; it contains an attack against those who embark upon an occupation they do not know. It is a fable that includes a situation—*agon* of action—the lament (closing statement) of the victim; through the French translation we can still hazard a guess at the metrical formulas of the Greek: "en mourant, il disait" = θνῄσκων δ' ἔλεγε, "(cela) m'est arrivé à propos" = δίκαια πάσχω.

IV. *Conclusions*

The fables of Syntipas and those translated by Sister Lefèvre come substantially from the same collection. Frequently, the texts of both agree precisely, word for word; although in others there are differences whose origin we must study. Evidently, the manuscript that was used as a basis for the Syriac version later translated by Andreopulos (the so-called Syntipas) chose only a part of the fables of the model. It only gathered together 62 fables, which are all also found in Syr., with the exception we have cited. The collection was longer, then: with the extra fables that are in Syr., we reach a total of 87, from which we must discount the fables that we have considered recent, which were very possibly added to the original manuscript subsequently. On the other hand, we must add fables from the Arab version (the so-called fables of Loqman) and a new one from those transcribed in Hebrew characters.

In the 11th century AD, then, Andreopulos translates into the Greek a Syriac Collection that selected from within another longer collection, also Syriac; unless it was Andreopulos himself that selected from within the basic Syriac collection. Now leaving aside the differences that there may have been between the text followed by Andreopulos and that of the collections that we have included under

the acronym Syr., very closely related in any event, we may draw some conclusions on the basic collection.

It contained Greek fables of medium length (about 12 lines) or short (between 3 and 5), all followed by an epimythium and belonging structurally and thematically to the types that we already know. It is a collection that did not admit duplications of a fable, as there are in the Anonymous fables and in the "Babrian" tradition: that is to say, a collection created by an individual author, like those of Phaedrus, Babrius, Avianus and others. Curiously, it gives considerable preference to animal fables (with two or three animals or with a man and an animal; there are also plants and various personifications); there are, however, a few human anecdotes or those of man and god, a myth (that of the Cyclops), a novelette (that of the young man and the old woman).

This basic collection, which was translated into the Syriac at some moment between the 9th and the 11th century AD,[2] was a collection of already prosified fables. There are numerous places in which the comparison with the Greek versions, preserved in passages where these have maintained the verse or allow it to be reconstructed, shows that the Syriac fables depend on an original with the verse already destroyed. One could make a very long catalogue of passages, but we will restrict ourselves to a few elements.

Sometimes a simple change of the word order at the beginning of a fable indicates a prosification: this is the case in H. 242, where the original, metrical λέοντ' ἔφευγε ταῦρος (cf. Vol. III, Appendix) undergoes the inversion of the order of the animals and transposition of the imperfect into the participle in Synt. 40, Syr. LIV; or in H. 2, where the original verse, which we reconstructed when discussing Aphthonius (cf. p. 242), proves impossible when placing the eagle at the start in Syr. XXV, 27. There are infinite examples of this type that could be given. Another case is that of the equally ametrical additions. Thus, the beginning of H. 58 had a verse that is preserved in AnF. III by removing the initial γυνή: χήρα τις ὄρνιν εἶχε. However, this γυνή was in the model of the Augustana and other AnF.s and in that of Synt. (γυνή τις χήρα ὄρνιν ἐκέκτητο) and Syr. ("il y avait une femme veuve"). Yet another case is that of alterations or replacements of the fable somewhere, which likewise destroy the verse. Thus

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[2] Cf. the edition of Sister Lefèvre, p. III.

in H. 213 the metrical ὁ δὲ Ζεὺς | πρὸς αὐτὸν εἶπε, from AnF., is substituted that way in Synt. 18, Syr. 77 by a version in which Apollo takes part, which is metrically impossible. Of course there are even more subjects worthy of mention. When, as in H. 76, S. derives from a preserved model that already had ametrical elements and preserves them, clearly continued to be ametrical (Synt. 15, Syr. XVII, 19, see above). Likewise in other cases of secondary derivation.

The Greek collection that we are attempting to define showed certain innovations that we have discussed and others that we will consider later. Yet it is clear that, although in many cases it preserved an older text than that of the versions of AnF. and other collections that have reached us, a text in many cases derived from a primary version, it did not consist of fables in verse, but of semiprosified ones.

We should consider that the core of this collection consisted of the semiprosified models of the AnF.s that we have established were preserved in Byzantium until the 9th century AD, since they were used repeatedly to contaminate the various collections: more specifically, we are referring to the collection that we have called the "Ancient Augustana", but already added to with a few other fables completed with systematic epimythia. The author of the collection added fables of the primary or secondary tradition that were absent from the Anonymous Fables; he had at his disposal models used by Par., Dod., Babrius, etc., which were absent, it seems, from his basic collection, also versions parallel to those mentioned.

Not everything is resolved with this. Sometimes, as we already know, in our AnF.s there are duplications belonging either to different subcollections or to the same one: our collection followed one or the other line, as the case may be. For example, in H. 87 he followed the line of the fable preserved in Ia, not that of I: a secondary line, which varied the fable of the piglet and the sheep. He undoubtedly liked it more. Just as he liked more a derivative fable, that of the fox and the lion (Syr. XIX, 21), than his model "The Wolf and the Kid". There are various other cases, as we have already seen, in which, though being able to follow the primary line preserved quite faithfully by our AnF.s, S. followed a secondary one. Evidently, he had at least two collections before him: one, the expanded "Ancient Augustana"; the other, a collection that included fables not in this, but also evidently fables related to them, either models or derivatives of theirs. This second collection was comparable, as we will

see, to the one used by the writers of Par. and Dod. With these two collections available (and the second may, in fact, have been more than one), the author of our collection chose freely either from one or from the other: more often, as we have said, from the first. What he did not do was duplicate.

It is likely that even where it is the only appearance of a secondary version, he followed a Greek text. Also, I believe, when he introduces certain more or less moralistic innovations, such as some that we have indicated and that are common to Synt. and to Syr.: the presence of the ray instead of the snow in H. 94, the theme of the evil judge in a dispute between villains (not-H. 190). Particularly, certain variations of the epimythia, also of a moralist tendency. However, on this see below.

The truth is that, where a fable is at the same time in Synt. and in Syr., we can rarely speak of an explicitly Christian tendency, though sometimes we can detect a moralism closely related to the Christian one. The main exception is the epimythium of not-H. 292, which repeats the well-known evangelical passage "judge not, lest ye be judged". Moreover, the Greek collection, as we have already said, is essentially a traditional Greek collection. It even has an obscene novelette (eliminated, of course, by Syr.).

An additional problem is of course presented here, or rather, two: that of to what extent in our fables there may be innovations attributable to the Syrian translator (or translators); and that of the relationship between the texts of Synt. and Syr.

Clearly, for example, certain changes in the names of the animals or in the human characters may come from the inadequate understanding of the original text on the part of the Syrian translator. Perhaps we may be able to attribute to this translator—the author of the first version, I mean—certain rather clumsy modifications (such as that of the fable of the bat, H. 181, which we have already discussed) and certain moralizations, including the one cited from the Gospel. Yet this is no more than a hypothesis.

It is based on the idea that, although we will see that the translator of the basic text of Syr. had access to the Greek, his agreements with Synt. in arbitrary or erroneous elements, such as certain changes of animals, make us think that he also had access to the first Syriac version. Hence the agreement of Synt. and Syr. is not absolute proof that they continue the Greek.

Let us now return to the problem of the text of Syr. Our three

families of manuscripts make particular selections of fables with practically identical text: it seems that all were taken not only from the same collection, the one we have studied until now, but from the same derivative of that collection. A derivative in which certain fables had a partly different text from the one translated in Synt.: a difference that includes the presence of Christian elements in the body of the fable and the epimythia, the frequent replacement of these with others, the introduction of "prologues" of the well-known type of the *Ahikar*, and that also includes the addition of a few new, either Christian or Oriental fables.

We have already said that a possible hypothesis is that an original Syriac translation, followed by Andreopulos, was subsequently reworked and altered, with the different versions of Syr. coming from here (these would be, in short, a third grade). The comparison with the Greek originals demonstrates, at least, that there is a greater distance. Such as when the epimythium of Synt. practically agrees with that of its Greek models, whereas they have been altered in Syr.: such as, for example, in H. 132, the fable of the stomach and the feet; in H. 205, the fable of the bird-catcher and the partridge; etc. Or when there are the alterations in a Christian or Oriental sense to which we have already referred or, simply, certain modifications that distance themselves from the original Greek text. Yet is it this text or its Syriac translation that has been modified?

Some doubtful cases are those such as H. 46 "Boreas and Helios" in which in Syr. the ending and other elements of Synt. are absent, but it lengthens the middle section; or H. 49, in which Synt. and Syr. have two epimythia, different from each other and from the Greek model. Both things occur at the same time in H. 174 "The Mice and the Weasels", with that of Synt. being, significantly, the Christianized epimythium.

I say they are doubtful because in them there is room for the two hypotheses, whereas there are some others in which the differences between Synt. and Syr. may definitely be attributed to independent access to the ancient model. This is the case in H. 122 "The Gardener and the Dog", where it is Syr. and not Synt. that substantially follows the closing statement of the AnF.s, or that of H. 121 "The Gardener", where the differences between the two lines at the end of the fable (Synt. explains the doubt of the gardener referring to Providence, Syr. to the theme of the mother and the stepmother) can be understood if we see that both themes appear in another branch of the tradition, that in *Vita Aesopi* 34–35. The problem would

be even more serious if it is confirmed that the different branches of Syr. could have had independent access to the Greek, as in the case of the variants between Syr. XXVI and 28 in H. 151 "The Lion who was Scared by the Mouse" (see above, pp. 409 ff.).

Thus, our conclusions cannot all be either totally certain or exhaustive: but they do go beyond what has been only very vaguely suspected until now. They presuppose an evolution in various phases.

A first phase consists of the creation of the basic Greek collection, later translated into the Syriac and later again (partially) into the Greek by Andreopulos. The Greek collection that is the starting-point represents a synthesis between an ancient semiprosified collection, the model of the Anonymous Fables but even shorter, and another or other mixed collections, with material not in the Anonymous Fables and another related to them. The author of the collection expanded a core obtained from the first collection with elements that were absent from it, taken from the second, and even with variants in the second fable common to both: always on the basis of non-repetition. He gave preference to medium-length and short fables, and preserved the frequency of the themes proper to the Cynic-moralizing fables. He also included some anecdotes and even one novelette. Only in rare cases did he allow himself to expand the moralistic character, in the text of the epimythia; and it is even possible that this must be attributed to a certain extent to the Syrian translator.

That Greek collection is fundamentally the basis of the second Syrian translation, that of Syr. In some cases this preserved the original text better than the first translation, but generally altered it more, including the addition of Christian and Oriental elements. In one case, it gave a new version of a fable that had already been collected before in a modified version: this is the case of H. 274 "The Ethiopian", in which Synt. 41, Syr. LX, 67, give a secondary version and Syr. I, 1 another different one; since we have established that the basic collection does not repeat fables, the second version was invented by the writer of Syr. if he did not find it in a source peculiar to him. Or else he introduced a secondary version of a previous fable not collected by Synt. (H. 194 "The Wild Ass", changes the intention, now Christian). Finally, he added some new fables only appearing here. The Oriental environment of some of them, particularly of the Christian anecdotes, makes us think that the origin of this collection must be in Asia Minor.

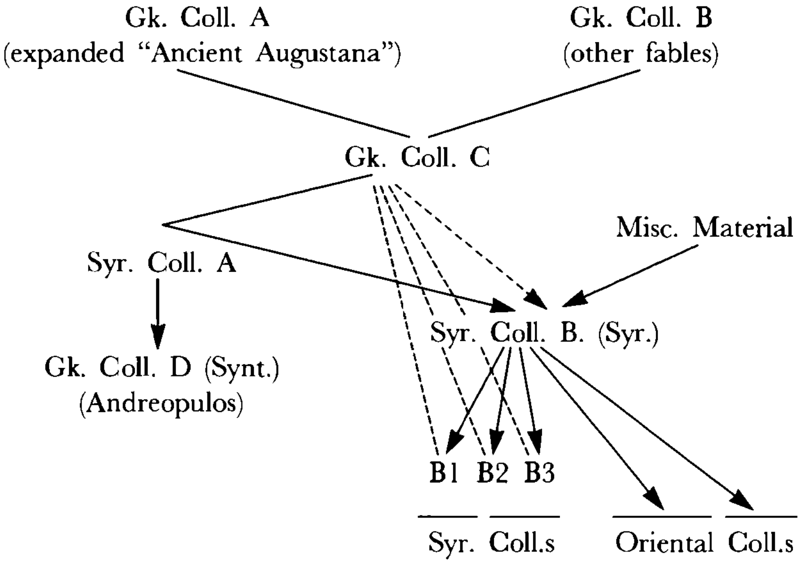
If we have said that the Greek collection that we have been discussing is at the basis of this second Syrian translation, we do not

mean by this that it is the only origin. Since in Syr. there are fables that were not in it, it is clear that its writer had a capacity for initiative, and was not a mere translator. If he sometimes had recourse to the Greek text where Synt. abandoned it, this confirms the same thing. In short, it is likely that the Greek text followed by this collection had modifications with respect to the one followed by the previous translator; the Christian elements, for example, could have been introduced gradually. Yet the translator was able in turn to maintain elements proper to the first Syriac version, to which he undoubtedly had access, and to add other original ones of his own. And the copyists of the three manuscript traditions could also have done so and even also, occasionally, have recourse to the Greek texts available to them.

Our tradition opens up for us a path of access to the world of the fable in Byzantium: to the preservation of ancient versions later lost, to the introduction of Christian and Oriental elements, which on the other hand were copied independently in the same manuscripts (the *Life of Syntipas*, etc.). And to the interaction between Greek and Syriac literature and the influence of the former, through the latter, on Arabic literature.

A panorama not dissimilar to that existing at the same time in the West. We will return to this.

Returning to our specific theme, we could summarize our results as follows:



CHAPTER THREE

THE VINDOBONENSIS AND ACCURSIANA COLLECTIONS

I. *General Remarks*

In Vol. I, pp. 90 ff. the most essential points have been made on these two Byzantine collections (group of collections, in fact, in the case of the Accursiana), which continue, speaking in general terms, the tradition of the Augustana. Here I am going to emphasize their derivation, which, as was already said in the passage cited, is not directly from our Augustana, but starting from the pre-Augustana, which they help us to know better. With this we will be able to see better how the phenomenon of the creation of collections develops, since what happens with the Byzantine ones is not very different from what we can imagine for the previous age.

I must announce in advance, however, that the study of these Byzantine collections is only going to attempt to trace the broad outline of their evolution. On one hand because—as in the case of Ia and Ib—the study of their manuscript tradition has never been carried out in depth, we do not have sufficient material to shed light on the process of the detailed derivation of the collections. On the other, because it is not our intention to enter into the details of that evolution fable by fable and subcollection by subcollection: it is a study that is partly of textual criticism, partly literary, which would require a whole book to be completed.

It is not easy, on the other hand, to distinguish between the study of collections and subcollections and the study of manuscripts. Since they are often mixed, and have welcomed fables of various origins. And at other times we do not see clearly whether what is published as the text of a fable in a certain collection is precisely that (although this text also appears in one or various mss. of another) or whether we are dealing with several texts that have been merged artificially on the basis that the texts of the different collections are frequently closely related: particularly those of I and Ia, I and II, II and IIIδ, IIIδ and the other collections of III.

Thus, leaving aside the fables whose text is published on the joint basis of I and Ia or I and Ib or I, Ia and Ib, we have some other mixed texts:

I + II: cf. H. 71 (I and T of II), rare case.
I + IIIδ (sometimes also Ia): a very large number of fables, starting from H. 218.
II + IIIδ: H. 46, 100, 268, 285, etc. (the last two, only in these collections).
IIIδ (and sometimes IIIγ, IIIβ, IIIα) + Ia and/or Ib: H. 262, 271, 274, 278, 283, 284–286 (but in H. 273 IIIδ gives a different text from Ib).

These are some examples. There are more complex cases; sometimes the mss. of Ia and/or Ib, for example, split into two different texts (or some contain two versions) and likewise others. Indeed, a ms. that habitually belongs to one collection sometimes has a text from another or else has two texts. These texts sometimes go with I, sometimes with other collections.

We must also note various other things:

a) As various mss. are mixed, the systematic attribution of these to one recension is doubtful. As in the case of F = Mb (Vat. gr. 777): in a series of fables (H. 282, 285, 287, 288, 290) Hausrath gives a text on the basis of IIIδ and F, attributing the latter to the Augustana (I), as is customary; similarly, for H. 291 he gives it on the basis of Ib and F. Yet H. 292–297, only in F, are attributed to IIIδ. The only that is clear is that F presents some "particular" fables, some in common with IIIδ, others only in it. Similarly, a series of fables (H. 298–299, 301–306) are only in M and sometimes in M(on), two mss. habitually from IIIδ: they are not fables from IIIδ, but are simply fables that these mss. found somewhere and incorporated. Some of these are also in P (habitually from II) or in F: the conclusion is the same.

b) On the other hand, just as the Vindobonensis forms a cohesive whole, the collection IIIδ (sometimes considered to be intermediate between I and II and between I and III, cf. Vol. I, pp. 97 ff.) and the collections IIIγ, IIIβ and IIIα (of the Accursiana, cf. on their relation, loc. cit., p. 108) sometimes all of them, sometimes only some, give the same fable. And this with differences in the text,

sometimes very significant ones (cf. for example H. 283 and 284, where Hausrath prints a different text). Furthermore, occasionally the various collections or subcollections continue different lines of the ancient fabulistic tradition, which have entered them in isolation.

c) Thus we also understand the entrance into certain mss. of I (G and F) of choliambic fables that we have studied in the chapter dedicated to Babrius. Furthermore, various mss. of I, II and III include fables in Byzantine *politici* dodecasyllables. And others include fables from the Bodleian Paraphrase.[1] Yet is not only a matter of an extra, an addition that demonstrates that the copyists of these mss. had before them mss. of the line of the tradition that is habitually in opposition to that of the AnF. It also happens that occasionally in II and/or III sometimes the fable of the tradition of the AnF. has been replace with one from this other line. And that different manuscripts of III have sometimes introduced fables for the most part unknown among the Anonymous Fables, which have (although not always) their origin in that second line (when the text does not precisely agree with that of Par.). Furthermore, the text of II or III may come precisely from that of Dod.

d) I would also like to recall that in H. 260, the mss. of AnF. I, after giving their own text, add that of III: this is a decisive argument, if one were needed, for dating this collection in the 9th century, as I have been proposing for years now (the ms. G is from the 10th century).

In short, the copyists of our mss. and even their precursors, the creators of the different lines of the tradition, had the whole unfolding of that tradition before them in the Byzantine Age: that known by us and the older one. The presence of remnants of verse in II and III that are longer than those of I testify to the preservation of ancient sources until the 9th century at least. The two principal lines, that of the Anonymous Fables and the "Babrian", or that derived from what we have called collection II, are now re-encountered again, after centuries of separation since their common origin. But other lines were also taken into account, including those of Oriental origin.

As an introduction to the study of the relationship between the collections where versions of various of them are preserved from the

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[1] Cf. the details in "La tradición fabulística ...", cit., pp. 7 ff.

same fable, versions derived conclusively from the same line, I am going to set out the material that is "new" with respect to AnF. I that appears in II and III. In turn this exposition will be divided into two parts, as already indicated: new fables and fables with versions from different traditions.

II. *The New Fables of the Vindobonensis and the Accursiana*

1. *Catalogue*

In fact, the Vindobonensis does not add new fables: but some of the Accursiana are also, as I have said, in mss. of the Vindobonensis. On the other hand, there are fables of the Augustana that do in fact come from these others: precisely when studying the Augustana I left H. 234 separate, for this reason, and I must emphasize some cases in which the Augustana is the secondary line with respect to AnF. II and/or III.

First I will give the list, starting from H. 268, where, after the fables added by Ib, begin the new ones of IIIδ (and possibly other subcollections), F, M (and possibly other mss.), Marc. Some are only here, others in other collections or in the *Life of Aesop*. It is clear that, conclusively, the creators of IIIδ and others did nothing different from their precursors of Ib and of the previous collections: adding new materials, taken from various sources, to their models. The analyses that follow are completed in Appendix I.

H. 268 "The Dog, the Fox and the Cock" (II, IIIδ). Fable without verse, with a very complex structure, rather more like a story, which reverses the theme of "The crow and the Fox" (the latter is the victim, due to the alliance of the dog and the cock). It is, undoubtedly, a Byzantine derivation of ancient motifs. Only found here.

H. 269 "The Lion; the Wolf and the Fox" (III αβγ, Ia). Another long narration with an anomalous structure. The fox takes revenge on the wolf, prescribing to the sick lion that he should dress in a wolf's skin. I think this is a motif of Indian origin, although it also has mixed references to the Greek theme of the lion and his servants: cf. pp. 571 ff. It reached Europe (spread extensively in the

European Medieval epic) through Byzantium: the remnants of verse that appear in our fable belong in fact to *politici* dodecasyllables and there are not, in this case, arguments to support the idea that they come in turn from choliambs or iambic trimetres. Only found here, in Greek.

H. 270 "The Heifer Calf and the Ox" (II, IIIδ, IIIγ). A situation fable with a closing statement by the ox (Bsit.-Cact./Adir.) and praise of πόνος or work: undoubtedly Hellenistic. It is a very characteristic example of fables of the line of Par., Dod., B. (and Avianus, who depends on B.), which shows complementary Hellenistic verse, sometimes pre-Babrian (Babrius expands). II–III is where there is most verse: cf. for example]εκράτησαν τοῦ σφάξαι, ἔμελλες ἀρτίως τυθῆναι (Cas.), ἰδὼν δ' ὁ βοῦς ἐμειδίασε καὶ[ ]εἶπε, passages more or less modified in the other sources. However, II–III abbreviate on occasions (eliminating καὶ ταλαιπωρεῖς λίαν Dod., ὁ βοῦς δ' ἐσίγα Par. 1): that is to say, it is another derivative of the model, which is definitely not contaminated by B. as Par. and Dod. are.

H. 271 "The Lark" (IIIαβγδ, Ia, Ib, II). A short situation fable (4 verses) with a lament: the Stoic theme of the equality of minor and major guilt. There is a great deal of complementary verse here and in Dod., the only appearances.

H. 272 "The Ass and the Horse" (IIIαβγ). A fable that crossed over to Western Europe (cf. p. 672) and developed the themes of reality and appearance and vanity punished. Traditional scheme: A/Bsit.-Bact./Aact. Here III has complementary verse with Par. and Dod., but as a whole it is a reduced version with respect to the one preserved by S., undoubtedly derived more directly from the primary model.

H. 273 "The Eagle" (IIIαγ). It is a situation fable with a lament, derived conclusively from Aeschylus (cf. p. 247). It is very significant that the text of II is also in the mss. of Par.: the fable is published by Chambry 7 as belonging to Par. This text contains Hellenistic verse: cf. for example,]εἰσῆλθεν, | ἡ δὲ γλυφὴ σὺν τοῖς πτεροῖς[ ]εἱστήκει. | Ὁ δ' ἰδὼν ἔφη· καὶ τοῦτό μοι ἑτέρα λύπη | τὸ τοῖς ἰδίοις (⏓ –) πτεροῖς [ἐν] ἀποθνήσκειν.

From this line comes another, summarized and with new verse: it ends up in Ib = Par. 2 and Aphthonius 32 (cf. above, p. 296 and p. 247, on Aphthonius). What is significant is the series of steps in this line, external to the Augustana and its passage to Western Europe (cf. p. 672).

H. 274 "The Ethiopian" (IIIαβγ, Ib). Cf. p. 104, on the three lines of this fable: that of III is the same as Aphthonius and Themistius. This is more far removed, but by combining III and Aphth. (which derive from the same semiprosification) we obtain complete verses:]προσῆγε τὰ ῥύμματα, | λουτροῖς δὲ πᾶσι φαιδρύνειν ἐπειρᾶτο | καὶ ⟨– ◡ – ⏑̱ –⟩ μεταβαλεῖν οὐκ ἔσχε, | νοσεῖν δὲ τῷ πονεῖν παρεσκευάσατο (mss. παρεσκεύασεν). It is significant that, in this case, the three lines are "Babrian" one. The theme is that of nature, which is unalterable: the black cannot be bleached. The fable is situation followed by action.

H. 275 "The Fawn and the Hind" (IIIαβγ). Another fable on nature: the stag cannot face the dogs. Scheme: B1dir./B2dir. By combining III, Par. and Dod. we obtain considerable verse: νεβρός ποτε πρὸς τὸν ἔλαφον[| πάτερ, σὺ καὶ μείζων καὶ ταχύτερος κυνῶν πέφυκας, etc. Aphthonius comes from a derivative and presents a great deal of new verse, cf. p. 244 (curiously, he changes the stag into a hind, deceived by the epicene gender).

H. 276 "The Shepherd and the Wolf" (IIIαβγ). Perhaps derived from Aeschylus, cf. Vol. I, p. 144. It is a small *agon* A/Bsit.-Bact.+act./Aact. Surprisingly, it is only found in III. It shows traces of Hellenistic verse: the beginning would be, I believe, Ποιμὴν νεογνὸν σκύμνον [–] εὑρὼν λύκου | σὺν τοῖς κυσὶν [◡ ◡] ἔτρεφεν. Ἐπεὶ δ' ηὐξήθη | εἴ ποτε λύκος πρόβατον[and more verse is found. The theme, once again, is that of nature that does not change. Only found here, but there is an Indian derivative.

H. 277 "The Swan" (III αβγ). A fable (or rather, a story of false Natural History, perhaps derived from Plato's *Phaedo*) that is only found here and in Aphthonius: complementary Hellenistic verse appears in both places. Cf. Vol. III, Appendix I. Themes of appropriateness and nature.

H. 278: "The Woman and the Drunk Husband" (III αβγ, Ia). More than a fable, it is a long and diffuse novelette, against intoxication.

It only appears here and its remnants of verse seem to come from Byzantine *politicus* verse.

H. 279 "The Son, the Father and the Painted Lion" (IIIγδ). More than a fable, it is a long and diffuse myth on the inexorability of destiny. Our version finds one very close in the mss. of Par. (= 296 Ch.) and there are other related ones in Dod. and B. (which is in fact T.Assend. 1, also in Mb). Everything indicates that in this case the model is Babrius: coming independently from it are Dod. and Par., of which III is a simple variant.

H. 280 "The Rivers and the Hide" (IIIγδ). It derives from a fable of four verses; remnants remain here and also complementary ones in Par. It is a simple joke. Avianus takes a practically new fable from here. Scheme: A/Bsit.-Aind./Bdir.-Adir.

H. 281 "The Archer and the Lion" (IIIγδ). Complex and anomalous fable on the superiority of man over the lion; perhaps of Oriental origin (cf. an Egyptian version in Vol. I, p. 712). The whole tradition (III, Par., Dod.) comes from Babrius. See p. 260 on a derivation in Avianus (and p. 597 on Western versions).

H. 282 "The Bald Man" (IIIγδ, F). A situation fable with a closing statement of lament; themes of the ὁμόφυλοι and of friendship. There are remnants of verse, better preserved in Par.: it is probably a derivation of a fable by Babrius, from which Avianus also comes.

H. 283 "The Dog at the Banquet" (IIIγδ, Ia, Ib, III). A complex anecdote, which finishes in a closing statement in which the dog, driven away from the banquet, hides the fact (theme of H. 15). The verse of the fable comes from the version in Dod., of which it respects the complete dodecasyllables; but in turn Dod. and B. come from a common model with Hellenistic verse (Par. from B.). Hausrath prints separately the text of III and that of IIIα: sometimes one, sometimes the other is closely related to Dod.

H. 284 "The Man who Broke the Image" (IIIγδ, Ib, IIIα). A small *agon* with an irreligious theme, with a closing statement of religious criticism on the part of the man who broke the image and only then found the gold. The *stemma* is like the previous one: our text comes from Dod. and this and Babrius (and the Codex Brancaccianus)

depend on an original Hellenistic one, which one can reconstruct almost entirely, cf. Vol. III, Appendix I. There is an echo in *AP* XVI 187. Here too there are two versions starting from Dod.: those of IIIα and IIIγ.

H. 285 "The Mule" (II, IIIγδ, F). A rather anomalous situation fable: Bsit.-Bdir.-Bact. The mule, obliged to run, remembers his father the ass, but before only remembered his mother the mare. It is an echo of Archilochus, cf. Vol. I, p. 399; from a Hellenistic verse that is reconstructed almost entirely comes this version and that of B., cf. Appendix I. In Plutarch, *Mor.* 150a, there is a closely related version, perhaps contaminated. It crossed over to the West, cf. below.

H. 286 "The Horse and the Ass" (IIIαβγδ, Ia). It is a variant of H. 192 "The Ass and the Mule", a fable on which see above, p. 338. This version (closely related, moreover) comes from a different Hellenistic verse, probably from a secondary verse derived from the former: it produces not only this text, but also Par., Dod. and B.

H. 287 "The Worm and the Fox" (IIIαγδ). The theme of the man who claims to be a doctor and cannot cure himself: perhaps from H. 170 (from Archilochus), perhaps a fabulization of Solon 1. 57 ff. The scheme is traditional (Bact.-dir./Cdir.), but our version derives from Babrius (who, in turn, comes from a Hellenistic model together with Aphthonius, Themistius and Avianus).

H. 288 "The Sick Crow" (IIIα, F). A short situation fable with direct speech by the crow and answer by the mother: it is a criticism of the man who prays to the gods only at the time of need and forgetting his own wickedness. Our text is, once again, one derived from Dod., which in turn comes from a Hellenistic verse, from which in turn comes B. (from which comes Par.).

H. 289 "The Trumpet" (IIIαδ). A fable with a structure similar to the previous one, against those who instigate war. There are many remnants of Hellenistic verse here and in Dod.; Avianus is a derivative.

H. 290 "The Warrior and the Crows" (F). As Hausrath says, it is a fable taken from Plutarch, *Phoc.* 9 (or rather from a source tran-

scribed by him literally): it is a semiprosified fable (cf.]ἐπὶ πόλεμον ἐξῄει,]αὖθις ἐξῄει, ὑμεῖς κεκράξεσθ' ὡς δύνασθε[,]ἐμοῦ δ' οὐ γεύσεσθε).

H. 291 "The Head and the Limbs of the Snake" (F). It is derived from an Egyptian model.

H. 292 "The Lion, Prometheus and the Elephant" (F). Theme of each being more unfortunate than the other: the lion is afraid of the cock, the elephant of the mosquito. These two themes (and the general one, cf. H. 143) come from ancient fables and have been used to create this new, long and complex story. It may come from Achilles Tatius, as Crusius, Hausrath and Perry say, or, more probably, from the model for this (it introduces small additions), a model in Hellenistic verse of which important remnants remain, cf. Vol. III, Appendix I and below, p. 407. Cf. also p. 620 on an Indian derivative.

H. 293 "The Trees and the Olive" (F). Derivation from a vegetable *agon* taken from the book of Judges. An anomalous story, without verse.

H. 294 "The Wolf and the Dog" (F). A short fable with an *agon*-debate and closing statement derived from H. 94, and from the common model, Archilochus (cf. Vol. I, p. 399): Cynic theme of freedom, though at the cost of hunger. It derives from a text in 4 v., preserved in *Tetr.*: it is secondary, the primary line is in B., Ph., Av.

H. 295 "The Ass and the Dog" (F). An animal anecdote of the ass that reads the dog a letter that bothers the dog because it does not mention meat or bones. Undoubtedly Byzantine, as is the verse that is revealed.[2] Only found here.

H. 296 "The Wall and the Stick" (F). Small fable with a scheme ABsit.-Bdir./Adir. on the theme of the truly guilty. Only found here: there is a trace of four Hellenistic verses.

H. 297 "The Winter and the Summer" (F). Verbal *agon* of the winter and the summer; it is undoubtedly ancient, since there is an echo

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[2] Cf. Crusius, *Babrii Fabulae*, Leipzig, 1897, p. 208.

in Ennius. Yet the scheme is anomalous, as it is an ἔκφρασις. There seem to be ancient iambic remnants.

H. 298 "The Man and the Cicada" (M). In contrast to what Hausrath says, neither this nor the following fables come from the *Life of Aesop*, with which I correct what was stated in Vol. I, p. 657 where I refer the reader, moreover, for the whole question; also, in this same volume, to pp. 80 ff. The fable (ABsit.-Adir./Bact.) reverses the theme of the disregarded plea of the weak: the man frees the cicada. It comes from a Hellenistic original of which there remains complementary verse in the *Life of Aesop*; it is also in Sy., in abbreviated form. And in Western Europe, cf. p. 606.

H. 299 "The Woman and the Farmer" (IIIγδ). It is the well-known fable of the widow of Ephesus. III and the *Life of Aesop* are closely related, they have complementary verse; Phaedrus and Petronius certainly come from a secondary version, cf. p. 139.

H. 300 "The Adulterer and the Woman" (M). A Byzantine novelette without verse, the only Greek version. I find more than doubtful the derivation starting from the *Panchatantra* proposed by E. Rohde, *RhM* 31, 1976, pp. 628 ff.; it is in the West, see the data in Rohde, l.c.

H. 301 "The Thief and the Innkeeper" (M). Another Byzantine novelette without verse, except that this one is in Greek. On this fable in the Italian Renaissance, cf. Rohde, l.c.

H. 302 "The Mouse and the Frog" (MF). It is the well-known fable coming from the *Batrachomyomachia*, with a very complex scheme. It ends with the curse of the mouse and the punishment of the frog. It comes from an ancient Hellenistic model: there is complementary verse, on one hand, in MF, Par. and Dod., on the other, in the *Life of Aesop*. The versions of Romulus (Phaedrus) and the Pseudo-Dositheus, come from a derived branch.

H. 303 "The Farmer and the Asses" (MF). The misfortune of the man who dies on account of some asses: Bsit.-Cdir.-sit.-Bdir., with lament. There are, it seems, remnants of verse and at least one clear one (ὦ Ζεῦ, τί σ' ἠδίκησα;[) both in this version and in that of the *Life of Aesop*; both come from a semiprosification.

H. 304 "The Father and the Daughter" (MF). Anecdote against incestuous love, also in the *Life of Aesop* in an almost identical version. There are, it seems, small remnants of ancient verse.

H. 305 "The Foolish Daughter and her Mother" (MFP). A small obscene novelette, also in the *Life of Aesop*, in a closely related, but independent version. There are important remnants of ancient verse.

H. 306 "The Sailor and his Son" (M). Byzantine novelette without verse. Only found here.

H. 307 "The Puppy and the Frogs" (Marc.). A modern, anomalous fable, without verse. Only found here.

2. *Interpretation*

As has been seen, Hausrath gathers together, after the fables of the Augustana, a kind of appendix of fables that are in III (or in subcollections of this, sometimes accompanied by II, Ia or Ib) or in certain mss. that he conventionally attributes to IIIδ (these fables, in fact, may also have been included in the body of I, as do some that are only found in E).

These sources of ours were clearly added to the basic collections with various fables taken from here and there. We can attempt a classification of these:

a) There are Byzantine fables and novelettes that are only found here. Sometimes they are prosaic, at others they are prosifications of *politici* dodecasyllables. As regards the origin, it ranges from the derivation starting from fabulistic elements or ancient romance-like types to the loan starting from the Bible (H. 293). Part of this material spread later in the West. I refer to H. 268, 269, 278, 293, 295, 300, 301, 306, 307.

b) The remainder consists of fables or anecdotes derived from the Hellenistic tradition: the structure, the themes, the metre clearly show this. Some derive conclusively (in direct or mediated form) from the Archaic or Classical fable: from Aeschylus 273 and 276, from Archilochus 285, 287 (or from Solon), 294 (through another fable), from the *Batrachomyomachia* 302; others are Hellenistic. There are isolated ones, only preserved here; others belong to well-known lines

of the fabulistic tradition (particularly the "Babrian" one: Par., Dod., B., Av.) and have sometimes left traces in Aphthonius, Themistius, Plutarch, Achilles Tatius, the *Life of Aesop*, etc. There is no doubt that our mss. took them from semiprosified versions that circulated in Antiquity and that have sometimes been preserved in a very closely related form, for example, in Plutarch, Achilles Tatius or the *Life of Aesop*; at other times what we find, alongside our versions, are others in the "Babrian" line, in particular. In short, there are always traces of Hellenistic verse in these fables. We may establish the following groups:

α) Fables derived from a model that also left a trace in the "Babrian" line: Par., Dod., B., Av. (although, sometimes, one of these collections is missing or has produced a derived version). This is the case of H. 270, 271, 275, 280, 286, 288, 289. There are some special cases. H. 272 is in this line, but it is a secondary version; a trace of the primary one remains in Sy. H. 273 is isolated, but belongs to the line in question, then there is a secondary version in Ib = Par. 2 (and Aphthonius). Precisely the identical nature or extreme proximity, sometimes, of our versions and those of Par. is very characteristic.

β) Fables also on this line, but not derived from its model, but from its recent creations: from Babrius or Dod. or *Tetr.* The following are undoubtedly Byzantine derivations: H. 279, 281, 282, 283, 284, 287, 288, 294. Thus, the mss. that are the source of these fables mixed models of Babrius and the Babrian tradition and derivatives from this. We will see (Chap. 4) that our mss. of dodecasyllables and paraphrases are precisely of this type. Our authors took the material from them or from other precursors of theirs, as the case may be.

γ) Fables from the ancient tradition, but isolated, whose relationship with the fundamental collections we cannot establish. This is the case of H. 274 (a version related to those of Aphthonius and Themistius, there are two others in Sy.); H. 276 (isolated); H. 277 (with Aphthonius); H. 296 (isolated).

δ) Fables of the same type, for which, together with the version referred to here, there is a parallel in the indirect tradition: in Ennius, Plutarch, Achilles Tatius or the *Life of Aesop*. I refer to H. 290 (Plutarch), 291 (Achilles Tatius), 297 (Ennius), 298, 299, 302, 303, 304, 305 (all these in the *Life of Aesop*). Only in three cases are there

derivatives in the collections: there is a summary of H. 298 in Sy., there is a derivative of H. 299 in Ph. and Petr., there is complementary verse to H. 302 in Par., Dod. The latter case is that of a fable of the "Babrian" line, the other two leave the doubt open.

In any event, these parallels trace back the verse of our fables to an ancient age (the doubtful case is H. 297, since the precedent of Ennius is not decisive it this respect). Then I wish to stress that, in contrast to what we have been saying, our mss. did not take the fables from the ancient authors, but from their models.

Of course we cannot affirm this for H. 290 other than by parallelism with other cases: the text of Plutarch is identical to that of F, apart from a minimal variation. For H. 292, however, things are clearer. Indeed, remnants of verse in F

Λέων κατεμέμφετο Προμηθέα[
μέγαν αὐτὸν ἔπλασεν[

are distorted by Achilles Tatius with the introduction of the article or of μέν. Later on, a trimetre ἡ δὲ ψυχὴ πρὸς τοῦτο μόνον μαλακίζεται is altered in the two texts independently ἡ δὲ σοῦ F, ἡ δὲ σέ Achilles Tatius.

In any event, things are even clearer in the case of the fables that are also in the *Life of Aesop*. I must place on record, initially, that the collections in this Appendix are only some of the fables common to the *Life* and to the Anonymous Fables (to fables of not-H., at other times) and that I have already pointed out (Vol. I, p. 657) that the version of the *Life* is usually different and more complete. I refer the reader to Appendices I and II for the study of each specific fable.

Then, the comparison of the versions where complementary verse is found in the *Life* and M (or IIIγδ in the case of H. 299) is sufficient to confirm my theory. This comparison has been made above, pp. 75 ff., so I will content myself with referring the reader to this passage.

It seems clear, then, that our mss.—on the other hand, only partly agreeing with each other—have added multiple materials to their main source, sometimes Hellenistic ones of Classical origin, sometimes Hellenistic originals of that age, sometimes Byzantine (and in this case, sometimes of Oriental, even biblical origin), sometimes

derivations from Babrius. As in cases already studied before, with this they introduced duplications or slightly varied versions of other fables (cf. H. 192 and 286, 238 and 294). It is significant that, with the material introduced, the copyists or writers left a clear indication of how the Byzantines conceived the "fable" genre: it included animalistic fables (situation and agonal), a vegetable fable, anecdotes, a myth, stories and novelettes. As regards the content, their taste is extremely wide-ranging; and the same as regards the form, which sometimes preserves the Hellenistic models, sometimes becomes a romance-like story or ἔκφρασις.

Evidently, the material that these Byzantine seekers of new fables could find came from very varied origins. Within the Greek tradition, they had recourse mainly to the "Babrian" line, including fables derived from Babrius himself. But also to other isolated ones, which we find difficult to place in the *stemmata* of the fables, but whose antiquity is guaranteed by allusions and versions starting from the Hellenistic Age itself.

To finish, I would like to mention that the Appendix as such of the Augustana (that is to say, excluding the fables of FM) entered the West from the 9th century, cf. p. 579 on H. 269, 272, 273, 281, 285, 298; also 300 and 301, from F. And that, at the same time, it influenced the Indian fable: cf. p. 620 on H. 276, 292 and 302. These are fables that, for whatever reason, from the very moment of their origin spread outside of the boundaries of Byzantium. It is likely that the Appendix was formed precisely on the Oriental border, judging by the Oriental origin of H. 269, H. 281.

Finally, I would like to draw attention to the fact that various of the fables that we have studied crossed over, as has already been said, to the Latin tradition of Western Europe. They are fables that are found in various subrecensions of III. It is a ms. of one of these recensions, therefore, that already in the 9th century[3] crossed over to the West and was partially translated. This is a new argument for the dating of the Accursiana.

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[3] Date of the ms. of Saint Gall with the Latin version of H. 269.

III. *Fables Whose Text in the Byzantine Collection of AnF. comes from a Different Line from that of the Version of the Augustana*

1. *Inventory*

Here is a list of fables in which the Augustana and the Byzantine collections follow versions of the same fable coming from different branches of the fabulistic tradition:

H. 3 "The Eagle and the Beetle". Cf. p. 77, where information is given on the two versions, one in AnF. IIIα and the *Life of Aesop*, which presents complementary verse, and another in AnF. I–II, an abbreviated version coming from the same primary version. Evidently, the creators of III included a more complete version, which they found in some ms., and which they preferred, instead of altering the text of I or II, as was customary.

H. 7 "The Cat and the Hens". Compared with a model followed by AnF. I and Syr., there is another "Babrian" one in Dod., *Tetr.* 1 and Babrius: it is precisely from this that Par. and IIIγ derive.

H. 44 "The Frogs Asking for a King". Fable with a single primary model, in which II expands the subject, but with an agreement with Dod. (II χρόνου δὲ πολλοῦ παρῳχηκότος, Par. χρόνου δὲ πολλοῦ προβεβηκότος) which makes us consider contamination.

H. 51 "The Farmer and the Serpent". Cf. pp. 108 ff. on this fable with a very complicated *stemma.* The three versions of AnF. come from one of the various primary branches, with Hellenistic verse, which is best preserved in II; in I and III there are two derivatives with common elements and remodelled verses.

H. 89 "The Goose of the Golden Eggs". Although all the versions seem to come from a single primary model, within it there is an abbreviated version that leaves traces in IIIαγ and in Par., Dod. and B. Instead, that of I has been introduced in III, closely related to S.

H. 114 "The Ant and the Cicada". Together with the version of I (which Hausrath numbers Ib) there are traces of another, in IIIαγ

and in Dod., which seems to descend from Babrius, either contaminated with I or with the original model.

H. 143 "The Hares and the Frogs". Cf. p. 38. As in H. 3, the original model is very complete in AnF. III, from where derive IIIγ, Par., Dod., B. (altered); and, on the other hand, a summary that has ended up in AnF. I, F. and Syr.

H. 184 "The Walker and Fortune". While AnF. I, with this title, preserves remnants of the primary verse (from 7), in AnF. II–IIIαγδ, Par., Dod. and B. there are traces of a "remodelled" verse, that is to say, partly agreeing with the previous verse (τῆς τύχης δ' ἐπιστάσης), partly new: it is a reduced version, originally in four verses, which replaces the walker with a boy (in II–III) or with a "worker" or "someone" (in the other versions).

H. 190 "The Ass and the Gardener". There are traces of two semiprosifications, derived from the same primary verse, in I and in II, Dod.

H. 192 "The Ass and the Mule" is the fable of I, with remnants of a primary verse from which comes the secondary verse of the new version in H. 286 "The Horse and the Ass" (in III, Par., Dod. and B., which expands).

H. 199 "The Ass and the Lionskin". IIIγ agrees with Par., derived from the principal line.

H. 205 "The Bird-catcher and the Partridge". Here the "Babrian" line (*Tetr.* 1 and 2, Par. 1 and 2, Dod.) really comes from Babrius (which in turn comes, with AnF. Ia (?), S., from a single primary version). Yet Par. 2 = IIIδ.

H. 215 "The Boy who Hunted Grasshoppers". Cf. p. 80. There is complementary verse in I and in IIIγ = Par.

H. 221 "The Rich Man and the Paid Mourners". In N (= IIIδ) there is a reduced version of I. It is isolated.

H. 226 "The Shepherd who Joked". Cf. p. 97. There are two primary metrical versions, a longer one preserved in AnF. I and another more reduced one in III and δ, Par. and Dod. (complementary).

H. 234 "The Worm". A significant fable, which above (cf. p. 317) I separated from the study of the Augustana, cf. p. 99: the versions of I and II come from Dod. (Par. comes from another line of subject, with other verse) and preserves Byzantine metre. What we have sometimes seen happening in new fables from III we find, in this unique case, in I. There is not, then, a difference of models between the versions, as in the rest of those entering this list, but we include the fable here on account of the fact that a Byzantine version entered it.

H. 239 "The Reed and the Olive Tree". I include this fable of H. 239 II–IIIαγδ to be complete, since the case is a rather different one from the previous ones. If we recall (cf. p. 47), there is a primary version "The trees and the Reed" in H. 239 I (and in Par. 1 and 2, which Chambry mistakenly attributes to H. 71; also in B.), and a secondary one, abbreviated in the form of an *eris*, "The Oak and the Reed", in H. 71. 239 II–IIIα and δ, which we are considering now, is very different from 239 I: but the fact is that it is an expansion of 71 I and it should have been placed under this number. Expansions and prosaic summaries of III are not rare: cf., for example, H. 57 and 190.

H. 255 "The Swallow and the Snake". All the versions come from a single original, but IIIγ and Par. (very closely related) depend directly on B., which altered the original considerably (there are also traces of it in AnF. I, Syr., *Tetr.*).

2. *Interpretation*

Leaving aside the special case of H. 239, the differences between the various subcollections of AnF. (I–II/III, I/II–III, I/IIIδ or IIIγ, I–III or III/IIIγ) consist of the introduction on the part of the collections not in the Augustana of versions with the same characteristics as those that we find in the "new" fables of III, etc. There is nothing strange in this, since the material at the disposal of the copyists was always approximately the same. The only difference is that in one case, the one studied above, III and the others, starting from this material, added a fable absent from the Augustana, while in the case studied now what was done was to replace the new version with the ancient one, related to the Augustana (or simply not derive it).

It is significant that, once again, the introduction of new material has led to the creation of a duplicate (H. 192 and 286).

Also in this case we have:

α) Fables derived from a model that left a trace in the "Babrian" line to which these versions belong (sometimes there is even identity or almost identity with Par.). Together with the primary version of I, a secondary one from this line is introduced (H. 114, 184, 190, 192, the opposite case is in H.) or else a second primary or semiprosified version (H. 215, 226). Note that this introduction is sometimes in II–III, sometimes in IIIγ, sometimes in IIIγδ. Yet it also happens on one occasion that I belongs to the secondary line and that III introduces the primary one, with a large amount of preserved verse (H. 143, where in turn there is a secondary derivation, independent of I, in IIIγ). On another (H. 44) II is contaminated by Dod.

β) Fables of this same line, but recent, derived from Babrius (H. 7, 205, 255) or else from Dod. (this is the case of H. 234, where I have already stated that this derivation has invaded all the AnF.s, specifically I and II).

γ) In H. 221, III presents a derived version, which remains isolated: we cannot identify it with any specific line. On the other hand, in H. 51 the three collections allow versions that are independent, although of common origin, to enter.

δ) Finally, here too there is an example, H. 3, in which the Augustana (and II) presented a secondary version, which in III has been replaced with a very direct derivation from the primary one, also accessible to the *Life of Aesop*.

Of course, as these are replacements of the versions of the Augustana, we must not enter into the character of these fables or into their antiquity: it is primary or secondary versions in Hellenistic verse that entered III, and belonged to the various types of fables of the Augustana. No new Byzantine material entered, of course.

IV. *The Tradition of the Pre-Augustana and the Creation of the Vindobonensis and the Accursiana*

1. *General Remarks*

With what has been stated so far, we are moving into a marginal terrain: the secondary introduction into the Byzantine Anonymous fables of material not in the pre-Augustana. However, these fables derive, essentially, from this ancient collection. If they were merely derived from the Augustana (and, sometimes, the Accursiana from the Vindobonensis), as is the common opinion and as I myself accepted in my *Estudios sobre el léxico de las fábulas de Esopo*, from 1948, the study of these Byzantine collections would contribute nothing to the knowledge of the ancient fable: only to that of the style and the Byzantine literary tendencies. But in the present work, following the path embarked upon in "La tradición fabulística . . .", from 1969 and 1970, I established that, in addition to the model of the Augustana, the Byzantine collections have other older ones, semiprosifications with abundant verse, which they sometimes preserve to a greater extent than the Augustana and which we must attribute precisely to the pre-Augustana. Notwithstanding, the study of these collections is of course of interest for the study of the Byzantine lexicon, style, syntax, etc., and the conclusions of our *Estudios*[4] continue to be valid for this purpose.

I refer the reader to this work, then. Generally speaking, the Vindobonensis represents a popular and even vulgar collection, from the 6th or 7th centuries, which introduces late vocabulary and syntax. Whereas the various subcollections of the Accursiana, which we must date in the period of the Byzantine renaissance of Photius and Aretas, represent gradual attempts at purifying the language and style of the fables in a classicist sense.

However, at the same time, this study reveals the ancient materials handled by the creators of the Byzantine collections, so it helps in the reconstruction of the ancient tradition and its split in the Byzantine Age. In fact, throughout this whole book I have already been using the remnants of verse of the pre-Augustana in AnF. II and III, just as in this same chapter I have concerned myself with

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[4] And from the (unpublished) doctoral thesis of María Pilar Gazo.

other remnants of verse of fables from a different tradition. And I have concluded that the models of both collections were preserved in Byzantium, at least, until the 9th century and that this dates the origins of the Accursiana (moreover, a very split off collection, which was only gradually created as such).

The reading of the previous volume of this book, pp. 90 ff., will offer convincing evidence that there remain, in the detail, a series of unresolved problems, which I am going to attempt to clarify here, insofar as the incomplete knowledge that we have of the mss. makes this possible. Yet I believe that we may advance along this path: after the fundamental conclusions in "La tradición . . .", pp. 277 ff. and the study, which introduces certain minor alterations, in the location cited in Vol. I, I think that we can now go even further, although it is, to a certain extent, by introducing some modifications.

Of course, the fundamental basis is the one that I have just recalled and has been present, in fact, throughout this whole book: the Vindobonensis and Accursiana collections had direct access to semiprosified texts that are the models of the Augustana but preserved more verse than the latter. In the detail here are questions such as these: how do we reconcile this relationship with the derivation of II starting from I (our Augustana) and of III starting sometimes from II, sometimes from I (or from both, contaminating), as has been proposed; the role of Ia and of various mss. or groups of them of I as a source of III; the role of a possible intermediary, preceding II and III, that has been proposed for IIIδ; the relationship between the various subcollections of III. I will gradually recall what has been stated on these details, the data contributed and the doubtful points, to expound the current state of my opinions, on the basis of the detailed study of the *stemmata* of the fables during the course of this book and from a new examination of the variants that are found in the editions of the various collections and in the Critical Apparatuses of these.

It is convenient to proceed in parts, dealing first with the problems of the Vindobonensis and then with those of the Accursiana.

2. *Origins of the Vindobonensis Collection*

In the passages cited *Estudios* . . ., of "La tradición . . ." and of Vol. I of this work, it has remained clear, I think, that the Vindobonensis is a Byzantine collection, datable in the 6th or even in the 7th cen-

tury AD, which introduces lexical and syntactical elements that are already Byzantine. A popular collection, which reflects the decline of the literary tradition in the period. It is a quite cohesive collection, included in which, in fact, are the mss. that Hausrath attributed to a collection IIIδ, which Perry and myself have proposed as occasionally presenting a text that foreshadows that of the rest of the Vindobonensis. However, on this, see below.

Regarding the origins of the Vindobonensis, it is generally accepted today (after the aberrations of Hausrath on the supposed ancient "popular book" went out of fashion) that it derives from the Augustana. In the locations I have cited, indeed, I have offered abundant material to demonstrate that a) sometimes the Vindobonensis maintains the text of the Augustana, whether metrical or prosaic; b) on other occasions it alters it, often destroying the metre; and this to pay attention to the lexical, syntactical and stylistic preferences of the new age. I have provided sufficient examples, I believe, of the former and the latter.

However, starting from "La tradición . . ." (*Estudios* . . . proposed the dependence of the Vindobonensis only with respect to the Augustana), I showed that the Vindobonensis occasionally offers new metre, complementary to that of the Augustana; in this same volume, pp. 28 ff., I have offered new examples of this. I do not believe that it is necessary to discuss these further here. I will restrict myself to giving a list of fables below in which we most clearly find complementary verse in the three collections, a list that I do not claim to be complete; and I refer the reader to Appendix I and to various passages of this book where more data are offered. Here is the list: in it I indicate with an asterisk the clearest cases, which offer the largest quantities of metrical remnants:

H. 9, 10, 13, *16, 18, *19, 20, 21, 22, *23, 24, 27, *29, 32, *33, 34, 35, 36, 42, 43, 47, 49, 58, *64, 66, 68, 90, *96, 97, 105, 116, 117, 122, 126, 127, 130, 134, *137, *163, *176, 179, 180, 181, 183, *188, 199, 207, 216, 217, *224, *233, 235, *250, *252, *253, *256, *259, *260. In this list (which, I repeat, is incomplete) there are only a few fables without a version in II (complementary verse only in I and III): H. 68, 90, 96, 97, 105, 122, 127, 199, 217, 224, 250, 252.

In view of these evident data, in "La tradición . . ." I corrected the hypothesis of *Estudios* . . . in the sense that the creator of II contaminated our Augustana with an older version and with more verse,

an older phase of the pre-Augustana. I added that in some cases the agreement between IIIδ and II when they transmit a verse spoiled by I and the agreement of IIIδ with I in some cases have made me think (following Perry in this) that IIIδ in fact constitutes an initial phase of the Vindobonensis. I have maintained all these ideas in Vol. I of this book. I will examine them again now.

The possibility of interpretation is presented whereby in the pre-Augustana, the source of II (including IIIδ) there were already, at the same time, the prosified passages of I and II; and when a metrical passage of II corresponds to a prosified one in I, this prosification is precisely the work of I, correcting the pre-Augustana followed by II. This would not prevent the text of I, inherited from the pre-Augustana, being more archaic than the corresponding one of II: II would have altered the ancient model, preserved in this case by I. It is not at all strange that two collections derived from the same model sometimes preserve it, sometimes innovate it, and this in different passages and in different ways according to their preferences of language and style.

We will examine this hypothesis, which contradicts the one presented by us in Vol. I, that of the contamination of I and the pre-Augustana by II. If it is true, we could leave aside the idea of contamination: II would simply be derived from the pre-Augustana, both with regard to the verse that is not in I and to the prose that is in I. The conclusion will be negative: that there is indeed contamination. Yet it is appropriate at this point to argue in this direction and not to take it as pure supposition.

Indeed, many of the passages that we have considered to propose a derivation I > II could in principle also be interpreted in this other way. And certain serious alterations introduced by II, such as that of the original νεβρόν in H. 152 (cf. p. 31), are explained both if II derives from I and if it derives from the pre-Augustana, better preserved, in this case, in I. Certain alterations, also serious, of a fable in the whole anonymous tradition, such those of H. 181 and H. 134, studied on p. 30 (an inversion and a lost ending, respectively), are explained both if they are from I and if they are from the pre-Augustana: the only thing they demonstrate is that the ancient models of the whole anonymous tradition are practically the same. And that those models modify other ancient semiprosified ones (sometimes better preserved in the "Babrian" tradition), something that the *stemmata* of fables that we have studied clearly showed.

The solution to this aporia lies in the demonstration that occasionally a fable of the Vindobonensis has a double model: one in the pre-Augustana (metrical), another in I or in an immediate precursor (prosaic). This may be established in connection with the data offered in *Historia*. . ., 1, pp. 112 ff., and "La tradición . . .", pp. 285 ff.: differences of the text in subcollections and mss., particularly in Ia and IIIδ.

Let us look, for example, at fable H. 16, which I discussed in the first of the locations cited. Here some mss. of IIIδ (Ml) and Ia (Me Mi), as well as all of III, carry a text that with a single change of word order obtains something more than one iambic trimetre:

ἀλλ' εἰ σὺ πολλῶν εὐπροσώπων εὐπορεῖς
ἀπολογιῶν

This text, which the pre-Augustana preserved with only the alteration cited, is altered profoundly in the rest of the tradition, I, II and III: although there are certain differences between them, all the mss. eliminate the initial ἀλλ', replace εἰ with ἐάν and ἀπολογιῶν with ἀφορμῶν. On the other hand, some mss. of IIIδ (Pf Ph) and Ia (Ce Mc) have a mixed text, and preserve, for example, the εἰ. It was not, then, a text, but two, that the authors of our collections had before them: cf. parallel cases, above, pp. 308 ff. They may have contaminated them; and the doubt may often remain as to how the details of the process occurred.

Another example, which is useful for establishing the origin of IIIδ and II, is that of H. 83, studied in "La tradición . . .", p. 303. Here, summarizing, there is τύχην in I, which must be ancient, a distortion (perhaps out of modesty) of the model of Archilochus πυγήν: cf. fr. 76 Adrados. Yet in Ia (exc. Mj) and III there is μωρίαν, evidently a correction, which is included in a new verse. In Ia, Mj, IIIδ and II there is μωρὰν τύχην. The hypothesis of the contamination proves evident, as we see. A different problem is where it arose first.

At the same time, this example shows us that I does not always offer the most altered text. In a similar manner, in H. 201 I (exc. Pb) preserves the metre in ὄνος ξύλων γόμον φέρων while in Ia, IIIδ, III (there is no II) there is a prosification that is clearly ancient (ὄνος ξύλα βαστάζων). In H. 45 it is Ia Mj that preserves a complete choliamb ὅλον τὸ βάρος ἡμεῖς φέρομεν, σὺ τί κράζεις while III and II introduce a prosification, a clear sign of a relationship.

Thus, it is clear that II habitually agrees with IIIδ or some of its mss., and that it has access to the pre-Augustana; sometimes, together with Ia or with different mss. from I.

We need only point out, in addition to the above, many examples in which there is text of a fable in II and IIIδ, not in III αβγ; there are even examples of "new" fables (H. 268, 270: here also IIIγ).

What conclusions can we draw from all this?

One hypothesis could be the one already mentioned, that IIIδ represents a first step in the creation of the Vindobonensis: It contaminates I and the pre-Augustana, modifying the former and recovering metrical passages from the latter that are sometimes also preserved in Ia and III. From here would come II, which introduces new alterations that sometimes entered, subsequently, certain mss. of IIIδ. Yet there is also another possible hypothesis, parallel to the one we have accepted for the case of Ia (cf. p. 293): that IIIδ, as part of the Vindobonensis, or even better, certain mss. of IIIδ, contaminated the fundamental text of the collection with that of the pre-Augustana.

It is not easy to choose between these two hypotheses: if the metrical elements of IIIδ are prior to an evolved phase of II or are, on the contrary, the product of secondary contamination, more advanced than that of the rest of II, which, as we have already seen, contaminates the pre-Augustana with the same source. To support the position of IIIδ as an intermediate stage between I and II, certain data may alleged, such as the one I give in "La tradición . . .", p. 282, for H. 4 (cf. also p. 295) or else agreements such as I, IIIδ εἰς ἄγραν/II, III πρὸς ἄγραν in H. 117. Yet they are perhaps insufficient, as sometimes other explanations can be sought. I will not be so bold as to decide definitively, as the tradition of IIIδ, which we are not even certain represents an ancient unitary tradition, is so poorly known. Then, not only are its mss. divided up more frequently, with some going with II and others with III, but the same ms. in the same fable may, from passage to passage, go with one model or the other. With this I express a doubt concerning the statements in "La tradición . . ." and Vol. I, p. 92.

Although the Augustana is derived from the pre-Augustana, we have seen that it occasionally preserves the verse better than the copy of this pre-Augustana followed by IIIδ. In turn, IIIδ may differ from Ia, with one having verse and the other prose, or vice versa. Already when discussing the origins of Ia, I stated that the name of

the pre-Augustana means a series of closely related, not identical collections. There must have been, indeed, various models. In fact, what we have called the immediate precursor of the Augustana is yet one more of these models, generally modernized, but sometimes older. These models were contaminated not only by IIIδ and Ia (agreeing with each other or not), but by the mss. of these same collections. And later there were further contaminations in II and, as we will see, in III.

Finally I draw attention to the fact that H. 190, where II shows agreements with Dod., demonstrates the existence of semiprosifications prior to I and II.

Leaving aside the detail, the idea that IIIδ–II form a homogeneous group, fundamentally derived from the Augustana or, rather, from an immediate precursor of this, although contaminated with the pre-Augustana, is also made likely by the arguments that follow.

It is sufficient to examine the initial list of fables in Hausrath's ed. to realize that IIIδ and II show exactly the same fables. And it is sufficient to compare these fables with our lists on pp. 15 and 16 to realize that their correspondence is found in the fables that also appear in I (which, of course, are habitually published in a text mixed with that of Ia), but never in those that are only in Ia (not in Ib). The only exception is illusory: in H. 190 the version of II is from the "Babrian" line; a model is deduced of II and Dod. that is somewhat different from that of I.

It was, then, a text of the Augustana, not of Ia, that the creator of IIIδ and II had at his disposal. It was, I believe, an ancient text of our Augustana, some of whose mss. subsequently added fables of Ia, as we know; or in any event new fables, irrespective of the question of whether they come from Ia or not. If sometimes the text of IIIδ and that of Ia are closely related, this is due not to direct descent, but to the common source: the contaminations with the pre-Augustana. But the basic source is the Augustana. For many fables, in which we do not find new verse different from that of the Augustana, the only one.

The pre-Augustana we are discussing preserved traces of verse that I eliminated and that Ia (which had direct access, cf. pp. 291 ff.) sometimes preserved. It was used, to contaminate I, by the author of IIIδ and also the author of II. The only obscure point is that relating to the chronology of the contaminations of IIIδ.

On the other hand, the pre-Augustana lacked the new fables of Ia:

this is what we believed we could establish (cf. p. 291) and the fact that they are absent from II, which knew this collection, confirms it.

Of course, both the model of the Augustana and that of the pre-Augustana already contained, in addition to the ancient "diffused" fables, those that are in I and Sy. and those only in I, as well as those of secondary origin. There are examples of all these in IIIδ and II.

The Vindobonensis is a collection that introduced into the Augustana the lexicon, the syntax and the style of the 6th century onwards, seeking a popular and even vulgar tone and a distance from the Augustana, a collection that was still rather Classical. And, at the same time, seeking a drastic reduction in the number of fables; later, however, undoubtedly subsequently, some new fables were introduced starting from various sources, particularly the "Babrian" tradition, as we have already seen.

According to what criterion was the Vindobonensis reduced? Undoubtedly, apart from the criterion of respecting the most well-known and traditional fables (although not always: for example, it eliminates the fable of the ass and the lionskin, that of the wolf and the lamb, etc.), its author followed the criteria of his own taste or that of his age, criteria which it is not easy for us to establish. And this is because these criteria are mixed with another rather curious one. At the beginning of the collection, II took more than half of the fables of the model: those on the first two pages of Hausrath's list. Later he gathered together approximately only a quarter (pp. 3, 4 and 5 of this list). He then tended to maintain this proportion, but of the fables between 182 and 209 (p. III of Hausrath's Vol. II) he only kept 4 out of 28. The writer grew progressively tired, although, after the maximum decrease mentioned, he made an effort and finished his task by returning more or less to the proportion of 25 per cent.

Certainly this way of proceeding of the writer of II gives us the proof, if it was necessary, that the alphabetical order of the fables in the Augustana and the Anonymous Fables generally is ancient, and already comes from the Augustana. Just as that of the Babrian tradition is also ancient (although after Babrius), cf. Vol. I, pp. 104 ff.

Finally, we must recall that the creators of the Vindobonensis occasionally added to the material coming from the pre-Augustana other materials from the "Babrian" line or from other ancient metrical versions, including those of Babrius and even the dodecasyllables. We studied this theme at the beginning of this chapter, solving

the aporia presented in Vol. I, pp. 95 ff. Nor did they fail to contaminate both traditions (cf. p. 324). Very possibly a first phase, in which fables of the pre-Augustana were taken and remodelled, was followed by another, in which fables of various other origins were added, also coming from semiprosifications: it is normal that these fables almost always have a correspondence in the Augustana, given the size of this collection.

Indeed, if the "new" fables to which I have referred in this same chapter are re-examined, it will be seen that there are some that are absent from I and are in II and IIIδ or II and III, but there are very few: in fact only two, one (H. 268) isolated, the other (H. 270) from the "Babrian" line. This is normal. On the other hand, these fables (in contrast with the "new" fables of III) have nothing to do with Ia or Ib.

The introduction of paraphrases and dodecasyllables by various mss. of the Vindobonensis represents a continuation of the same tendency to reunite the two principal lines of the fabulistic tradition.

I will add, to finish, that the "new" fables of F have nothing to do, in spite of what is said, with IIIδ, nor, therefore, with II. Nor those of M, the *Life of Aesop*, etc.

3. *Origins of the Accursiana Collection*

Again in the case of the Accursiana Collection and of its subcollections we will not undertake a totally detailed study, for the reasons already given. But we must specify some of the elements already stated.

Firstly, the Accursiana is a group of collections, for which I have proposed (Vol. I, p. 94, on the basis of a previous work) that the oldest is α; it is also the longest collection, reduced by β and γ. Secondly, in general terms we must say that the Accursiana depends on II: this is totally and absolutely clear where II prosifies and is followed in this by III; also when it expands considerably, as in H. 57 and 239. Of course, also when the Accursiana accepts the "Babrian" fables and others of II. Thirdly, the Accursiana has a second source: the access to the pre-Augustana, since if it occasionally follows the new verse introduced starting from it by II (cf., among a thousand examples, that of H. 81, where II reintroduces a long metrical passage, in the middle of the fable, which had been eliminated by I), on many other occasions it in turn presents new verse that is not in I or in II and is complementary to both. I refer the reader to

my examples in Vol. I, pp. 94 ff. and in "La tradición ...", pp. 288 ff.; it is also possible to find more in the fables on the list above, p. 449. Fourthly, the Accursiana presents fables absent from II: in them there is a double model, one is the Augustana (I), the other, once again, the pre-Augustana, which it contaminates with the former, and from which it takes new verse, for which I refer the reader to the locations I have just cited.

I will also recall the classicist character of the composition of the Accursiana, its "purification" of the Vindobonensis, which I have described in my *Estudios*... And I emphasize the date that I assign to the collection: starting from the 9th century AD, in the Byzantine renaissance of Photius and Arethas (with the creation of subcollections being prolonged, however, during a period that we cannot determine). I have already said, among other arguments, that the Accursiana worked on an original of the pre-Augustana, which undoubtedly reached the 9th century in a ms. in uncial script that was not transliterated and was lost from the moment when it produced the derivative that is the Accursiana. It is inconceivable that this original reached the 14th century and was lost later. This original was also handled by the authors of paraphrases and dodecasyllables, whose date we also cannot place too late. And precisely, fables of the "Babrian" line and even derived from it (from the dodecasyllables, cf. p. 465, also versions practically identical to some of Par., cf. p. 464) were introduced in the Accursiana. The date of the mss., starting from the 14th century, the same as that of the mss. of the previous collections, except for G, of the Augustana (which precisely, cf. p. 305, transmits a fable of the Accursiana to us) also does not constitute any obstacle for my dating. On the other hand, it does not seem very conceivable that for a didactic and rhetorical genre, as the fable was considered, the Byzantines of the period of the renaissance of the 9th century were content to have just the Vindobonensis, with its vulgar and outmoded language.

The model of the pre-Augustana that reached the 9th century is no fantasy. The countless traces that it left in the metre of the fables of our Accursiana are not doubtful: and when there are fables only in I and III, not in II, it is clear that III takes the new metre from this model, not through II (admitting secondary losses in this: a desperate hypothesis, moreover). Yet the fact is, there are fables in which III and only III among the Anonymous Fables depends on the primary verse, which must therefore have reached the period of cre-

ation of the collection. This is the case of H. 3 "The Eagle and the Beetle", H. 143 "The Hares and the Frogs", H. 226 "The Shepherd who Joked" and H. 229, only in III and the *Life of Aesop*.[5] A situation with a different stemmatic structure leads to the same conclusion in H. 286 "The Horse and the Mule": this has a secondary verse with respect to the primary one of H. 192 "The Ass and the Mule"; it creates a new fable in III and the "Babrian" tradition; the primary one must necessarily have reached the 9th century. There are various further cases of this type, as we have already seen (cf. p. 308). It is not believable that the models reached the 14th century and were then lost. We may add that some of these fables crossed over to Western Europe from the 9th century (cf. pp. 670 ff.).

However, let us now proceed in a little more detail. We have established that in the 9th century the need was felt to replace the vulgar, Byzantine collection of fables that we call Vindobonensis with a longer, more classicist one. For whatever reason, not even the Augustana proved satisfactory: a new school of writers of fables began to rewrite them, again and again, on the basis of the models preserved. Among these we must highlight an ancient codex of the pre-Augustana which, evidently, like many others, disappeared later, after being used. Except that this was not transliterated: it was contaminated with the other models, according to what was usual in the genre we are studying.

The first writer of the Accursiana operated with the Vindobonensis as basic material; this was undoubtedly the most usual collection at the time. He later added other models. Indeed:

a) With very few exceptions, the fables of the Vindobonensis (IIIδ and II) crossed over to the Accursiana. Habitually they are in III αβγ or IIIαβ; much more rarely they are in IIIαγ or IIIβγ or IIIβ or IIIγ; I only find IIIα exclusively in H. 3 "The Eagle and the Beetle". Evidently, IIIα is the oldest and most complete collection, IIIβ and, particularly, IIIγ, lost some fables and added others on the basis of the same sources.

b) After taking the Vindobonensis as the model for most of its fables, the Accursiana also took new fables, from the "Babrian" line

[5] Cf. also H. 114, in which III comes from a summarized version of the primary verse also used by the source of Pseudo-Dositheus 17 (identified mistakenly with Babrius).

or another; and when there was no model in the Vindobonensis, it introduced fables also found in Ia or Ib (H. 269, 271, 278) and also in some collections not in the Anonymous Fables, whether "Babrian", or not: even Byzantine. These new introductions have special characteristics: they may occur in a single subcollection, particularly in IIIγ, or in two (H. 270, 279, 284) or in all three (H. 268, 269, 274).

Thus, the subcollections of the Accursiana proceed as we are already accustomed to seeing. They take the preceding subcollection as their model, but they eliminate fables and add others starting, in substance, from the same sources: from the oldest anonymous collections, contaminated with the pre-Augustana and from various material, whether Babrian or not, that they found in the Byzantine libraries.

We will now attempt to understand in greater detail the whole process of the creation of the Accursiana, particularly in its older phases, within the limitations that we have imposed on ourselves.

We have established that the basic source of the Accursiana (more specifically, of IIIα, followed almost always by IIIβ and to a more limited extent by IIIγ) is the Vindobonensis. The first problem posed is whether that source is IIIδ, or its evolved form II. A problem not easy to resolve.

In the fable H. 16, studied above, p. 451, we have seen that in certain mss. of Ia and IIIδ traces remain of the ancient verse, while the rest of the tradition of those collections, as well as that of I and II, offers a prosified version. III clearly presents the ancient text. In this case and some others of the same type that may be gleaned, in which III agrees in the ancient verse with some mss. of IIIδ and even of Ia, it is not clear whether it derives from these subcollections or else directly from the very original of the pre-Augustana. This is the same aporia that we have already met. In fact, the strongest argument for establishing a dependence of III with respect to IIIδ (instead of thinking of an agreement in the contamination with the pre-Augustana) lies in the fact that, while in the fables with two collections, I and II, IIIδ goes with II, in the fables with three IIIδ usually splits off and go in certain mss. with II, in others with III. In the examples of "La tradición . . .", pp. 283 ff., we can see this phenomenon exhaustively: metrical agreements between II and certain mss. of IIIδ and others between III and generally different mss. of IIIδ.

However, the relationship between the mss. of IIIδ being so perplexing, our knowledge of this collection in fables with only I, II and IIIδ being so incomplete and in the absence of fables represented only in I, IIIδ and III (sometimes, such as in H. 250, cf. above, III goes with Mh., considered of IIIδ, but more likely of III), it does not seem easy to exclude the other hypotheses: that of the agreement in the contamination starting from the pre-Augustana and that of the simple contamination of some mss. of IIIδ starting from III.

Nor does the fact that a few fables added in III to those of II are in IIIδ (cf. the data above, pp. 429 ff.) seem a sufficiently convincing argument. This is an exceptional case: the collections of III looked for new fables in various sources (and it cannot be ruled out that, conversely, the text of IIIδ depends on that of the rest of III).

This is a theme of textual criticism that I leave pending there. Yet what we are more interested in here is the undeniable fact of the origin of III starting from the Vindobonensis, contaminated with the pre-Augustana; and this in the fables that entered the former from IIIα, as well as in the few that entered later, with IIIβ or IIIγ.

The material on this subject is already given in the places cited above and I do not believe it is worthwhile to repeat it and add to it with data in our Appendix I: it would be easy. However, I do believe that is appropriate that, at least with an example each, the three following cases remain clear:

a) Text altered in I, maintained by II , but returned to the ancient form by III, by means of contamination with the pre-Augustana: H. 117 I, II θεασάμενος δὲ κίχλαν/III ἰδὼν δὲ κίχλαν (on the formula, cf. Vol. I, p. 556).

b) Text altered in I, returned to the ancient form by II and altered again by III: in the same fable I λειποψυχῶν ἔφη πρὸς ἑαυτόν/II (trimetre) λειποψυχῶν ἔφη μετὰ στενάγματος (mss. στεναγμοῦ)/III λειποψυχῶν ἔλεγε.

c) Text altered in I, with a new alteration in II and improved in III by contamination, but preserving traces of the alteration of II: in H. 137 from a ἐὰν αὖθις | πρὸ τῆς ἐπαύλεως μ' ἴδῃς καθεύδοντα (cf. Vol. I, p. 98) in I comes ἐὰν αὖθις με πρὸ τῆς ἐπαύλεως κοιμώμενον ἴδῃς/II, IIIδ ἐὰν ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν πρὸ τῆς ἐπαύλεως ἴδῃς με (με ἴδῃς) partly from the tradition/III, IIIδ Ml εἰ τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦδε πρὸ τῆς ἐπαύλεως με ἴδοις καθεύδοντα.

We should still consider the hypothesis, which I expounded in various locations in "La tradición . . .", pp. 278 ff., that, in addition to these two sources, the fables that we consider from the Accursiana also used the Augustana itself or I. This would not be at all strange, since it was the basic source of the fables absent from the Vindobonensis.

I will bring together a pair of those examples here. In H. 28 the liar who attempted to deceive the gods was captured and sold by some bandits and thus, in a different way to what he expected, εὗρε δραχμὰς χιλίας, he found a thousand drachmas: I preserves the ancient form, it is a trimetre ending. II changes the ending totally and makes the liar promise the bandits a thousand talents, nothing less. And III recovers the ancient subject and talks again, without metre now, of "a thousand drachmas". It seems to follow I, although it cannot be ruled out completely that it is inspired by the pre-Augustana.

A clearer example, perhaps, is H. 20, among various. Here the crocodile who, imitating the monkey of Archilochus, boasts of his nobility, saying that he is son of gymnasiarch parents (ὡς γεγυμνασιαρχηκότων ἐστὶ πατέρων). The Byzantine writer of II, who does not understand these social ranks of the Greeks of Egypt, simply suppresses this. And III re-introduces it, with an ametrical text dependent on that of I, also ametrical (ὡς γεγυμνασιαρχηκότων).

This was, then, the first and most important phase of the work of the writer of IIIα, followed later by those of IIIβ and IIIδ, which to a very limited extent added new fables of the same origin, at the same time as (particularly IIIγ) they eliminated others. To sum up, they had available either II or IIIδ (certain mss. of the latter) and they altered that basic version and contaminated it with elements taken from the pre-Augustana and the Augustana itself.

However, undoubtedly, the collection thus achieved now proved to be too small. In fact, III had only eliminated a few fables of its model, we do not know why (or if some were lost subsequently in the mss.), but the fact is that its model was, as we have already said, very short. Certainly, I must recall that in that model there were, in addition to fables coming from I, a few "Babrian" ones or ones from other origins, which were also used. Following the procedure of many other authors of collections, the creator of IIIα (and later IIIβ and IIIγ followed along the same path), wished to expand that collection. How he did it, we already know: first, by adding new

fables from the Augustana; second, by adding others from various origins: from the Hellenistic tradition generally, "Babrian" ones, ancient models known by the indirect tradition, etc., even fables of Oriental origin that had reached Byzantium in some way.

I am not going to discuss this second source or group of sources, because I have already concerned myself with it above. As regards the fables coming from the Augustana that are not in the Vindobonensis, we must recall that they were contaminated, once again, with the Augustana. I do not believe that it is necessary to give examples here either, as these have been offered in locations already cited and could be added to, not to mention in Appendix I, with the fables on the list on pp. 449 ff. that are in I and III, not in II (expressly indicated there).

For these fables, the problem of IIIδ evidently does not arise. We must place on record that, sometimes, certain teachings of III are also in Ia or in part of its mss. Cf., for example, H. 79 Ia (Me Mf) III ὑπ' ἀμπέλῳ ἐκρύβη, which I now believe represents an ancient, metrical ἐκρύβη ὑπ' ἀμπέλῳ; I ἐκρύπτετο ὑπό τινα ἄμπελον is a prosification. With this we are presented with the same problem as always: whether Ia and III use the pre-Augustana directly or whether III depends on Ia here: here and in a series of parallel cases (cf. "La tradición . . .", pp. 296 ff.). As I have already said, II does not know Ia, but it seems that this is not the case of III. Among the new fables of III listed above, pp. 432 ff., there are various, precisely, that are in Ia and III (and possibly in Ib). What is most likely is that the writer of the Accursiana had access, together with the Augustana, to a manuscript of Ia. As, on the other hand, the textual agreements Ia–III are much more important than those of Ia–II, the hypothesis does not seem misguided that, in addition to I and the pre-Augustana, our writer used an original of Ia and perhaps of Ib.

We must not be surprised by the complexity of the contaminations, which would be much more significant if we go into detail and look in depth at each subcollection, each manuscript. Moreover, the breadth of basic materials at the disposal of the creator of the Accursiana, and later of his continuers the creators of IIIβ and IIIα, is indicated by the consideration of the new fables, from a different tradition from that of the Anonymous Fables, which they introduced and which we have studied. The precedents of the "Babrian" tradition, Babrius himself, paraphrases, dodecasyllables and fables of

which, for us, only the indirect tradition is independent evidence, and others still without independent evidence, including Oriental fables, were at the disposal of our writers.

However, they did not restrict themselves to amassing materials on top of materials (sometimes making the usual mistake of giving two versions of the same fable), but also emphasized the stylistic refinement more and more: the most Attic vocabulary and syntax possible. They later eliminated the ancient *Lives* of Aesop (in I, except for the ms. G, the same happened), which were so popular and little suited to the learned Byzantine taste. At a given moment, at the start of the Accursiana, the *Life* written by Planudes was copied.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE BODLEIAN PARAPHRASE AND THE "POLITICI" DODECASYLLABLES

I. *General Remarks*

In Vol. I of this work, pp. 109 ff., in the section devoted to "The Babrian Tradition", I concerned myself with the collections to which this chapter refers: the so-called Bodleian Paraphrase and the Byzantine *politici* "popular" Dodecasyllables. There I offered a general view which, to a certain extent, has been modified and which, of course, has been considerably expanded in part I of this volume, where it has been possible to see the place of the fables of these Byzantine collections within the *stemmata* of the Greek fable. This general view updates my previous treatment in "La tradición fabulística griega y sus modelos métricos"[1] in which, in any event, the decisive contribution had already been made: neither it is true that the fables of the Paraphrase always depend on Babrius nor that the Dodecasyllables depend on the Paraphrase; occasionally, even, both are related to the tradition of AnF.

Throughout the book, here and there, further contributions have been made to our theme. For example, fables have been encountered that derived from others in dodecasyllables in various fables of AnF. II and III, of the Codex Brancaccianus and of the *Tetrastichs* of Ignatius the Deacon. And again and again the position of this whole tradition within the group of the total tradition of the fable has been indicated, as well as its relationship with fables of Babrius, Avianus, Aphthonius, the Pseudo-Dositheus, *Tetr.*, etc.; all this leaving aside the question of whether such and such a fable of Par. and/or Dod. comes from Babrius, or such and such a fable of Avianus or *Tetr.* also comes from this. As a group we discuss the "Babrian tradition", in a broad sense, as a tradition derived sometimes from a second primary version, sometimes from a secondary

[1] *L.c.*, pp. 7 ff.

one, sometimes from a primary one that, in turn, produces a secondary one: in short, from a different branch from the one centred around AnF. We have also seen, however, that on many occasions all the versions of a fable derive from a single primary original.

After all this, it will be understood that the study that I will conduct of these collections is not going to be as exhaustive as that of others has been; in fact, it has already been done along fundamental lines. There remain, however, some unresolved points, which we must consider.

I will speak first of the manuscript tradition and the editions. Beginning with the Paraphrase, I must indicate that the edition of it by P. Knoell in 1877[2] is fundamentally based on Ba, the Bodleianus Auct. F 4.7; it was partially and indirectly familiar with the Bd, from the same branch, and also used the Marcianus no. XI, 1, an apograph of this, that is to say, Knoell follows a single recension and therefore gives a single version of each fable. In turn, Crusius knows these same manuscripts more exactly, among those a Parisinus, who, on the other hand, is not very valuable. The result is the same: a single version of each fable, with very few exceptions.

Chambry, whose edition I have used for these fables, proceeded with greater care. He handles the four mss., Ba, Bb, Bc and Bd, plus various mss. of the AnF. when the "Babrian" versions were introduced into its tradition, as we know.[3] In this case, of course, we can also make use of Hausrath's edition. Yet even leaving this aside, Chambry's edition certifies to us the existence of two or even three versions of the same fable in the tradition of the Paraphrase: versions that are generally related, but sometimes not.

In his introduction, pp. 17 ff., Chambry already referred to this problem. He not only emphasized, first, that sometimes the fables of the Paraphrase do not derive from Babrius, but he showed these differences within it. Specifically, Ba and Bb depend on a common model and allow us to reconstruct a single version: the one published by Knoell and Crusius. Yet in Bc and Bd there are fables that are sometimes from the same recension, sometimes from a second, sometimes from a second and a third; sometimes some of these codices or groups of codices are accompanied by some of those that

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[2] *Fabularum Babrianarum Paraphrasis Bodleiana*, edition by P. Knoell, Vindobonae, sumptibus Alfredi Hoelderi, 1877.

[3] Cf. above, p. 431.

Chambry calls M (mixed) and Hausrath includes in III or Ib. To sum up, sometimes he edits one, sometimes two, sometimes three recensions of Par.

During the course of the various examples of fables analyzed in this book, it has been possible to see that these different recensions belong on occasions to the same branch of the tradition, but on others they do not. This is a theme that we must look into more deeply, emphasizing in detail the membership of the fables to such and such a branch, the intermediate semiprosified models (one or various) between Babrius and these versions or between the reconstructable model and these versions, etc. Of course, this implies modifying some statements from the passage cited of volume I, statements already tacitly withdrawn in Part I of this volume. The problem is posed, on the other hand, of the date of the successive recensions, as well as that of the relationship between these and Dod.

As regards Dod., Crusius published parts of it, but Chambry did so more systematically, so we must content ourselves with his edition. I say that we must content ourselves, because his edition suffers from certain puristic and classicist defects, derived, on the other hand, from his limited knowledge of Byzantine metre: cf. Vol. I, p. 114 (criticism of Ursing). In any event, and until the edition of the Paraphrase and Dodecasyllables that is being prepared by John Vaio for the Teubner appears, Chambry's edition offers relatively sound support.

It could be said that the Dodecasyllables do not have an independent manuscript tradition. Leaving aside their inclusion, referred to above, in the Tetrastichs and in the Cod. Brancaccianus, as well as derivations in prose of some of the AnF. (H. 234 I–II–III, various fables of AnF. II and III, cf. above, p. 430), the fables in *politici* Dodecasyllables are found in the same manuscripts—not in all, only in some of them—of the tradition of AnF.: in Cas Mb Pg of I, in Ma of Ib, in Md and Mm of III γ, in many manuscripts of II, etc. We know that the "added" fables of the various collections, apart from I, sometimes belong to the tradition that we have called "Babrian" in a broad sense: its copyists or their models had available, then, mss. different from those of I. Among these mss. there were some that contained fables in dodecasyllables, just as there were others with fables in Babrian choliambs that were the model for G and Mb, mss. of AnF. I or the Augustana.

The dodecasyllabic fables deserve an independent edition, to include those unknown today in *Tetr.* and in the Codex Brancaccianus, cited

above, as well as the prosifications mentioned, from which complete dodecasyllabic fables can sometimes be obtained. Until we have this, we must content ourselves, as I said, with Chambry's edition.

Despite many things that can be criticized of this edition, we must recognize that Chambry had the good sense not to force the texts of his mss. to obtain single versions: he sometimes gives a single dodecasyllabic version, sometimes two. As occurs with the mss. Bc Bd of the Paraphrase, those of Dod. have not followed a single model each: sometimes some, sometimes others ally to give a version (others come from a single ms.).

It is a matter, then, of studying the relationship between that version or those versions of a fable in Dod. and the Paraphrase or Paraphrases, plus possibly other versions (Babrius, intermediate reconstructed models, etc.). Because there are agreements and differences between the version or versions of the same fable in these very mixed collections of the later mss. And there are various hypotheses that must be discarded *a priori*: that all the versions of Par. or all those of Dod. come from a single model (this has already been shown in our exemplification during the course of the book); that Dod. derives from Par.; and that Par. derives from Dod. There is certainly, sometimes, a close relationship, sometimes only a distant one. Here the problem arises of the reconstruction of the intermediate versions.

All this destroys Husselmann's thesis (cf. Vol. I, p. 105) that in the beginning there were two alphabetizations of choliambic fables: that of the Athous and the one that left traces in G Mb and Par. (Dod. remains out of play, following the order of AnF.). The objection of J. Vaio, which I cited in the location indicated, was already strong: agreements of A with one or the other of these witnesses. The mixture in G of fables of A, of Mb and new ones, the differences between A and T.Assend., the four fables of G that agree with A and yet are not followed by Par. (cf. "La tradición . . .", p. 37), were arguments in support of the idea that things were more complicated. In the article by Vaio cited, there are further arguments (a choliambic fable and various ones absent from Ba in G, epimythia common to A and Mb, Babrian papyruses with their own order) to support the idea that in late Antiquity all these fables circulated in various editions, which contaminated each other. Also, as we have been seeing and as we will specify, Par. does not derive from choliambic fables, but from prosified versions of these (even when they come from Babrius). And there were various of those prosified ver-

sions, sometimes dependent on quite far removed branches within the fabulistic tradition (although today I do not believe that a fable of the Paraphrase comes directly from one of the Augustana).

All this implies a multiplicity of models: no more and no less than I have proposed elsewhere for the Athous (and for G, Avianus, T.Assend., etc., even for AnF.). If it is true that the same theme is not repeated in Par. (and Dod.), there are indeed significant variations sometimes and, of course, different drafts. This implies different collections that our mss. copied with more than one available to them, replacing the fable of the main model here or there with that of another ms., often contaminating and eliminating fables. Together with a model of Ba Bd, conclusively, there must have been others, whose fables were taken including them in the alphabetical order of this model of Ba Bd. The fables of Dod. imply yet more models. What the creators of the versions of our mss. and the copyists of these were indeed careful about, evidently, was not to include new fables, although they did replace some versions with others. No more and no less than in the case of the ms. A of Babrius, which includes, as I believe I have demonstrated, various materials from various sources, but which are alphabetized without repetitions.

There is, however, an exception: when the evolution of a fable has produced differentiated models that are considered as autonomous fables. I give two examples later on.

There must have been, then, a series of mss. with "Babrian" fables, derived from Babrius or from other sources, generally starting from a different line of AnF., but also from Aphthonius, for example. Manuscripts with differences between each other, as I have also proposed for the case of the pre-Augustana. At other times the derivation is starting from a single primary model. This is the basis starting from which there came about a collection that was the model for Ba Bb and other collections that later found echo in Bc and/or Bd; also in Dod.

As regards the date of these collections, H. Ursing[4] proposes, on the basis of the previous studies of Knoell and Chambry, the 4th and 5th centuries AD: he thinks that the language of Par. may justify this opinion. The models of Par. would, then, be more or less contemporary to the version of the Augustana that has reached us:

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[4] *Studien zur griechischen Fabel*, Lund, 1930, p. 13.

we must note, however, that the models of Par. are one thing and the later versions—although I do not believe much later—that reached our mss. are another. We must note that there are different cases: sometimes there are various independent versions, even from a different line, at others, there is a semiprosified version from which there later came two or three, which end up in Par. 1, Par. 2 and Par. 3, for example: that is to say, there are steps spread out at intervals. This single fact, plus the linguistic analyses of Ursing in the book cited, lead me to propose an expansion of the temporal margin of the models of our versions: it may well reach the 6th century AD.

As regards Dod., Ursing, who postulates that it comes from Par. (we must specify: from its model, not from the texts of our mss.), gives it a later date, corroborated, on the other hand, by the metrical features. According to him, these would supposedly be versions from the 7th century AD; here we must add that this date refers precisely to the versions of our mss. That is to say, the fables of Dod. are approximately contemporary to our Vindobonensis. They were, as is known, used to create new fables "added" from this collection and from the Accursiana, apart from the fact that they entered the mss. of these two collections and even those of the Augustana (and the text of H. 234 of the Augustana, as has been said).

It will not be out of place, perhaps, to repeat here the main data on the tradition of the Paraphrases, given in our Chapter I, to then rectify some interpretations of Volume I and other more possible ones and move on below to the problem of the intermediate versions and to the detail of the derivation of our versions.

In that chapter I presented cases of derivation of Par. and/or Dod. starting from Babrius and others in which the point of departure was not Babrius; I also indicated that there may be complementary verse between various versions of Par. and/or Dod. and of AnF. and Par., Dod., which implies a common metrical point of departure. On the other hand, the Hellenistic verse is occasionally only reflected in Par. or only in Dod. and cases exist in which there are lines of independent derivation (to AnF., Par., Sy.). The cases are, then, various and different; I stated that the various versions of Par. and Dod. may come from one same prototype or from various.

Referring more to the typical *stemmata* that I described, I indicated a series of them in which Par. and/or Dod. are studied, simply,

within the tradition that I have called "Babrian"; we must separate those in which the whole tradition comes from a single primary model:

a) Verse 2 as derived from a verse 1, with this sometimes implying a change of subject or various reductions.
b) "Babrian" prototype that is a semiprosification derived from a verse 1; there are also, sometimes, modifications or changes.
c) "Babrian" prototype with complementary verse from another different one, with both deriving from a single model.
d) Derivation in cascade, with the "Babrian" prototype in one of the steps.
e) The case of various primary versions, I conventionally call the "Babrian" one 2.
f) The case of a ternary tradition, or an even more divided one.

These are the main types. As we see, if the "Babrian" line sometimes derives from a single model (and in that case its autonomy is not always very well identified), at others it is a primary line between two or more existing ones or a secondary line, although it may also happen that a secondary line of another type comes from the primary "Babrian" line.

In short, within the tradition of the Greek fable, a "Babrian" branch occasionally tended to be created or be derived, but in some cases this branch is the main one and in others there is practically no autonomy with respect to the single initial model or there is collection by collection. The "Babrian" models not only affect Bab., Par. and Dod., but are also included, occasionally, in Avianus, Aphthonius, Dos., Sy., *Tetr.* and exemplum-fables, sometimes through intermediate models. On the other hand, it occasionally happens that the "Babrian" model is single: the whole tradition comes from Babrius or, to know a fable, we are reduced to referring to Par. or Dod.

I have also indicated that Par. and Dod. sometimes derive from different branches, such as, for example, in H. 46: that is to say, that our collections may derive from a non-"Babrian" line, as occasionally occurs, as we have seen, with Babrius himself, where he is separate from Par. and/or Dod. Our collections, as always, contaminate, have available more than one model and do not reflect one only, except along general lines.

II. *Par. and Dod. as Derivatives from Babrius*

With this we can now go on to consider the specific situation of our collections in more detail.

In the chapter of reference, I indicated examples, which would be easily multipliable, in which Par. and/or Dod. derive from Babrius (used here as the synonym for the choliambs of his type). Sometimes the whole tradition of a fable comes from him, as I indicated when talking about Babrius himself. But whether it does or does not all come from him, there are fables of Avianus, *Tetr.*, Par., Dod. and others that clearly derive from him. To H. 107, 191, 232 cited above, the following may be added (sometimes for Par., sometimes for Dod., sometimes for both: see Vol. III, *Appendices* I and II): H. 7, 22, 45, 53, 93, 103, 140, 145, 154, 155, 163, 249, 255, 262, 279, 281, 285, 288, 291, not-H. 13, 14, 59, 66, 82, 85, 95, 101, 106, 115, 125, 128, 129, 130, 135, 149, 156, 183, 184, 186, 210 and 250, as the most reliable examples.

The criterion clearly consists of in the fact that in these fables there cannot be found in Par. and/or Dod. remnants of verse that are not explicable using Babrius (or subsequent Byzantine versification): there is no Hellenistic verse.

We must add some clarifications to this general statement on the derivation of certain fables of Par. and/or Dod. starting from Babrius:

1. There are occasions in which the versions that we have studied show traces of choliambs of Babrian type without there existing, however, a model in the Athous, in G, in Mb or outside of there. This is the case, specifically, of H. 282 "The Bald Man", also in AnF. III γ and Avianus, for which I have proposed a model in the lost Babrius (cf. p. 260); that of H. 119 "The Camel and Zeus" in Par. and Dod., and that of not-H. 119 "Hercules and Athena", only in Par. (two versions). Alphabetically, the first fell outside of the Babrius of the Athous, the second within it. Both must have come from Babrius or from one of his imitators.

2. The descent of Babrius in our tradition is very varied: sometimes it is only in Par. (for example, H. 62) or in Par. 1, Par. 2 (for example, H. 22) or in Dod. (for example, H. 93) or in Par., Dod. (for example, H. 45, H. 191). On the other hand, it may be the case that our tradition comes partially from Babrius, partially not:

thus in H. 154 Dod. 1 comes from the primary line, Dod. 2 and Par. from Babrius, who belongs to the secondary one; in H. 249 Dod. comes from verse 1 (primary), Par. from B. (verse 2). We already know that the mss. had various models.

3. in some cases, not only the versions that we are now studying, but also others derive from Babrius, as has been established in the relevant locations. Thus, in H. 7 and 255 Par. and III γ (in H. 281 also Dod.) come from Bab.; in H. 163 Par. and Avianus come from B.; in not-H. 59 this is the case of Dod., Avianus and Phot.

4. Our versions, as has been pointed out, do not come directly from Babrius, but from intermediate semiprosified versions. To give an example, I will indicate H. 22 "The Fox and the Woodcutter", in which Par. 1 and 2 show numerous literal agreements with Babrius, who modified the fable considerably. Both versions agree in eliminating certain features introduced by Babrius (the fox hides in a black poplar tree, at the end he swears that he will punish the woodcutter). And they agree approximately in their ametrical elements, which are not Babrian: Par. 1 ὁ δὲ συνέθετο . . . τὸν τόπον ὑπέδειξεν (2 ὑπέδεικνυ) . . . ἡ δὲ ἀλώπηξ . . . ἐξῆλθεν . . . εἶπεν δὲ αὐτῇ ὁ δρυτόμος (similar to Par. 2). It cannot be postulated that Par. 2 comes from Par. 1, nor vice versa, because in both there are remnants of Babrius that are sometimes different. Cf. also not-H. 125, among other examples.

Intermediate versions can also be detected when other derivations intervene. An example of this may be H. 154, where Dod. 2 and Par. offer agreements not in Babrius (Par. ἐθήρευον . . . ἐπεὶ δὲ ζῷά τινα ἐθήρευσαν . . . τὴν δὲ δευτέραν/Dod. 2 θηρεύων . . . ἐπεὶ δὲ ζῷα ἐκράτησαν . . . τὴν δευτέραν δέ) as well as agreements with him, sometimes the same ones, sometimes different. Intermediate versions are detected very clearly where, in addition to Par. or Dod., there are version of III γ, for example, in H. 7; less clearly when there is a version of Avianus, on account of his well-known independence and his Latin text. Yet in the corresponding chapter I believed I demonstrated that the Latin prosaic version that Avianus gives as his model, insofar as it comes from Babrius, does so precisely through a prosaic paraphrase.

5. This other fact is also very important: occasionally our texts derive from a model that is not Babrius, but they contaminate it with Babrius. I will look at this later on, when on the subject of the models independent from Babrius.

6. Despite what may appear at first sight, there does not exist, of course, a derivation of Babrius starting from our versions. The agreements are explained otherwise: by dependence on a common model, starting from one or more intermediate semiprosifications. See below on the subject of H. 6 and H. 46, among other fables where the problem may be posed.

III. *Par. and Dod. as Derivatives of a Different Source from Babrius*

With this I will now go on to consider the fables in which Par. and/or Dod. derive from a different source from Babrius: the source of a "Babrian" tradition, in the broad sense in which I am using the word, or even of another tradition.

In fact, we could distinguish three cases: Par. and/or Dod. derive from a single primary line; they derive from a "non-Babrian" line; derive from a "Babrian" line. In these last two cases the primary or secondary character of these lines is now immaterial to us. What is important is to see the internal relationship, that is to say, the possible existence of one or more intermediate versions and the possible contamination between two of them. On the other hand, whether it is the "Babrian" model or not, there may be contamination with Babrius himself. And the various versions of Par. and Dod. may be inserted in different places in the *stemma*.

To begin with, this would mean that Par. and Dod. never come exactly from our collections of AnF. In "La tradición . . .", when investigating cases in which Par. and/or Dod. are closely related to AnF., I proposed in one case (cf. p. 9) a direct derivation that I later criticized in Vol. I, p. 115.

Let us now look at the different cases in succession, one by one:

1. *Par. and/or Dod. as Derivatives of a Single Primary Line*

The exemplification can begin with H. 1 "The Eagle and the Fox". Here there is only Par., not Bab. nor Dod.: it is a summary involving the innovations of Demetrius (cf. Vol. I, pp. 418 ff.), but none of AnF. (the one in which the fox devours the eagle's young is only here): on the other hand, the beginning with φιλίαν ἐσπείσατο comes independently from a model that I have reconstructed as φιλίαν ἀλώπηξ κἀετὸς πρὸς ἀλλήλους (AnF. ἀετὸς καὶ ἀλώπηξ φιλίαν πρὸς ἀλλήλους σπεισάμενοι . . .).

More interesting cases are those in which Par. and, possibly, Dod. also intervene. An interesting case, for example, is that of H. 76 "The Stag and the Lion". Here Par. 1 preserves a great deal of verse, complementary to that of AnF., but lacks the specific innovations of the latter, such as the replacement of the hunters with the lion. And it offers agreements with Bab. (who expands the beginning), as we can see in particular by comparing the final closing statement of the stag with its versions in AnF. and Phaedrus. That is to say, there were older intermediate models than Babrius. Par. 2 does not come from that model, but from another, a summary that preserves agreements with other versions (Par. 2 ἐπὶ ὕδατος, cf. AnF. I κατὰ τοῦ ὕδατος, Phaedrus *in liquore*, Aphth. τοῖς νάμασι).

Of course, there are other types of relationship. As in the case of H. 98 "The Viper and the Fox", it is Par. 2 and Dod. that preserve the original best, with many metrical elements and some common ametrical ones. Par. 1 comes from the same original, but we cannot see whether this is through the intermediate version; and AnF. I is a summary, probably of the original.

We must not forget that between this case and that of the derivation starting from a secondary line there are, in fact, links. This is the case in H. 89 "The Goose of the Golden Eggs", although we place Par., Dod., AnF. III, Bab. and *Tetr.* (= Branc.) as variants on the single model X, the truth is that they form a block as compared with AnF. I. Comparing this version with Sy., it seems clear that it innovates at the beginning and the end. It could be thought that elements that are in Par. and others and are absent from AnF. and Sy. are archaisms: such as the ὁμοίαν or ὁμοίην referring to the goose. Yet the οὐδὲν μελλήσας | ἔθυσεν αὐτόν (metrical) of AnF. I (cf. Syr. "il prit la poule et la tua", Synt. τὴν ὄρνιν κατέθυσεν) seems older than the θύσας (or σφάξας, κτείνας) of the other versions. Cf. also νομίσας in Par., AnF. III, ἐνόμισε B. That is to say, it is very possible that after the single model there may be a version that ends up in AnF., Sy. and another that ends up in our versions. The intermediate prose is found more clearly in other cases, such as in H. 266 (others derived from X are Ib, Sy. and Aphthonius).

2. *Par. and/or Dod. as Derivatives of a "Non-Babrian" Line*

When talking about Babrius, we discussed the problem of whether, when Babrius is alone in opposition to the rest of the tradition, we must assume there is an intermediate step or whether it is precisely

to him that we must attribute all his innovations. Although sometimes the problem is difficult or impossible to resolve, we have found that, occasionally, Babrius does indeed depend on an intermediate model: in those cases, as Par. and/or Dod. appear in the principal, primary line, we can say—although it proves a paradoxical point—that they belong to a "non-Babrian" line. The case, for them, would be identical to the one previously studied. All the more so when the secondary line that Babrius follows is common to him and another source, with which the existence of an intermediate model is unquestionable. Of course the opposite case also occurs: Bab. goes with AnF. and our versions are in a secondary line.

Thus, for example, in H. 179 "The young Libertine and the Swallow", in which in AnF. I and Dod. there is complementary verse: sometimes that of Dod. is better preserved (Dod. ὡς εἶδε χελιδόνα | παρὰ καιρὸν ἐλθοῦσαν compared with AnF. I ὡς ἐθεάσατο χ. π. κ. ἐ.), sometimes that of AnF. (cf. for example the choliamb ἀπημπόλησεν, ὕστερον δὲ χειμῶνος). There is undoubtedly intermediate prose: cf. the beginning νέος ἄσωτος καταφαγών. In this fable *Tetr.* and Bab. come in turn from a derived model, although the former summarizes and the latter expands. In *Tetr.* it is now the game of dice that ruins the young man, as in Babrius, but it is not derived from him, as there are agreements with AnF. I that Babrius has undoubtedly eliminated.

It is not question of tiring the reader by repeating the argument again and again: it will sufficient to refer to Appendix I. However, I will indicate the clearest cases:

H. 46: here there are two different metrical versions, one produces AnF. I, Dod.; the other, Par. 1 and B.

H. 145: Dod. goes out with AnF. I from the primary verse, Diodorus and Babrius (and the one derived from him, Par.), from the secondary one.

H. 154: from X (primary model) come AnF. I, Dod. 1 and *Tetr.* 2; from Y (idem secondary), Phaedrus, Babrius (from where come Dod. 2 and Par.) and *Tetr.* 1.

H. 158: from X come AnF. I, Phaedrus, Dod. and Par. 2 (these two = 217 Ch.); from Y, Par. 1 (= 219 Ch.) and Babrius. The latter

version differs considerably in the subject (the deputation of the wolves is rejected, the sheep survive) and in it there are significant lexical agreements between Bab. and Par. 1, but the latter does not depend on B.: it shows remnants of Hellenistic verse modified by B. (cf., for example, εἰ τοὺς κύνας λάβωσι καὶ διαφθείρωσι and B. ἐφ' ᾧ λάβωσι τοὺς κύνας πρὸς αἰκίην). That is to say, there are two Hellenistic metrical versions, the latter of which comes from the former. Both have reached the authors of our Paraphrases, undoubtedly through prosifications. And what is significant is that they were already so different that Par. 1 and 2 considered them as two different fables; they are both in Ba Bb.

H. 163: from X come AnF. and Dod.; from Y (a summary), come Aphthonius and Babrius (from this, in turn, Par. and Avianus).

H. 167: from X come AnF. and Dod.; from Y, Par. 1–2 and Dod. 2. In this second version the fox has disappeared as the interlocutor of the lioness and there are significant lexical and metrical agreements. It was a model of four verses, very slightly prosified: it had lost, I believe, an ἐγώ that allows a verse σκύμνον μὴν ἕν' ⟨ἐγώ⟩, ἀλλὰ γενναῖον πάνυ to be restored, and there were other alterations.

H. 198: from X come AnF., Par. and Dod. (this combined with Bab.); from Y, B., Aphthonius.

H. 208: from X come AnF., Par. and Dod.; and also derivatives in Bab. and Aphth.

H. 249: from X come AnF. and Dod.; Babrius (from where come Par. and probably Avianus) is a derivative starting from here.

Together with these examples, in which only a part of our versions comes from the "non-Babrian" line, there are some in which all come from it. Thus in H. 39 "The Swallow and the Birds" the prosified version of I (39) is closely related to two versifications: the one that produces the new prose of Par. 360 Ch. and the one that forks, giving on one hand Par. 9 and Dod. 9 and on the other Bab. 12. As in a previous case, Par. introduces the two fables because it now considers them (rightly) to be different in terms of their subject. Note that the model of this branch is one of the four of the fable.

3. *Par. and/or Dod. as Derivatives of a "Babrian" Line*

This is, of course, the most normal case: whereby our versions, or some of them, sometimes accompanied by Bab., Aphth., etc., are against a different line, almost always with AnF. in it; or else it is the only existing line.

As always, there are special cases. I said that almost always the opposing line includes AnF.: but there are some exceptions, thus in not-H. 128 (Phaedrus), Bab. (from where come Par. 1, Dod.) and Par. 2 (contaminated) come from a reduced line that is derived from a longer one whose verse is revealed in Aphthonius. Not-H. 295 is similar.

I am going to begin the study with the cases in which the "Babrian" line is in opposition to another with AnF., normally primary, although here too when talking about Phaedrus and Babrius we have seen that there were some exceptions. It will allow us to consider some complicated cases with more than one semiprosified intermediate version. Later I will move on to see the fables with an exclusively "Babrian" line, including the cases with only Par., Dod. or with only one of these appearing.

The most simple cases are those in which the "Babrian" line, whether primary or not, presents a second verse or remodelled verse or does not offer traces of new verse; in any case, it descends from a single semiprosified model. This happens in examples in which we have versions of Par. or Dod. or Par. and Dod., but also in others in which Babrius also intervenes, yet with there being traces of Hellenistic verse independent from him, but sometimes his model, in the other sources.

This is the case, for example, in H. 9 Par. and Dod. which present a summarized version with remodelled verse but also with traces of common prose: the beginning is very close in both versions, Par. ἀλώπηξ δὲ τοῦτον ἰδοῦσα ἔφη· ὦ ἀνόητε is slightly varied in Dod. Cases like this are frequent.

Or if we wish to show one in which Bab. also intervenes, let us take H. 174 "The Mice and the Weasels". Here the secondary version of Par. 1–2–3, Dod. and Bab. has replaced the horns of the mice-general with stakes; it is a model that underlies all these appearances and offers remnants of Hellenistic verse. In cases such as this, the difficulty of finding remnants of intermediate prose is greater, however.

It is easy, in our case, to find this prose in the three versions of Par.: it is sufficient to fix our attention on the initial γαλαῖ καὶ μύες of the three, on the ἄσπονδον εἶχον μάχην of 1 and 3 (2: ἄ. μ. ἐκέκτηντο) which follows (in P1 there is in the middle πρὸς ἀλλήλους), etc. Yet it is not easy to ensure that from that prosification come Dod. ποτὲ δὲ γαλαῖ ἐμάχοντο πρὸς μύας or Bab. γαλαῖ ποτ' εἶχον καὶ μύες πρὸς ἀλλήλους | ἄσπονδον ἀεὶ πόλεμον: rather, taking all these elements into account, we could propose an ancient beginning γαλαῖ ποτε καὶ μύες μάχην πρὸς ἀλλήλους | ἄσπονδον εἶχον, from which would derive directly Dod. and Bab. The direct derivation is not likely, however. There are frequent ametrical agreements Par. = Dod. and right here there are similarities in passages that are ametrical in both places: Par. 1 οἱ δὲ μύες βουλευσάμενοι (2: στοχασάμενοι), Dod.: εἶπον δ' οἱ μύες πρὸς ἑαυτούς; Par. 1 τοὺς μεγάλους μύας στρατηγοὺς προχειρισάμενοι (cf. 2, 3 eliminates), Dod. κατεστήσαντο τοὺς παμμεγέθεις μύας . . . στρατηγούς, etc. In this and other passages, Bab. seems to paraphrase this same text.

See also, for example, how in H. 177 "The Fly", the initial verse that is easily reconstructable starting from AnF. I Μυῖ' ἐμπεσοῦσα ⟨τίς ποτ'⟩ εἰς χύτραν κρέως has made way in the model of Bab. and Dod. for a version in which, undoubtedly due to a simple error, a mouse enters (μῦς) around which Babrius creates a choliamb and Dod. a dodecasyllable. The basis was in a text in which μῦς carried a masculine ἐμπεσών (as in Bab., Dod. ἐνέπεσε) and in which the τίς ποτ' was absent, and which we restored, the same as in the model of AnF. It was, then, a second semiprosified model, which introduced additions: cf. Bab. ἐκπνέων τ' ἤδη, Dod. ἀποθνήσκων δ'.

Another example that could be offered is H. 46 "Boreas and Helios". Here, as we already know, there is a line 1 with AnF. I and Dod. and another 2 with Par. 1–2 and Bab. The prosaic agreements of Par. 1 and 2 are clear; and some of them seem to be at the basis of Babrius. Thus, Par. 1 ἔριν ἐποιήσατο, 2 ἔριν ἐποιεῖτο corresponds in Bab. to ἔριν γενέσθαι (AnF. περὶ δύναμιν ἤριζον). The triple mention of the ἱμάτιον, in prosaic contexts, is replaced in Babrius with a *variatio* destined, among other things, to create a new metre (τὴν σίσυραν . . . κράσπεδα . . . τὴν στολήν).

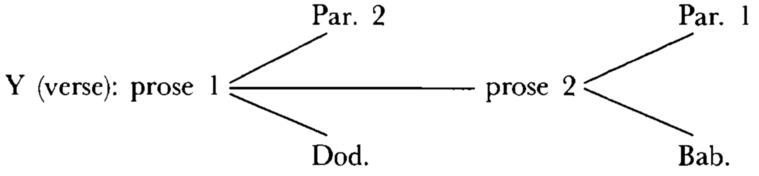
The difficult problem of whether Babrius comes from a metrical model (sometimes common to Par., Dod.) or from a semiprosified derivative of this (likewise common to these witnesses) is complicated, but at the same time it is simplified when we find semiprosified

intermediate versions: that is to say, when Bab., Par. and Dod. come from the same line, but through ramifications.

Let us look, to begin with, at the case of H. 6 "The Wild Goats and the Goatherd". Here we find, on one hand, metrical agreements and complementary verse throughout the series: cf., for example, Par. 1 τὰς αἶγας ἤγαγε (variants outside of here), Par. 2, B. εὑρὼν δ' ἐκεῖ (variants outside), Par. 1 πλείονας | ὧν εἶχεν αὐτός (variants outside, Par. 2, B. give πλείους), Dod. μέγα στενάξας κόλολύξας ἐκ βάθους (var. in Par. 2), etc. On the other hand, there are ametrical agreements: the first is the initial ἐν σπηλαίῳ, which Babrius necessarily has to modify (ἐν ἄντρῳ). I think that the beginning could all be easily restored in the prosification:

Ἐν σπηλαίῳ ἀοικέτῳ (Par. 1; cf. B. εἰς ἄντρον . . . τῶν ἀοικέτων; Par. 2 τινι ἐρήμῳ, Dod. suppress it) αἰπόλος (Par. 2, B.; Par. 1 αἰγοβοσκός, Dod. ποιμήν) ἐν χειμῶνι (Par. 1–2; Dod. χειμῶνος ὥρᾳ, cf. Bab. ἔνιφεν ὁ Ζεύς). There follow metrical remnants (τὰς αἶγας ἤγαγεν. | Εὑρὼν δ' ἐκεῖ) already cited.

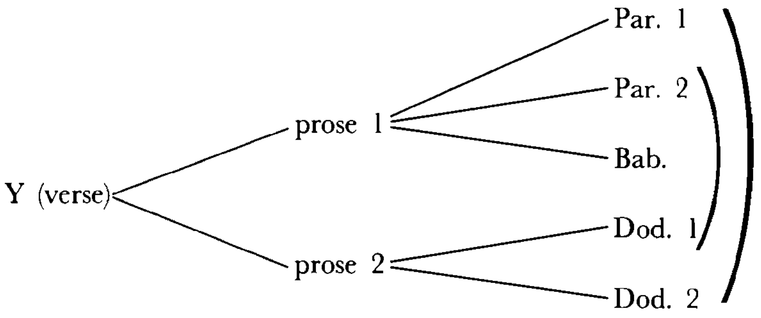
But this is not all. In this case I think that, after the semiprosified version cited, the basis of the whole "Babrian" tradition, there is another more recent one, the basis in turn of Par. 1 and B. Indeed, both versions lack the lament of the goatherd at the end and, on the other hand, add that he returned home the butt of humour (Bab. γελαστός corrupted into γελάσας in Par. 1). It cannot be thought, on the other hand, that Par. 1 comes from Bab., since we have just seen that the former is closer to the first semiprosified version. That is to say, this branch shows a *stemma*:



Things are even more complicated in the case of H. 15a "The Fox and the Grapes". Here Par. 1 and 2 come from a model in verse that is reduced but already prosified. Indeed, there is initial agreement, first metrical (βότρυας πεπείρους), then ametrical (Par. 1 ἀλώπηξ κρεμαμένους, Par. 2 ἀπῃωρημένους); the final closing statement ὄμφακές

εἰσι has received the addition of an ἔτι. In turn, the two versions of Dod. come from a closely related, but different model: it adds an initial ποτέ as well as λαβεῖν εἰς βρῶσιν, μειδιάσασα, respecting, on the other hand, the final ὄμφακές εἰσι.

These two semiprosified models must have been known by the writers of the versions that have reached us, since indications of contamination exist. See the agreements Par. 1–Dod. 2 καὶ μὴ δυνηθεῖσα, οὐκ ἐδυνήθη; and Par. 2–Dod. 1 ἐμηχανᾶτο, μηχανωμένη. The *stemma* would be:



4. *Par. and Dod. contaminated with Babrius*

This theme of the contaminations leads us to those that are more frequent: those of the original models with Babrius. Although it is sometimes doubtful whether the agreements (Par. B. or Dod. B.) are due to contamination or to pure and simple continuation of the original verse, other examples are, I believe, clearer. They are found both where Par. and/or Dod. and Babrius descend from a single primary model and when they depend on different lines of the tradition; and they sometimes affect the whole tradition of Par. and/or Dod., sometimes only a part of it.

Let us look first at cases in which the contamination is problematic. Let us study, to begin with, an example in which there is a primary model and the tradition that interest us is represented by a single version in Par.: that of H. 24 "The Fox whose Stomach Swelled". In this fable B. contains lexical and even metrical agreements (ἑτέρη δ' ἀλώπηξ, cf. AnF. I ἑτέρα δὲ ἀλώπηξ); it is sometimes easy to reconstruct the original with the help of both sources; I think, for example, that the beginning would be ἰδοῦσ' ἀλώπηξ ἐν δρυὸς κοιλώματι, from where we have AnF. I ἀλώπηξ λιμώττουσα ὡς

ἐθεάσατο ἔν τινι δρυὸς κοιλώματι and B. κοίλωμα ῥίζης φηγὸς εἶχε. Par. shows approximate agreements with AnF. I in passages modified by B., that is to say, coming from an ancient model; and, at the same time, agreements with B., which it is appropriate at this point to study:

a) Agreements with the model preserved better or worse in AnF. I and B.: cf. Par. κοιλώματι δρυὸς ... ἀλώπηξ δὲ μαθοῦσα (for AnF. I, B. cf. Ap. I) ... εἰσελθοῦσα ... ὀγκωθείσης δὲ τῆς γαστρὸς ἐξελθεῖν ... οὐκ ἐδύνατο (I: ἐξογκωθεῖσα δὲ τὴν γαστέρα ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἐδύνατο ἐξελθεῖν, B.: γαστὴρ ... ὠγκώθη ... οὐκέτ' εἶχεν ἐκδῦναι), οὐκ ἐξελεύσῃ ἕως ... οἵαν ὅτε εἰσῆλθες (I: ὁποία οὖσα εἰσῆλθες ... ἐξελεύσῃ; B. τοιαύτην ... ἡλίκην ὅτ' εἰσῄεις).
b) Agreements with Babrius: Par.: ἔκειτο πήρα (B.: ἔκειτο ... πήρη, follows a paraphrase of B.), ἐνεπλήσθη κρεῶν (B.: κρεῶν πλήρης) ... στενῆς ὀπῆς (B.: στενῆς δὲ τρώγλης) ... οὐκ ἐξελεύσῃ.

It is appropriate to note that the three passages cited first are metrical (Bab. gives them new metre), and it could be conceived that they have been eliminated in the model followed by AnF. The last, with its οὐκ ἐξελεύσῃ, also metrical, has been modified by AnF., putting it at the end, where it is ametrical. In short, sometimes in AnF. I, sometimes in Par., sometimes in Bab., we find the initial model better preserved; we should not consider contamination. And there are no data on intermediate prosaic versions.

Let us now study a more complicated case, also probably without contamination. In H. 126 "The Crow and the Fox" a single model also exists, from which come AnF., B., Par., Dod., Phaedrus, Aphth., Ps.-Dos., etc. In Par. we find significant agreements with AnF. I, such as ἐκεκράγει μεγάλα (μεγάλα ἐ. from the verse μεγάλ' ἐκεκράγει), ἁρπάσας ἔφη. Yet they do not come from our version, but from a previous one, and this not only because Par. does not show the new closing statement of AnF. I or its "meat" (κρέας) but the "cheese" (τυρόν), ancient in the fable. Furthermore, it preserves traces of the ancient verse lost in I: I believe the beginning κόραξ τυρὸν ἔδακνε comes from τυρὸν κόραξ ἔδακνε from where comes B. κόραξ δεδηχὼς ... τυρόν), later there is τὸν κόρακ' ἐξηπάτα (cf. B. τὸν ὄρνιν ἠπάτησε and ἀπάτῃ, ἀπατηθείς in Aphth. and Photius, respectively), ἄφωνος εἶ καὶ κωφός from where comes B. κωφὸς ἔσσι κοὺ κρώζεις.

Alongside this, significant agreements exist with Babrius. Yet the most important one, the final verse ἔχεις, κόραξ, ἅπαντα, νοῦς δέ σοι λείπει is likely to have been inherited from the ancient model, since it is also in AnF. II and it is at the basis of Dod. and Aphthonius. Also very close are Par. κόραξ δὲ τοῖς ἐπαίνοις χαυνωθεὶς τὸν τυρόν τε τοῦ στόματος ἐκβαλὼν ἐκεκράγει and B. κόραξ δ' ἐπαίνοις καρδίην ἐχαυνώθη | στόματος δὲ τυρὸν ἐκβαλὼν ἐκεκράγει.

It is likely that these all come from the same model; the beginning of Par. is metrical and the versions of Dod., Aphth. and Tzetzes are closely related.

That is, contamination is not likely. If we move on now to Dod., we have just seen that it partially depends on a very ancient version, but at the same time shows elements that are properly from the last drafting of AnF., with elements such as "meat" instead of "cheese" and τοῦτον δ' ἀλώπηξ . . . θεασαμένη (I: ἀλώπηξ τοῦτον θεασαμένη compared with the ancient ἰδοῦσα of the Ps.-Dos., Aphth. and Branc.). Here there is undoubtedly a contamination of the pre-Augustana (from which the final closing statement also comes) with the Augustana itself. I do not believe with Bab.: an agreement that seems exclusive (λαβοῦσα, not in AnF.) is also in Aphthonius, and is therefore ancient.

That is to say that, conclusively, in this fable we find that both Par. and Dod. descend from an ancient model, but are independent; there does not seem to be intermediate prose in common; and, on the other hand, Dod. contaminates with a version of AnF. that is identical to or very close to ours. Cf. more data in Appendix I. Each fable and each version has its own history, and we here can only indicate some types that are repeated.

However, let us now go on to the contaminations with Babrius that may be considered as certain. A good example is H. 136 "The Dog that Carried a Piece of Meat". Here Par. and B. belong to a derived, summarized branch with the original verse destroyed, in which Ps.-Dos., Sy., Aphth. and Branc. are also included. Yet the agreement is not general, but specific: the beginning κύων ἐκ μαγειρείου κρέας κλέψας comes from B. κρέας κύων ἔκλεψεν (ἁρπάσας the other sources) ἐκ μαγειρείου; the τὴν δὲ σκιὰν τοῦ κρέατος μείζω ἰδὼν not only shows the new theme of this branch, but descends from B. τὸ κρέας ἀφῆκε, τῇ σκιᾷ δ' ἐφωρμήθη. But it is not only a question of Babrius: there are also elements that come from the secondary model, sometimes inherited from the primary one. The dog in Par.

"crossed" the river (διεπέρα) as did that of Ps.-Dos., Sy. and, previously, the primary branch; that of Babrius "went along" the river (as did that of Aphth., Branc.). And the ending does not follow the innovation that is found in B., but rather agrees approximately with Sy., Branc.; there are also traces of the primary version (Phaedrus, Rom., Theon, *Tetr.*).

In short, a secondary, summarized version has been contaminated with one of its derivatives, Babrius.

Another example that could be given is H. 178 "The Shipwrecked Man and the Sea". Here it is very clear that Par., Dod. and B. come from a secondary version that reduces the beginning and the ending and replaces, quite incongruously, the shipwrecked man with a farmer. Par. 1–2 and Dod. come from a common semiprosified model, there are clear traces.

That model, preserved in one or other of the three versions, sometimes agrees with AnF. I against B.: cf. Par. 2 τῇ θαλάσσῃ κατεμέμφετο and I ἐμέμφετο αὐτῇ, Par. 1 τί μέμφει μοι; Dod. ἵνα τί . . . μέμφει με; and I μὴ ἐμὲ μέμφου, etc. Evidently, all this comes from the ancient model X. And perhaps also the metrical beginning common to B. (ἰδὼν γεωργός) and other metrical elements isolated in Dod., particularly τὴν θάλασσαν δακρύων. I Ἡ δὲ πρὸς αὐτόν . . . με τῆς γῆς εὑρήσεις.

However, neither do I find deniable the agreements with Babrius. The στοιχεῖον ἀνελεὲς καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐχθρόν of Par. 1 (with variants in Par. 2, suppressed in Dod.) undoubtedly comes from B. ἀνελεὲς στοιχεῖον ἐχθρὸν ἀνθρώποις. Cf. also Par. 1 γυναικείαν φωνὴν ἀναλαβομένη and B. γυναικείην λαβοῦσα φωνήν, Par. 1, 2 οὐκ εἰμι ἐγὼ αἰτία, ἀλλ' οἱ ἐκταράσσοντές με ἄνεμοι and B. ἐγὼ . . . οὐδὲν αἰτία, ἄνεμοι δὲ χειμάζοντες.

The criterion is always the same: that of whether prosaic elements exist in Par. and Dod. that cannot be reduced to an original verse that is at the basis of the rest of the tradition, but depend, on the contrary, on the Babrian verse.

I will briefly touch another example. In H. 198 "The Ass and the Wolf", B. and Aphth. come from a secondary branch in which the ass does not pretend to be lame, but actually does end up lame from stepping on a stake. Par. and Dod. follow the version of Babrius almost literally; we need only indicate the identical beginning of B. and Par. (with a slight variation in Dod.): Ὄνος πατήσας σκόλοπα χωλὸς εἱστήκει. Yet we know a passage such as the οἴμοι, δίκαια πάσχω of the closing statement of Par. (δίκαια πάσχω in Dod.) as

formulaic and ancient, cf. derivatives in AnF. I ἀλλ' ἔγωγε δίκαια πέπονθα (B. οἴμοι . . . σὺν δίκῃ πάσχω). That is to say, an ancient model, either that of the whole tradition, or that of the secondary version, has been contaminated with Babrius.

Other examples of this type can be found. Yet I prefer to exemplify the case in which there is only a Babrian tradition. This is, to begin with, that of H. 270 "The Heifer Calf and the Ox", in which AnF. is II–IIIγδ, a "Babrian" addition in these collections; cf. p. 433. Par. 1, 2 and 3 and Dod are separate, in addition to Babrius.

Here we have:

a) Common preserved verse: ὁ βοῦς δ' ἐσίγα in Par. 1 and Bab., with derivatives ending up in Par. 2–3 and elimination in AnF.
b) Verse in all the versions except B., which corresponds to another: Par. 3 ἀροτριῶντα βοῦν ἐταλάνιζε (variants in Par. 2, Dod., AnF.)/B. κάμνοντι . . . ταύρῳ ἐφώνει; Dod. καὶ ταλαιπωρεῖς λίαν (cf. Par. 1, 2, 3, AnF. eliminates it)/B. τάλας-ἐφώνει-μόχθον οἷον ὀτλεύσεις; etc.
c) The same case, but with contamination with Bab. in this or that version: Dod. ἐπεὶ δ' ἑορτὴ κατέλαβε (here κατείληφε, κατέλαβε preserved by AnF.), B. ἐπεὶ δ' ἔμελλον ἀγρόται θεοῖς θύειν, Par. 1 ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ ἀγρόται τότε θεοῖς ἔθελον θύειν; Dod. ἀπέλυσαν τοὺς βόας (cf. Par. 2, 3, AnF.)/B. ὁ βοῦς . . . ἀπεζεύχθη/Par. 1 ὁ βοῦς . . . ἀποζευχθεὶς . . . ἀπελύθη; AnF. ἐκράτησαν τοῦ σφάξαι/B. εἵλκετο σχοίνῳ/Par. 1 ὁ δὲ μόσχος εἵλκετο ἐπὶ τὸ τυθῆναι (and variants in others).

As can be seen, the contaminations are various, sometimes reaching either all of Par. and Dod., or sometimes particular versions: that is to say, they have been repeated throughout the history.

Another example may be not-H. 128 "The Old Horse", in which there is a version of Aphthonius with traces of Hellenistic metre and another reduced one of Babrius in which the old feats of the horse in the war are no longer recalled. The versions of Par. 1 and Dod. derive from Babrius, and literal agreements remain; but they derive through a semiprosified model. This semiprosified model was also known by Par. 2, cf. for example στενάζων. However, at the time that Par. 2 contaminates with the ancient version, the theme of the warrior campaigns of the horse appears. Note that we are talking of a semiprosification of Babrius contaminated with the ancient model:

this is identical to saying that the ancient model was contaminated with Babrius, there is only a difference of degree. Other examples like not-H. 8 could be given.

5. *Par. and/or Dod. in the Case of Single "Babrian" Versions*

I will return now, as had been announced before, to the case of those fables for which only a model of "Babrian" type exists, centred around B. and/or our versions of Par. and Dod. We must say, above all, that we are not only dealing with fables of the series not-H.: to these we must add some from Ib, one from I (H. 234) and various from II and III, starting from H. 262. Cf. on this above, pp. 232 and 442 ff. These are "Babrian" fables that entered the collections of AnF. subsequently, already in the middle of the Byzantine Age.

Of these fables there are, of course, some in which the whole tradition (including sometimes the one external to Par. and/or Dod., in addition to this) come from Babrius. This is the case of H. 279, 281 (cf. p. 435) and a series of fables of not-H.: 13, 14, 59, 66, 82, 85, 95, 101, 106, 115, 129, 130, 135, 149, 156, 184, 186, 197, 250. The case is the same as that of some fables in which from Babrius descends Av., with this being the whole tradition (not-H. 99, 215, 247). And we must set to one side cases parallel to others already referred to in which the version of Babrius is not preserved, but we must suppose it, judging by the metrical remnants, to be the model for Par., Dod. (and sometimes III): the case of H. 282 and not-H. 1, 5 and 119. On the other hand, where Babrius gives two derivatives, we may attempt to trace an intermediate prose. This we see very clearly, for example, in not-H. 95, where in a very long fable Par. 1 and Par. 2 are very close; it is undoubtedly pure chance that examples are not found of the derivation of Par. and Dod. starting from B., since there are some in fables of a more complex tradition.

Among these fables of a more complex tradition, to which I have referred, there are some with various appearances on the "Babrian" line and even with oppositions, within it, between our versions.

The H. fables which I have mentioned above are, by definition, examples of this complexity, insofar as, together with Par. and/or Dod., there enter, moreover, versions of AnF. (Ib, II, IIIδ, etc.). Sometimes others, such as H. 266, not-H. 8, not-H. 118, etc. (Aphth., *Tetr.*, Them., etc. enter). All the witnesses derive, conclusively, from

a version with Hellenistic verse, although the possibility remains of intermediate versions prior to Par. and/or Dod. Yet it may also happen that they are independent versions or, at least, that the opposite cannot be demonstrated and, also, that one of them is contaminated by Babrius (cf., for example, H. 270).

In fact, independence is frequent: thus, for example, in H. 8 "The Goat and the Goatherd", Dod. and Par. 1, 2, Aphth., and Bab. are used to reconstruct the original Hellenistic model, in which the goatherd throws the shepherd's crook at the goat, the model from which a reduced version comes (in Phaedrus and *Tetr.*) in which he throws a stone.

On the other hand, it also happens that within the "Babrian" line one of the Byzantine versions derives precisely from Bab.: this is the case in not-H. 209.

And it also happens, as is logical, that there are discrepancies and oppositions within this same line in the cases in which it is a single one, as there were in the cases in which it was not. Thus in not-H. 116 I have shown (cf. p. 23) that Par. 2 contains remnants of Hellenistic verse, while Bab., undoubtedly starting from the same, has given a very personal version that Par. 1 later summarized. Something similar is what occurs in not-H. 124, except that here the independent version is in Dod. and Par. 1–2 come from Babrius. Cf. also H. 288 and 289.

Other cases are more complex. In H. 273 there is a line in which Par. 1 appears and another, derived one, which produces Aphth., Par. 2 and *Tetr.*

With this I will move on to consider the fables in which the whole tradition is reduced to Par. (in one or two versions) and/or Dod. Of course, as has already been said, in some cases there may be derivation from Babrius; but when the metrical remnants are Hellenistic, this is extremely unlikely. In short, we encounter a remnant of originality: with versions existing only here, as happens in Phaedrus, Babrius, Avianus, *Tetr.*, etc. and in the AnF.s themselves. This originality may be due, in principle, to two causes: the preservation of a fable lost outside; and the creation of a new fable. We have found examples of both in the collections cited and also, of course, doubtful cases.

As regards our collections, I will begin by giving a list of the fables in question:

Only in Par., Dod.: not-H. 68, 196; only in Par. (one or more

versions): not-H. 65, 83, 126, 139, 272; only in Dod.: not-H. 311. Also: not-H. 1, 5, 119, in which Par. seems to be derived from Babrius.

Leaving these aside, I believe the others come from Hellenistic verse. If we except the "bon mot" that is not-H. 83 "Diogenes the Slave". The verse is often very abundant and has occasionally already been cited in part I: cf. pp. 22 ff., for not-H. 65 "The Farmer and the Eagle", 68 "The Farmer and the Plant" and 126 "The Kite and the Snake". These are the themes of the grateful eagle (which comes from Stesichorus), one derived from the theme of the eagle and the serpent (also ancient) and just one fable that proves extraneous: the theme of the sacred tree, a rare myth undoubtedly used by the Cynics within range of themes on usefulness.

I will point out the other fables, with their verse (using the various versions to reconstruct it):

Not-H. 139 "The Crow and Hermes": a Cynic theme, criticism of those who make a vow and then forget it when the danger passes:

Κόραξ ὑπὸ παγίδος κρατηθεὶς ηὔξατο
]ὦ κάκιστε, πῶς σοι πιστεύσω
ὡς τὸν πρότερόν σου δεσπότην[

Not-H. 196 "The Wolf General and the Ass". This is a derivative from the theme of the lion's share. Verse:

]στρατηγήσας λύκων
νόμους ἔταξε πᾶσιν[
χαίτην ἔσεισε καὶ γελῶν[
]εἰς τροφὴν σὴν λαθραίως
]κατέλυσε τοὺς νόμους

Not-H. 272 "The Rose and the Amaranth". An Ἔρις between two plants; the love of life triumphs over beauty, clearly a Cynic theme:

]οἷον ἄνθος εὐπρεπές
εἶ καὶ ποθητὸν καὶ θεοῖς καὶ ἀνθρώποις
ζηλῶ σε τοῦ κάλλους τε καὶ τῆς εὐοδίας

Not-H. 311 "The Flea and the Ox". This is a version of the theme of the flea; now the fate of the ox is envied. Verse:

]διασπώσης
οὐκ ἄχαρίς εἰμι [– ◡ –] μερόπων γένη
Ἡ δ' ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ γοῦν [–] τέως τῇ δειλαίᾳ
ἡ σοὶ φίλη τρίψις[

I find nothing new in these fables either in terms of the theme, or the verse, or the structure. They come from the Hellenistic tradition of the fable with Cynic tendencies that we have discussed. It is not at all strange that the collection that we have studied, a simple group of prosifications and subsequent versifications, lacks originality (as already was the previous case of AnF.). This originality is left for the "literary" fabulists of the type of Phaedrus, Babrius or Avianus.

VI. *Conclusions*

The first conclusion that we must establish is that the fables of our collections of Paraphrases and Dodecasyllables (in fact there is no collection of these, only fables incorporated in such and such a manuscript or extraneous collection) do not come from a single basic collection, with a model for each fable. We have seen that they depend on various models, either dependent of one common ancient one, or spread out at intervals over time. There was at a given moment an alphabetization of certain versions, without repetition. But there were other versions, which were introduced later in some mss. or else gave dodecasyllabic versions that have sometimes remained as the only ones. That is to say, Ba Bb do not bring together this alphabetization in its original state and other versions are external to it.

If we refer back to the models, we must recognize that a multiplicity of these existed; sometimes they were already so different that they were interpreted as two different fables and entered the same manuscripts, we have seen examples of this. It is a state of affairs similar to that which I have attributed to the pre-Augustana, where I have also given examples of derivation in such and such a subcollections or mss. starting from related ancient versions. In our case, as well as in that one, the ancient models have reached the heart of the Byzantine Age. The Dodecasyllables, then, which are more recent than the Paraphrases, do not depend on the latter in the version that has been preserved for us, but depend on their models.

In general terms, the whole tradition that occupies us depends on what we have called the "Babrian" tradition: a group of fables brought

together in various related collections, which consisted of: a) derivations of the single primary model that also ended up in AnF., among other places; b) variants on the fables of AnF., etc., generally secondary versions of these, but also second primary models and even, sometimes, primary models with respect to which the AnF., etc. come from a secondary model; and c) new fables, absent from AnF. (although perhaps sometimes existing in the pre-Augustana or the Ancient Augustana; this is difficult to decide).

We are dealing with what, when discussing Babrius, I referred to as collection II, the main source, although not the only one, of this author (who, on the other hand, creates many new fables in his own right). I have also mentioned it on the subject of Phaedrus, proposing that a few of his fables come from it: although this is less sure, they may simply come from one of the sources or minor collections that were later integrated into collection II. In any event, this existed towards the end of the 1st century AD.

This collection II was, as I have said, likewise the source of a collection of abbreviated fables that is at the basis of Aphthonius and Pseudo-Dositheus, particularly: transformed into an Anthology and endowed with certain characteristics of composition, it must have been very popular starting from the 2nd century AD.

However, let us return to collection II. In various locations in this book, I have denominated it the "Babrian tradition" in a broad sense, showing that it is at the basis not only of the collections that we are now studying, but of various others, particularly Avianus and *Tetr.* (of course, with the addition of certain elements and sometimes in an "abbreviated" version).

This hypothesis is based on the fact that from Chambry it has remained clear, and our studies have made it clearer still, that Par. and Dod. only come from Babrius on certain occasions. And the new data shows that on many other occasions the model of Par., Dod. and Babrius is the same (or they have related models), being external to AnF. and to the line of the pre-Augustana generally. Starting from here, it is realistic to attribute to that same "Babrian" tradition—a series of related collections or versions, as we have seen—the models of fables that are in Par. and/or Dod. and which are absent not only from AnF., etc., but from Babrius. Note that sometimes, in addition to in Par. and/or Dod., they were in collections that habitually used this tradition (Aphth., Ps.-Dos., Av., *Tetr.*, etc.), even when Babrius followed it. Evidently, Babrius only chose a part

of his model collection, as well as complementing it, as I have said. In this he did the same as all the collections generally.

Another fact makes this argument even more likely: there are no original fables in Par. and Dod., fables created by their authors, though on the basis of previous fables. This occurs in other collections, not here nor in AnF., which are not collections by individual authors with literary aspirations, as were Phaedrus, Babrius and Avianus, among others, but the final product of anonymous reworkings, sometimes multiple, sometimes successive, of the two major lines of the ancient tradition. Two great lines which, moreover, as we already know, sometimes contain fables derived from common and single models.

Thus, we must say, in the case of Par. and Dod., with a series of semiprosifications spread out at intervals over time. Some were ancient, prior to Babrius in any event, since he already used them. I have also shown (cf. pp. 227 ff.) that they were sometimes prior to T.Assend. and to the Latin Ps.-Dos. Yet undoubtedly only on a date subsequent to Babrius they were used to create sometimes one, sometimes various secondary semiprosified models, sometimes spread out over time. The models of Babrius and other fables in prose related to these survived, as has been said, until the heart of the Byzantine Age, producing new derivatives. No more and no less than what occurs with the pre-Augustana. On the other hand, we have seen that Paraphrases and Dodecasyllables entered, in turn, different collections and mss. already in Byzantium.

Those derivatives have been gathered together in our mss. in a non-systematic manner. The analyses of *stemma* systems that we have made and others that could be made on the basis of the data in our Appendices demonstrate that those mss. or that group of mss., both in the case of Par. and in that of Dod., sometimes use one, sometimes another source. The most systematic use is in the alphabetization that underlies Ba Bb.

We have seen, on the other hand, that at a certain moment certain writers contaminated two "Babrian" versions or contaminated one of them with Babrius himself or, even, with the tradition of AnF. in its various chronological stages.

The fact is that, of course, the various versions of the pre-Augustana were available to our writers in the libraries of Byzantium. Just as elements of the "Babrian" tradition entered the mss. of the AnF., and the two traditions re-encountered each other in the Cod.

Brancaccianus and in *Tetr.*, the successive refounders of the "Babrian" tradition enriched it starting from a given moment with elements of the pre-Augustana. Elements with various chronologies: sometimes they knew versions in the approximate stage in which the writers of the models of the Syriac fables found it, at other times more modern versions; I refer the reader to what I stated on the subject of H. 76.

Sometimes it is all the versions of a fable in the collections that we study, sometimes such and such a version or such and such a set of versions that depend on this tradition and are in opposition to the "Babrian". We have seen examples of this. Although it is evidently a relatively rare circumstance.

This whole "Babrian" tradition remained quite limited in its diffusion, as did Babrius himself, who, as we know, had a limited manuscript documentation. There are very few mss. of Par.; Dod. does not have its own mss., and is only known for its presence in manuscripts of extraneous collections in which it has infiltrated. Just as the fables of Par. have also infiltrated here and there.

Byzantium is dominated by the tradition of AnF. and, together with it, that of *Tetr.* To these collections there correspond a large number of preserved manuscripts that have replaced their ancient models, preserved until the 9th century; just as the models of Par. and Dod. have disappeared.

We must recognize that they are collections with a more literary character, with the exception of the Vindobonensis (AnF. II). Yet this, more or less contemporary to Par. and Dod., was replaced by a purist collection, the Accursiana; just as Babrius was replaced by the *Tetrastichs*. On the other hand, the Vindobonensis had an ancient precedent, the Augustana, which was properly literary. On the other hand, the ancient precedents of Par. and Dod. were semiprosifications, undoubtedly of little literary value.

If we study the evolution of these models until they give our versions of Par. and Dod., we may observe, indeed, that they were pure prosifications and versions in Byzantine verses without literary pretensions, and often very badly written. We cannot find clear literary tendencies such as those we can see in Phaedrus or Babrius, or Avianus, the Accursiana or *Tetr.*: rather, they are rather barbaric derivations, of the type of the Vindobonensis, as has been said. Their syntax and style were very soon out of fashion, and there are even morphological and lexical barbarisms. The classicist prose of the Accursiana was preferred (and even that of the Augustana), as were

the pseudo-trimetres of Ignatius the Deacon, which hide Medieval metrics. However, here and there the tradition that occupies us found a path until it was introduced in this or that collection or manuscript. This was the exception, however.

Neither can we see clear criteria in the selection of fables starting from the "Babrian" collection: it seems that the only criterion was to incorporate the maximum of number of them. Yet the selection varies according to the groups of mss.: the longest was that of the alphabetization that I have discussed. Neither do I believe, and I have said, that this was complete.

This is the history of the "Babrian" tradition in Byzantium, quite asymmetrical with respect to that of Western Europe. Since here its representative, although not the exact one, Avianus, had a maximum diffusion, whereas Phaedrus, the main representative of the other line in Rome, was hardly copied. It is true that versions derived from him, including the lost Phaedrus, were extensively copied and diffused. When both traditions re-encountered each other, in the West, it was the Byzantine tradition of the AnF., and only exceptionally the other, that entered and re-encountered its Latin counterpart.

Thus, if Avianus is excepted, partially incorporated in the Aesopic collection of Steinhöwel (after 1475), together with the principal line, Greek and Latin, cited, the "Babrian" tradition remained almost unknown in the West. Of its main representatives, the Athous of Babrius was not published until 1844, by Boissonade, and the Paraphrase until 1877, by Knoell. And we are still lacking a true edition of this and of the Dodecasyllables and all fables in choliambs are identified too quickly with Babrius. I think that one of the main contributions of this book could be to draw attention to the importance of the Babrian tradition within the total tradition of the Graeco-Latin fable.

SUPPLEMENT TO PART THREE, CHAPTER FOUR

I must remind the reader of my polemic with J. M. Luzzatto and J. Vaio on this subject.

Today we can document the existence of paraphrases of Babrius in the Imperial Age, cf. *P.L.Bat.* 25 05 (s. II) and P. J. Sijpestein, *Studia Papyrologica* 6, 1967, p. 10 (s. III), paraphrases of Babr. 9 and 67 respectively. I comment on these in my "Nuevos fragmentos papiráceos de fábulas esópicas", *Emerita* 67, 1999, pp. 9 f.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE TETRASTICHS OF IGNATIUS THE DEACON AND HIS IMITATORS

I. *General Remarks*

In Crusius' edition of Babrius, Müller published what he called "Ignatii Diaconi eiusque imitatorum tetrasticha iambica", which occupy book I with numbers from 1 to 57, and the "Tetrasticha a versificatore recentioris aetatis conglutinata", to which book II refers, with numbers from 1 to 32 (some duplications, with a and b). These are fables of four verses (with the exception of some longer fables in II), with a rich manuscript tradition that attributes them to Babrius (or Babrias or Gabrias, deformations of Babrius) but which, in some cases at least, come from Ignatius the Deacon (or Magister or Monachus or Grammaticus), a Byzantine writer from the 9th century.

Müller arranges his edition in such a way that in book I he publishes fables written in iambic trimetres with quite regular metre, while in II he publishes fables in less regular trimetres. The former would be by Ignatius or imitators who followed his metrical artistry; the latter, by imitators with more unsophisticated metre. The latter fables only appear in a few of the codices which transmit book I in a more or less complete form.

We must observe that, although in the case of book I we are dealing with "regular" iambic trimetres, the work of Ignatius or of a direct imitator, they are Byzantine versions, not ancient verses (although, evidently, they may preserve fragments inherited from ancient times, as in the case of the *politici* dodecasyllables and the prosifications). These trimetres have 12 syllables, that is to say, they do not allow the resolution of feet, and have the accent on the penultimate syllable; apart from this, they sometimes contains errors of prosody. We are dealing, then, in fact, with "disguised" *politici* dodecasyllables, clad in an apparently ancient metre.

The case is identical to that of three fables of the Codex Brancaccianus and epimythia of others we have studied in the appropriate places, arriving at the same conclusions. Furthermore, the version in

Branc. 9 of H. 89 "The Hen of the Golden Eggs" is practically identical to that of *Tetr.*: we must recall that Branc. is a miscellaneous codex, which has copied here and there. Two other metrical fables in Branc., 12 and 13, are not in *Tetr.* What is significant is the relationship between these metrical fables and others in *politici* dodecasyllables, although it could be interpreted in two ways: dependence of the former starting from the latter, or vice versa. In any event, the metre that concerns us comes after the creation of fables in dodecasyllables, no matter whether the fables of *Tetr.* and Branc. depend on these dodecasyllables, no matter whether they are contaminated by them or they derive from an ancient common model. What happens with the metrical fables of Branc. also happens, as we will see, with these others.

It was a metrical type that was widespread in Byzantium and, as Crusius correctly sees, it is not certain that we are always dealing with creations by Ignatius. On the other hand, among the fables in his Book II there are very different cases, which range between a greater or lesser proximity to the metre of the trimetres indicated and the pure and simple use of the *politicus* dodecasyllable. I do not believe that the latter are necessarily later, they may even be from before. Note that in some cases (something not seen, of course, by Crusius) some of the fables of book II are in fact versions that we also know from the collection of these dodecasyllables, published by Chambry: *Tetr.* II 31a = Dod. 40, *Tetr.* II 30a = Dod. 301. At other times, simply, the model from which *Tetr.* derives is very closely related to that of Dod. and the rest of the "Babrian" line, as we will see.

As we see, we are dealing with mixed material, with the inclusion of fables in *politici* dodecasyllables of greater length than four verses and with duplications and even one triplication of the same theme. These duplications are, of course, only in I once (41 and 48); they are more frequent in I and II or in II. And they demonstrate that the authors of the genre had various ancient models or, at other times, they reworked the same model in two different ways.

Although the division of the fables into books I and II is to a certain extent conventional, I am going to study them separately to find out whether there are differences.

It is a matter, in short, of seeing on which models Ignatius the Deacon, and, undoubtedly, his precursors and continuers, worked in the 9th century. His cultivation (with a few exceptions) of the short

fable of four verses is a continuation of a well-known type of ancient fable: we have found these fables among the models of AnF., Phaedrus, etc. (in the pre-Augustana) and also in Babrius; they were particularly cultivated by the Ps.-Babrius. Other later fabulists also derive from models of this type (very significantly Par.). As things are, it is clear that there are two possibilities: that an ancient fable of four verses (a prosification derived from this, to be more precise) was redone in the same frame of four verses; or that a longer fable was adapted to it. We have carefully studied the process of reduction, for example, in the Pseudo-Babrius. We will see that the authors of *Tetr.* proceed in the same way: they do not have a single source, but more or less work with the ancient models of the various lines of the fabulistic tradition that we have already discussed and, within them, with those of four verses and the longer ones.

II. *The "Pure" Iambic Tetrastichs (Book I)*

1. *Tetr. Derives from a Model around AnF.*

a) *General Remarks*

As in many other collections, we find the case of a derivation of *Tetr.* starting from a primary model from which AnF. also derives and, possibly, Phaedrus and S.; also, occasionally, the Babrian line of Par., Dod., B.; at times, some further collections. It could be the case that on that primary model there depends a secondary one not followed by *Tetr.* Or that there is a second primary model or even more. Yet sometimes the model followed by AnF. and *Tetr.* is summarized and secondary.

Let us indicate the fables in which this is the case:

I 1 = H. 254 "The Man and the Lion Walking Together".
I 3 = H. 294 "The Wolf and the Dog".
I 4 = H. 155 "The Lion and the Mouse".
I 6 = H. 114 Ib "The Ant and the Cicada".
I 9 = H. 136 "The Dog that Carried a Piece of Meat".
I 14 = H. 76 "The Stag and the Lion".
I 15 = H. 126 "The Crow and the Fox".
I 17 = H. 62 "The Farmer and the Serpent".
I 18 = H. 215 "The Boy who Hunted Grasshoppers".

I 24 = not-H. 122 "The Hunter and the Horseman".
I 27 = H. 24 "The Fox whose Stomach Swelled".
I 28 = H. 47 "The Boy who Vomited his Bowels".
I 30 = H. 161 "The Wolf and the Heron".
I 31 = H. 100 "The Wolf and the Kid".
I 33 = H. 160 "The Wolf and the Lamb".
I 35 = not-H. 8 "The Goat and the Goatherd".
I 37 = H. 89 "The Goose of the Golden Eggs".
I 43 = H. 51 "The Farmer and the Serpent".
I 46 = H. 106 "Zeus and Apollo".
I 41 and 48 = H. 154 "The Lion, the Ass and the Fox" (two fables).
I 49 = H. 19 "The Fox and the Bramble".
I 50 = H. 140 "The Mosquito and the Bull".
I 51 = H. 79 "The Stag and the Vineyard".
I 52 = H. 40 "The Astrologer".
I 53 = H. 238 "The Boar, the Horse and the Hunter".
I 54 = H. 31 "The Middle-Aged Man and the Two Hetairas".
I 55 = H. 2 "The Eagle, the Rook and the Shepherd".
I 56 = H. 255 "The Swallow and the Snake".
I 57 = H. 19 "The Fox and the Bramble".

As can be proven, there are 30 fables, more than half of the total. All are in AnF. I (and possibly in II and/or III), except for I 24, which is only in Sy. and *Tetr.* Yet given the frequency of the fables appearing in AnF., Sy. and *Tetr.* (cf. II chapter 6, p. 321), which we have attributed to an expansion of the Ancient Augustana already known by the author of the version of Sy. or Syriac fables, which we have called pre-Augustana, it seems clear that this fable also belonged to this phase, later being lost in the preserved Augustana. There are, certainly, among the fables cited, quite a few that are in Sy., in addition to AnF. and *Tetr.* I have already said that some also produced derivatives in Par., Dod. and B (and sometimes in Aphth., Branc., Ps.-Dos.): they come, undoubtedly, from the ancient core, the Ancient Augustana, also known by the models of Babrius and others.

That is to say that, in short, the author or authors of *Tetr.* I worked on a tradition that found its most well-known form in the AnF. The problem is now finding out what phase of this tradition they used.

I will advance that in various of the fables cited above it is not

easy to decide whether *Tetr.* derives from X (that is, from the original model or from one of its phases prior to the preserved collections), or else from AnF. in one of its preserved versions; even Babrius could, on some occasions, be a possibility. Our fables are very short and occasionally do not show distinctive features to enable us to attribute them precisely to one of the other versions. This is the case, very specifically, in my opinion, of I 1, 17, 27, 33, 48, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54 and 56.

Yet there are other cases in which a comparison of the texts may obtain more precise results: α) derivation from X, in general terms; β) derivation, more specifically, from a closely related predecessor of AnF.; γ) the character of a summary, or not, of the source of *Tetr.*; δ) a component, or not, of the collection.

b) *Tetr. Derives from X*

These are fables in which *Tetr.* does not share the innovations of any specific version and does, on the other hand, show archaisms of some or others, which we must necessarily attribute to X: this is the ancient model of the whole line, in one phase or another of its evolution. I mean that it is not clear, in the case of these fables, whether the model is the Ancient Augustana or the pre-Augustana in one of its phases: one thing is certain, the model is not our Augustana or the immediate model for this and for the other collections of AnF. I am referring to the following fables:

Tetr. I 4 = H. 151. The mouse who strolled on the lion's mane διέδραμεν according to *Tetr.*, agreeing with AnF. and B.; but its γελᾷ is very closely related to the two versions Par. 1, Par. 2 and the final "path" (ὁδόν) of the mouse is re-encountered in Par. The innovated ending by Babrius is missing, of course. All these elements cited undoubtedly date back to X, from where *Tetr.* comes.

Tetr. I 15 = H. 126. In the fable of the fox and the crow, *Tetr.* lacks the distinctive mark of all the AnFs., the "meat" instead of the original "cheese", which it preserves. However, the initial words of the fox in *Tetr.* ("if you had a voice, you would be the great bird of Zeus") are closer to those of AnF. than to any other version and the beginning (τυρὸν κόραξ ἔδακνε) goes with the Babrian version, as does the ending. These are all undoubtedly archaic features.

Tetr. I 18 = H. 215. Here too we must refer back to an ancient model. The boy who hunted grasshoppers is in AnF. I παῖς but in various other versions, such as Par. and Dod. it is παῖς τις (cf. Synt. νεανίσκος τις) and by including this τις in AnF. I we have a complete initial verse: παῖς τις πρὸ τοῦ τείχους ἀκρίδας ἐθήρευε. *Tetr.* also presents παῖς τις. On the other hand, the final "if you touch me . . ." finds a parallel in Sy. (Synt. and Syr.).

Tetr. I 28 = H. 47. In spite of some agreements with Babrius, such as ἀλλ' ἐμεῖς, it most probably dates back to the ancient model, of which Babrius is an expanded and picturesque derivative that replaces the ox preserved in AnF. and *Tetr.* with a bull, among other things.

Tetr. I 30 = H. 161. There is an interesting treatment by *Tetr.* of the fable of the wolf and the heron. Verse 1 is very close to the versions of Par. and Dod. 1 and 2, even to that of Branc.: cf., among other things, *Tetr.* ἐμπεπήγει, Dod. 2 ἐπεπήγει, while it distances itself from AnF. and B. It also agrees with the first series (Phaedrus and Aphth.) in the γέρανος "crane" instead of the ἐρωδιός "heron" of AnF., B. However, there is agreement with B. in ᾔτει (AnF. ἀπῄτει). Once again I believe that *Tetr.* worked on the original model X.

Tetr. I 46 = H. 106. The model of the fable of Zeus and Apollo was undoubtedly of four verses and is quite well preserved in AnF. Yet *Tetr.* sometimes agrees with this version (*Tetr.* Πρὸς τοξικὴν ἤριζε/ AnF. I περὶ τοξικῆς ἤριζον), sometimes with Babrius, who also expands considerably (ποῦ βάλλω; and the whole detail of the shooting of Apollo and Zeus, which Babrius paraphrases).

Tetr. I 55 = H. 2. The version of *Tetr.* of the fable of the rook and the shepherd is the most faithful to the ancient one, together with that of AnF.: it does not change the ending with Par., B. and it does not suppress it with other versions. Yet it does not come from AnF. exactly: its ἰδών, as we already know, is older than the θεασάμενος of AnF. (ἑωρακώς in Aphth. and Branc., very closely related).

In fact, all these fables that we have defined as deriving from X have sources that are not exactly comparable: I have already said that X may refer to various phases within the evolution of the pre-

Augustana. Since it sometimes seems that it refers to a very ancient phase, where we find that it contains archaisms that various versions later preserved. Yet at other times the discrepancies with AnF. I (or with AnF. generally) depend on very recent innovations of the latter (the ἔχουσα in H. 136 I, the "meat" in H. 126): *Tetr.* may come from a quite closely related model. This is also the case of *Tetr.* I 18, where the παῖς τις was general and was preserved until a recent date and there are agreements with S. Also in *Tetr.* I 55. On the other hand, *Tetr.* I 3, 6, 9 and 35 seem to come, as I will explain, from summaries of the version that reached AnF., summaries of which there are other appearances.

c) *Tetr. Derives from a Model Close to AnF.*
There are fables in which we see the derivation of *Tetr.* more clearly coming not from AnF., but from a closely related model.

Tetr. I 14 = H. 76. We know that in the fable of the stag, the lion only appears in AnF., which I have proposed is an innovation of its source, instead of the hunters of the rest of the tradition. The lion also appears in *Tetr.* This means that it derives from a phase of the pre-Augustana already very close to AnF. I and II.

Tetr. I 31 = H. 100. From the original model of four verses of the fable of the wolf and the kid come, on one hand, the version of AnF. and, on the other, those of Branc. = Ib, B. (from where come Par. and Dod.). As regards *Tetr.*, it is a further derivative of the same model, but closer to AnF. than to the other branch.

Tetr. I 43 = H. 51. On the fable of the farmer and the serpent that killed the former's son, cf. above, pp. 108 ff. There it can be seen that there are various branches of the tradition and that from one of them come, in turn, AnF. I and III. Our version comes from that same model (if not from the model of AnF. III itself, as there is τύμβον here as in *Tetr.*).

Occasionally, as we see, *Tetr.* is especially closely related to AnF. or to one of its branches. It may simply be that these preserve a greater archaism than other collections (the case of *Tetr.* I 31, I believe), but it may also be that *Tetr.* works with a version that is immediately prior to AnF. or, as I have said, to one of its branches.

d) *Tetr. Derives from a Summarized Line*

During the course of this volume, we have repeatedly had occasion to observe the existence of summarized versions of the primary and even secondary lines; from these come fables of Aphth., Ps.-Dositheus, Par. and other collections. In the case that occupies us here there are examples of fables of *Tetr.* derived from summaries of the primary model of AnF. and other collections.

Tetr. I 3 = H. 294. The fable given by Hausrath as IIIδ (in fact, from the ms. F) is a prosification of our fable of *Tetr.* Yet this is, in turn, a summary of the longer model that produced the fables of B., Phaedrus and Avianus, a model derived from Archilochus with his theme of the scar of the dog that wore a collar.

Tetr. I 6 = H. 114 Ib. Also in the fable of the ant and the cicada, *Tetr.* follows a summary (with Branc. and Theoph.) derived from a mixed primary version (in AnF., Sy. and B.); cf. pp. 66 ff. This is a special case, as there is no line of AnF. or Babrian line.

Tetr. I 9 = H. 136. This is the well-known fable of the dog that carried a piece of meat. As the reader knows, in the ancient model the dog is mentioned as φέρουσα meat, and AnF. I has modified this to ἔχουσα. *Tetr.* maintains φέρων (in the masc., an innovation), in perfect agreement with AnF. II; but the ending is more closely related to AnF. I than to any other version (*Tetr.* ἀπεστέρητο παντός, AnF. I ἀμφοτέρων στερηθῆναι, metrical). On the other hand, there are agreements with the "summarized" versions: for κύψας cf. Branc., ἐκράτει = Ps.-Dos. *Tetr.* comes, then, from an ancient model, probably from a summary close to those cited or the basis for these.

Tetr. I 35 = not-H. 8. Here too *Tetr.* comes from a summarized version, in this case common to Phaedrus (not to AnF.). What is significant is that in this case the primary model has left traces (cf. p. 53) in the "Babrian" line of Par. 1, Par. 2, Dod. and B., which in this case also extends to Aphth. From a version in which the shepherd reaches the goat with a reed (and not a stone), which is in Dod., comes this summarized version.

The existence of these summarized models convinces us of the heterogeneity of the sources of *Tetr.* I (and II). The continuation of this study will finally confirm them.

e) *Problem of the Length of the Source of Tetr.*

We already know that fables of four verses are very ancient and that this model has been the one followed by the author (or authors) of *Tetr.* I. What it is less clear is to what extent he follows ancient short models, also of four verses, although undoubtedly semiprosified, or models that are summaries of other previous ones, or whether he is the one who summarized.

I think that all these cases occur, just as in other fabulists. We have seen, indeed, that *Tetr.* I 3, 6, 9 and 35 derive from a previous summary and that, on the other hand, I 31 and I 46 were original fables of four verses. This is also, probably, the case of *Tetr.* I 18 and I 43. On the other hand, in other cases it is possible that it is precisely *Tetr.* who summarizes, as is the case of I 47, in which *Tetr.* is isolated as a short fable. *Tetr.* fits, then, in the tradition of the short fable, ancient and never abandoned, and sometimes later revived in the "Babrian" authors (the Ps.-Babrius, Par. and Dod.) and in the collection to which we have referred (cf. pp. 233 ff.) and which is model of Aphth. and Ps.-Dos., among others. We will see it again on the subject of the *Tetr.* of the "Babrian" tradition or another tradition. Yet we must recall that the case is the same for the fables that we cannot prove to have come from AnF. or X, although, after what I have just stated, it is difficult to think that they come precisely from AnF.: we must suppose that they come from a closely related antecedent.

These fables of *Tetr.* are also in different situations. We may cite at least one, *Tetr.* I 17 "The Farmer and the Serpent", in which we must propose the existence of a summarized model prior to *Tetr.*, also followed by Phaedrus. However, generally, as *Tetr.* is isolated, we must suppose that the summary is his or, in any event, we do not have an independent source to reconstruct it. This is the case in I 1, 33, 48, 49, 50, 52, 53, 54, 56 and 57.

f) *Unity of the Collection, or Not*

Regarding this theme, it is difficult to make a pronouncement for book I. When we study II we will see that it occasionally offers a second fable with the same theme as one of I or else two fables with the same theme: this implies, it seems, more than one author in relation to I and within II itself. Yet neither must the absolute unity of I be taken for granted. Particularly because there are two fables, I 41 and 48, with the same theme: the first depends more directly on X or AnF., the second seems to be a modification. On

the other hand, the fact that these fables appear alone in certain mss., without II, and that there is a certain metrical uniformity, do not seem sufficient arguments. Consider the secondary treatment of choliambic fables as belonging to the same author or collection. The Byzantine iambic trimetres that we are considering are not only by Ignatius, as we have seen that there are some in the Codex Brancaccianus and that the same fable appears in both places. Simply, the mss. to which we make reference have selected a collection of fables of this type with a single version of each one, with the exception of one duplicated by mistake.

In any event, the Byzantine writer or writers (Ignatius and others) of the 9th century clearly do not depend on the Augustana nor on another collection of the Anonymous fables, but, from among other basic materials that we will see, they had models of these, sometimes closely related, at other times more remote: versions of the pre-Augustana with varying chronological extents. Sometimes, marginal, abbreviated versions, while at other times the version in common with the pre-Augustana was already of four verses. More commonly it was longer and it was the authors of *Tetr.* who introduced those models into their particular Procrustean bed, as other ancient collections had sometimes already done. We must admit, however, that this is the only collection that has reached us to have proceeded systematically in this way.

2. *Tetr. Derives from a Model around the "Babrian" Tradition*

a) *General Remarks*

No more and no less than the Byzantine fables of Par. and Dod., those of *Tetr.* often depend on a line of the tradition independent of AnF., although in the final analysis related to it in one way or another: on a line that we have called "Babrian" in a broad sense. It may be a single primary version or one of various; or, also, a secondary version. In this case it may be a "normal" version or a summarized, marginal one.

The fables to which I am referring are:

I 2 = H. 208 "The Birds and the Stork".
I 5 = not-H. 182 "The Lion and the Boar".
I 7 = not-H. 226 "The He-goat and the Vineyard".
I 10 = not-H. 85 "The Slave and Aphrodite".
I 11 = not-H. 183 "The Lion and the Three Bulls".

I 12 = not-H. 118 “The Sun and the Frogs”.
I 13 = H. 119 “The Camel and Zeus”.
I 16 = H. 7 “The Cat and the Hens”.
I 19 = H. 199 “The Ass and the Lionskin”.
I 20 = H. 281 “The Lion and the Archer”.
I 21 = H. 198 “The Ass and the Wolf”.
I 23 = H. 15a “The Fox and the Grapes”.
I 25 = H. 273 “The Eagle”.
I 26 = not-H. 149 “The Cowardly Hunter”.
I 29 = H. 103 “The Rook and the Birds”.
I 32 = H. 242 “The Bull and the Wild Goats”.
I 34 = H. 211 “The Snake and the Crab”.
I 36 = H. 193 “The Ass that Carried an Image”.
I 38 = not-H. 184 “The Rabid Lion”.
I 39 = H. 50 “The Weasel and Aphrodite”.
I 40 = H. 259 “The Tortoise and the Eagle”.
I 42 = not-H. 308 “The Toad that Swelled”.
I 44 = H. 143 “The Hares and the Frogs”.
I 45 = H. 239 “The Oak and the Reed”.
I 47 = H. 46 “Boreas and Helios”.

In a parallel manner to the case above of derivation starting from the line centred around AnF., it is sometimes impossible for us to say whether *Tetr.* comes from the ancient model (X, Y or Z depending on the case) or from the version of Babrius, specifically. This is what happens, in my view, within the above list, in fables I 2, 10, 26 and 38.

However, there is a significant difference. While there is a series of fables in which it is clear and others in which it is likely that the derivation of *Tetr.* is starting from X, that is, from an ancient model, on other occasions the derivation is, I think, starting from Babrius. No more and no less than happens, as I have already stated and we will see in more detail, in the case of Par. and Dod. Let us study these cases is succession, then.

b) *Fables in which Tetr. Derives from X*
I draw the general conclusions of the *stemmata* that can be found in Appendix II. We are dealing with the following fables:

Tetr. I 5 = not-H. 182. Only in Par. is there a second version of the fable of the lion and the boar: a much longer version with

different verse. It does not appear that *Tetr.* comes from it, but both from a previous source.

Tetr. I 7 = not-H. 295. Here the "Babrian" line is secondary (Y) and Babrius is not present in it: it is not credible that Par. and Dod. come from a lost B., as sometimes there is a long penultimate. As regards *Tetr.*, it shows agreements with these versions, but not a precise derivation; there is, for example, an agreement with Ovid, also from this line, as against Par., Dod.: *Tetr.* οἶνον βλύσαι, Ov. *spargitur ... mero* compared with Par., Dod. οἶνον παρέξω. Since Par. and Dod. show certain agreements with the primary line, they summarize, and *Tetr.* differs partially, as we have just seen, we seem to deduce that there were two related summaries, with *Tetr.* deriving from one of them.

Tetr. I 12 = not-H. 118. There is a single primary model, "Babrian", which includes a version by Babrius himself and another by Phaedrus. Here too Par. and Dod. do not derive from B., but from the model X and *Tetr.* sometimes agrees with its archaisms: Par., Dod. εἷς, *Tetr.* τις (B. φρῦνος); Par., *Tetr.* ἔχαιρον (Dod. ἠγάλλοντο).

Tetr. I 13 = H. 119. *Tetr.* comes from a secondary summary, from which Par., Dod. and Sy. also come.

Tetr. I 16 = H. 7. The secondary version, from which our *Tetr.* derives, as do Dod. and B., is a model Y. We can see that *Tetr.* comes from this and not from B. from agreements such as *Tetr.* παρέλθῃς, Dod. παρέλθοις compared with B. ἀπέλθῃς.

Tetr. I 19 = H. 199. Both this fable from *Tetr.* and II 23 come from a secondary line also in Aphth., Par., Luc., Tzetzes, whereas B. is in the primary one, with AnF. This reduced line is a summary.

Tetr. I 21 = H. 198. *Tetr.* comes from the secondary line Y, with B. and Aphth. Together with features in common with these versions (the wound of the ass is real, the wolf takes out the stake or nail that caused it), *Tetr.* shows a clear agreement with the version of AnF., primary (μάγειρος): an archaism, therefore, which certifies that it comes from an ancient phase of Y.

Tetr. I 23 = H. 15a. Here *Tetr.* is in a second primary, Babrian line. It does not come from B., cf. καμοῦσα πολλάκις and Par. πολλὰ δὲ καμοῦσα, compared with B. κάμνουσα δ' ἄλλως.

Tetr. I 25 = H. 273. Once again, *Tetr.* comes from a secondary "Babrian" line, which is a summary; the significant aspect is that the primary one is also Babrian Par. = III. The agreement is a general one, *Tetr.* innovates in the details.

Tetr. I 29 = H. 103. The secondary Babrian line is in B. and *Tetr.* There is, indeed, agreement between their versions: it is sufficient to say that the swallow appears in both, whereas outside of here it is extraneous to this fable of the rook and the birds. Yet *Tetr.* agrees in an archaism (ἀλλοτρίοις πτεροῖς) with ancient versions such as that of Philodemus. Later it comes from the model Z, not from B.

Tetr. I 34 = H. 211. *Tetr.* derives from a second primary version (together with the one that gives AnF.) of Y, not from B. It sometimes agrees with this, sometimes with Aphth. and Av.

Tetr. I 36 = H. 193. Here there are two models, one of them, summarized, that underlies Par. and *Tetr.*

Tetr. I 42 = not-H. 308. There is a single primary line, with B., *Tetr.* and Horace. Note the final agreement with Horace, not with Babrius.

Tetr. I 45 = H. 239. This comes from the primary model of the fable of the oak and the reed, the one that is reflected in H. 239, on one hand, and in B., Par. and *Tetr.*, on the other. We are dealing, in fact, with two subdivisions of the same line. *Tetr.* has significant agreements with Par.: Par. ἐρώτα, *Tetr.* πεύθετο, B. paraphrases.

Tetr. I 47 = H. 46. *Tetr.* comes from a second primary line, sometimes agreeing with B. (ἔσφιγγε, cf. B. σφίξας) sometimes with the rest of this branch.

c) *Fables in which Tetr. Derives from Babrius*

With greater or lesser certainty, this may be postulated in the fables that follow:

Tetr. I 11 = not-H. 183. *Tetr.* shows significant agreements with the primary version from which come Aphth., Themistius and B.; within it, it agrees with B. and Aphth., in the presence—undoubtedly secondary—of three bulls instead of two. As nothing can be found in *Tetr.* that is far removed from B. and approaches the other versions, it seems probable that it comes from the former.

Tetr. I 20 = H. 281. In this case, I think B. is the model for the whole tradition; cf. above, p. 435.

Tetr. I 32 = H. 242. Here it is certainly clear that *Tetr.* comes not only from Y (secondary Babrian line), but, more precisely, from Babrius himself. It agrees, indeed, in its new closing statement.

Tetr. I 39 = H. 50. Here a second primary line with Par., Dod. has been expanded by B.; *Tetr.* undoubtedly comes from it, since there are no elements in it in common with Par., Dod. or with the other line, that of AnF.

Tetr. I 40 = H. 259. Together with the primary model from which come the AnFs., there are derivations that are at the basis of B. and of Romulus. It is not credible that *Tetr.*, which has an identical beginning to B., has a different model: it is undoubtedly a summary of this fabulist.

Tetr. I 44 = H. 143. The primary version is mixed, it contains AnF. and the Babrian collections. *Tetr.* is close to these, but more specifically to B., as both lack the beginning and the ending that are normal in this branch.

3. *The Version of Tetr. is Isolated*

Together with these fables, there are two of which we only have the version in *Tetr.* I present them below:

Tetr. I 8 = not-H. 212 "The Mice and the Blacksmiths". The theme of the mouse that starves to death in a smithy depends on the theme of the impossibility for mice to eat iron, known from an Indian fable (*Tantrākhyāyika* I 17, p. 55, Hertel), to which a proverb in Herodas III 76 and Seneca, *Apocol.* 7 also alludes ("where mice eat iron", referring to a harsh or inhospitable place). What is most likely is

that both the Indian fable (the mice ate the scales, which is a lying excuse by a fraudster) and this are derived from the Greek proverb.

Tetr. I 22 = not-H. 278 "The Libyan Ostrich". This is the theme of the ambiguity of the ostrich, which is sometimes presented as a bird and sometimes as a terrestrial animal. It is undoubtedly derived from similar themes of the Greek fable regarding the bat (and the hyena, with its ambiguity between male and female).

It could well be the case that we are dealing with derivatives of ancient fables, secondary derivatives, which by chance have only reached us along this path. Yet given the frequency of the procedure of some collections, which to fables derived from various sources add some of their own invention, though based on ancient themes, we cannot reject *a priori* the hypothesis that precisely Ignatius himself was the author of these fables. The first of them would perhaps come from the theme of the *Tantrākhyāyika* (and *Panchatantra*), since there was knowledge of the Indian fable in Byzantium starting from the 9th century; cf. the chapter we dedicated to this theme. However, I have already said that the theme was also known in Greece.

4. *Conclusions*

We will need to await the study of book II to draw definitive conclusions, but in any event we already clearly see the multiplicity of sources of Ignatius and, possibly, other authors of book I. There is more or less a balance between the fables derived from single primary models (sometimes only of AnF. and its line, sometimes of these collections plus B. and "Babrian" collections, sometimes only "Babrian" collections) and those derived from secondary models, often (but not always) "Babrian". These secondary models are occasionally summarized fables; others are also from originals in four verses, some primary.

On this basis, the author or authors of our work have created new fables of four verses around the type of the Byzantine trimetre that I have discussed; and they have occasionally had to make the summary themselves. It is significant that, in addition to the two main sources cited, with varied *stemmata*, moreover, Babrius (but not AnF., although sometimes its immediate models) may also have been used; and on two occasions we are dealing with single fables, whether original or not.

I do not believe that there is anything new to add to what has been stated above on the problem of the summaries that possibly underlie the fables, nor on the unity of the collection (the fables studied in this section only have a version in *Tetr.* I). The comparison with the study of book II may provide us with some further data.

We must add the existence of a new fable in Branc.; cf. p. 399.

III. *The Iambic Tetrastichs of the Irregular Type*

1. *Tetr. Derives from a Model around AnF.*

a) *General Remarks*

This is the case parallel to that of the pure tetrastichs that we studied initially. As we did there, here we give a list of tetrastichs, in this case from book II, whose *stemma* is of this type:

II 1 = H. 156 "The Lion and the Ass".
II 2 = H. 147 "The Lion and the Fox".
II 3 = H. 166 "The Wolf and the Sheep".
II 5 = H. 164 "The Wolf and the Sheep".
II 6 = H. 144 "The Kite and the Gull".
II 8 = H. 162 "The Wolf and the Goat".
II 9 = H. 13 "The Fishermen".
II 10 = H. 45 "The Oxen and the Axle".
II 11 = H. 76 "The Stag and the Lion".
II 12 = H. 77 "The Stag".
II 13 = H. 152 "The Lion and the Bear".
II 17 = H. 78 "The Stag and the Lion".
II 18 = H. 54 "The Snails".
II 20 = H. 43 "The Frogs".
II 21 = H. 60 "The Old Man who Cut Firewood".
II 22 = H. 118 "The Crab and the Fox".
II 24 = H. 7 "The Cat".
II 25 = H. 114 Ib "The Ant and the Cicada".
II 26 = not-H. 8 "The Goat and the Goatherd".

We are dealing, as we can see, with a group of 19 fables (some also in I) out of a total of 37. That is to say, little more than half: the proportion is almost the same as in book I.

Here too we cannot present fables in which *Tetr.* derives clearly from AnF. I, II or III; there is a series of them in which this possibility exists, but, together with it, there is also the possibility that the derivation is starting from X, that is to say, from the ancient model. I believe that this must also be postulated for the ambiguous fables of the first series. In any event, given the frequency of the ambiguity and the limited distinctiveness compared with AnF., where there is any, it proves likely that this model is a phase of the pre-Augustana already close to AnF. At other times the model is a summarized secondary version.

The panorama is, as may be appreciated, approximately the same as that of book I, that of the "pure" iambic trimetres. At most, we must note that there is a greater number of ancient fables, though we cannot see clearly if they come from AnF. or Z: they are II 1, 2, 3, 5, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 17, 20, 24, 25 and 26. And we must also note that the comparative data are more limited, and do not allow us to distinguish between fables derived from X generally and fables derived from a recent stage of X. We therefore make only three sections: fables that come from Z, fables from a summarized model and particular problems.

b) *Tetr. Derives from X*

This is more or less likely for the following fables:

Tetr. II 6 = H. 144. My hypothesis is based, particularly, on the fact that in AnF. I there is a closing statement ἄξια σύ γε πέπονθας, to which *Tetr.* corresponds with ὡς δίκαια πέπονθας. Both come from a semiprosified model with πέπονθας which, as is customary, must follow a previous one with πάσχεις, specifically, with δίκαια πάσχεις. *Tetr.* cannot come from AnF. I, which has introduced ἄξια, but from a previous model.

Tetr. II 13 = H. 152. *Tetr.* seems to be a summary of AnF., but the beginning of *Tetr.* νεβρὸν λέων may be ancient and derive from the model of AnF.

Tetr. II 18 = H. 54. AnF. I and II, as well as *Tetr.*, seem to come from an original in four verses, but the beginning of this γεωργὸς ὤπτα κοχλίας preserves a model which we must presuppose as being prior to the γεωργοῦ παῖς ὤπτα κοχλίας of AnF. II.

Tetr. II 21 = H. 60. *Tetr.* is very closely related to AnF. and S., as all come from a model of four verses. Yet the direct style of Death's question to the old man, in *Tetr.* and Sy. (Syr. and Synt.), is more archaic than the indirect one of AnF.: *Tetr.* derives from the model of the pre-Augustana at the time when it was taken by Syr. and Synt., which preserve a second archaism, the direct style in the old man's invocation of Death.

Tetr. II 22 = H. 118. The μέλλω θνήσκειν of *Tetr.* comes not from the μέλλων καταβιβρώσκεσθαι of AnF., but from the ὡς δ' ἔμελλ' ἀποθνήσκειν (cf. Vol. I, pp. 559 f.) which we must reconstruct in X.

c) *Tetr. Derives from a Summarized Model*

In the previous cases, the derivation of *Tetr.* is starting from a primary model around AnF.: single or accompanied by another; representing the whole tradition or accompanied by secondary lines. Yet *Tetr.* may also come from a secondary summarized model, from which derive AnF. or some related collection.

Tetr. II 26 = not-H. 8. Here the primary line is "Babrian", and from it comes a summary in *Tetr.* and Phaedrus. The shepherd's crook appears in it (and not the stone), with which the goatherd breaks the goat's horn; this is already present in the primary line, in Dod. The new line is placed in a predecessor of this, which not only produces *Tetr.* II and Phaedrus, but also *Tetr.* I 35, which is somewhat further removed.

d) *Particular Problems*

When considering this panorama, it seems clear that also in the case of fables in which, in itself, the hypothesis would be possible of a direct derivation starting from one of the collections of AnF., we must postulate rather that *Tetr.* II comes from X, possibly from a version immediately prior to AnF. Thus, when in *Tetr.* II 11, the fable of the stag and the lion, we have a lion and not hunters (as in *Tetr.* I 14), we must think that the model is the recent phase of the pre-Augustana, not AnF. I or II.

The models within reach of *Tetr.* II were, it seems, the same ones as those that *Tetr.* I knew: versions of the last phase of the pre-Augustana, generally (although not always) later preserved in AnF. Primary models, either long or of four verses, and some secondary

model, also of four verses. The longer ones were reduced to four verses by the authors of *Tetr.* II.

In general terms, *Tetr.* II attempts to take from its models fables not collected by *Tetr.* I. I say in general terms, because both *Tetr.* I 14 and II 11 come from the single primary model of H. 76, as we have just seen. The same happens to the summarized model of not-H. 8 (it gives *Tetr.* I 35 and II 26). We will see similar things within the Babrian tradition.

More generally, *Tetr.* II uses models left to one side by *Tetr.* I, although all are of the types that we have already discussed, undoubtedly known by the authors of both collections. Thus, *Tetr.* II 24 comes from one of the two lines of H. 7, the one around AnF., whereas *Tetr.* I 16 comes from the Babrian line, as we have seen. *Tetr.* II 25 comes from the primary line of H. 114 around AnF., *Tetr.* I 6 comes from a summarized line, as we have also seen.

On the other hand, maybe the case is that we are dealing with two fables of *Tetr.* II derived from the same model, which seems to support the idea of a number of authors within the collection. It is undoubtedly by chance that this does not occur in the fables derived from the line around AnF., but we will see that it does in those of the Babrian line and in some exclusive to *Tetr.*

2. *Tetr. Derives from a Model around the Babrian Tradition*

Here we are referring to the following fables:

Tetr. II 4 = H. 179 "The Young Libertine and the Swallow".
Tetr. II 14 = H. 6 "The Wild Goats and the Goatherd".
Tetr. II 15 = H. 9 "The Fox and the He-goat".
Tetr. II 16 = H. 12 "The Fox and the Leopard".
Tetr. II 19 = H. 266 "The Two Cocks and the Eagle".
Tetr. II 23 = H. 199 "The Ass and the Lionskin".
Tetr. II 29a and b = H. 287 "The Frog and the Fox".
Tetr. II 30a and b = H. 205 "The Bird-catcher and the Partridge".
Tetr. II 31a and b = H. 9 (cf. II 15).
Tetr. II 32a and b = H. 98 "The Snake and the Fox".

The details are the same as those to which we are already accustomed: whether it is a single primary line or not (II 15, 19, 29, 32),

whether primary or secondary (the case already mentioned of two versions, II 30), or secondary (the other fables), sometimes summarized. The important thing is to note that the derivation is not, as far as we can see, most times, from a particular version from among those known, but from the original model in one of its phases.

To give some examples, I will refer to *Tetr.* II 4, which contains elements known by Babrius (the young libertine loses his money at dice), but also phrases from AnF. (primary model) that Babrius has lost: *Tetr.* ὡς δ' εἶδε χελιδόνα, cf. AnF. I ὡς ἐθεάσατο χελιδόνα, II εἶδε χελιδόνα, all ἀπώλεσας. It is clear that *Tetr.* knew the secondary model in a phase prior to that used by B., in which certain remnants of the primary one were still preserved.

Similar things may be said of other fables. Or else it is simply a matter of *Tetr.* sometimes agreeing with some, sometimes with others of the representatives of the same branch, as is the case in *Tetr.* II 19 = H. 266 (single primary model). There are some fables, however, that seem to derive from Babrius. Thus, *Tetr.* II 14 = H. 6 comes from a secondary Babrian line, but very possibly from the version of the same one by Babrius himself. As regards *Tetr.* II 30a, it is identical to Dod., in the primary line of H. 205; but *Tetr.* II 30b seems to come directly from Babrius. *Tetr.* II 32a is also the same as Dod., in the single primary line of H. 98, whereas *Tetr.* II 32b is one more among those derived from this line.

Thus the writers of *Tetr.* II had access not only to ancient models from the Babrian tradition, preserved in the heart of the Byzantine Age, but also to fables of Babrius and of Dod. They generally tended to develop them in those cases in which they had not been used by the author of *Tetr.* I. Yet not without exceptions: we have already referred to these. And we must emphasize that we sometimes have two fables taken from the same model, presumably by different authors. From line Y, or the secondary one of H. 9, come no less than three fables of *Tetr.* II: 15 and 31b, as well as 31a, which is in fact Dod. Compare above on *Tetr.* II 30 and 32.

3. *The Version of Tetr. is Isolated*

This is the case in the following fables:

Tetr. II 7 = not-H. 31 "The Bear, the Fox and the Lion Hunting". This is derived from the theme of the hunt in common and of the cunning of the fox.

Tetr. II 27a and b = not-H. 194 "The Wolf and the Dog". The theme of the danger of putting the wolf in the flock, derived from various known themes. Both versions have remnants of verse in common.

Tetr. II 28 = not-H. 186 "The Wolf Teacher and the Hen". This is a curious literary fable, with allusions to the obscurity of the verses of Lycophron and to the theme of the wolf who teaches the hen, related to Indian and Medieval themes derived from them, which we will study elsewhere (cf. p. 570).

Also in *Tetr.* II, as we can see, we find new fables. They derive from ancient themes, but one of them seems to contain a theme from the Indian fable, to which we will return. It is significant that also in this case we find two versions of the same fable on one occasion, it would appear, starting from a common model.

IV. *Conclusions*

From all the above, we cannot, I believe, draw very clearcut conclusions on the authorship of our fables, which, after all, is not what most interests us. The important thing is that, after the date in which *politici* dodecasyllables began to be written, the 6th and 7th centuries, we believe, and the composition of fables in them, a new iambic trimetre was created in Byzantium which, beneath its apparently Classical structure, actually hid dodecasyllables of this type. It was also used to write fables and, specifically, fables of four verses, on the model of ancient iambic or choliambic fables of four verses, Ignatius the Deacon, in the 9th century, was the most characteristic author of the genre. But it may have arisen earlier. Just as the trimetres that we have discussed imitate the *politici* dodecasyllables, refining them, there happened the phenomenon that the iambic tetrastich fables produced imitations in *politici* dodecasyllables.

It seems that both sets of fables had a number of authors, although this is much more certain in the case of the latter, for reasons already mentioned.

All these authors, including Ignatius, proceeded in more or less the same way. They had fabulistic material available that has been proven, once again, to have survived in Bizantium at least until the 10th century AD: semiprosified versions of the pre-Augustana from various chronological levels and prior to our collections, as well as

semiprosified versions of the Babrian tradition, those used by Par. and Dod., and previously, by Babrius. Also, fables by Babrius himself and from Dod.

Also among the material used were some versions of fables that ended up neither in our collections of AnF. nor in the Babrian ones. There are few of these, but they are from the old tradition; some were known, for example, by Phaedrus and/or S. Others were undoubtedly lost completely, except in the imitation of *Tetr.* Some of these *unica* of *Tetr.* may, however, have been original creations.

It is also significant that the authors of *Tetr.* probably had some knowledge of the Indian fabulistic tradition. I will return to this.

The *Tetrastichs* of both metric types are the culmination of a fabulistic style that we know through fables incorporated in various collections since ancient times, but through no collection as systematic and uniform as these. I have already said that the models are sometimes in old primary fables from one or the other tradition, sometimes in secondary, summarized fables, also from both traditions. At other times it was the Byzantine authors who had to make the effort to summarize the models.

These fables were very popular in Byzantium, generally through unique versions, or at least versions that were unique in each fabulistic line, although there are exceptions to the rule. At a time when the tradition of the fable in verse was paving the way for versions in prose and, later, for others in Byzantine *politici* verse, the genre that we are commenting upon represents, in a certain sense, an attempt at purism. It was therefore attributed to a 'Gabrius', which is a deformation of Babrius, considered as the true master of the fable, taking the place of Aesop. Yet it still continued to receive the popular Byzantine influence and also produce tetrastichs in *politici* dodecasyllables as derivations; these were occasionally identical to those of Dod., just as on other occasions the branches were contaminated and mixed. We have already seen that the one we are studying here was mixed, in the Codex Brancaccianus, with prosaic fables.

Supplement to Part Three, Chapter Five

New bibliography to be added:

G.-J. VAN DIJK, "The (Pseudo-)Ignatius Tetrastichs: Byzantine Fables *d'une élegance laconique*", *Reinardus* 6, 1996, pp. 161–178.

G.-J. VAN DIJK, *Ignatius Diaconus' Fabelkwatrijnen. Byzantijnse Tetrasticha. Inleiding, tekst, vertaling en commentaar*, Groningen: Styx 2000 (Obolos 11).

CHAPTER SIX

THE FABLES OF THE ADEMARI AND WISSENBURGENSIS CODICES AND THOSE OF THE SO-CALLED ROMULUS

I. *State of the Question and Unresolved Problems*

Already in our Vol. I, pp. 126 ff., we looked into these Medieval collections, intimately related to each other, under the heading of "The Phaedrian Tradition"; we showed, moreover, that in these collections there exist, together with derivations from Phaedrus, elements that are not Phaedrian, although their quantitative importance is open to discussion. We summarized the state of the question after the studies of C. Zander,[1] G. Thiele[2] and M. Nøjgaard.[3] These studies continued various others, from the 17th century to the great collection by Hervieux.

It could be said that in the case of these fables we are moving on a terrain studied with meticulous philological sifting: we will have to take up positions where the specialists differ and will be able, I hope, to contribute new elements with the help of our better current knowledge of the ancient fabulistic tradition, but we will not be moving in a vacuum, as happens, with few exceptions, when dealing with Phaedrus, Avianus and the ancient Greek and Byzantine collections. Particularly Thiele—whose important studies on Phaedrus we have already cited—and Zander, in spite of his rather acerbic polemic, both contribute elements of great interest.

The polemic is centred, in short, on the extent to which Romulus consists of a series of prosifications, more or less literal or free, depending on the case, of Phaedrus or else within a tradition external to Phaedrus. Clearly, the problem refers to the fables that are not in our Phaedrus: Thiele reconstructs only 11 of the lost Phaedrus

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[1] "De generibus et libris paraphrasium Phaedrianarum". Acta Universitatis Lundensis XXXIII, Lund 1897; *Phaedrus solutus vel Phraedri fabulae novae XXX*, Lund 1921.

[2] *Der lateinische Aesop des Romulus und die Prosafassungen des Phädrus*, Heidelberg 1910.

[3] *Op. cit.*, II. pp. 405-431.

(the Phaedrian phraseology of many others would come from contamination), compared with the 30 that Zander correctly reconstructs. Conversely, the latter recognizes very few non-Phaedrian fables. Another question: the date and characteristics of the collection of Latin fables in prose that are the basis for Romulus. For Thiele it is a matter of an "Aesopus latinus", the text of which, he says, may be followed until the 2nd century AD with the help of a well-datable element of it, eight fables of the Pseudo-Dositheus that Romulus includes. Zander says, however, that these fables must be separated as a third element of Romulus: the remainder, both the paraphrases of Phaedrus and the non-Phaedrian elements must be dated, on account of linguistic aspects, in the 5th and 6th centuries AD.

On the other hand, Nøjgaard[4] makes a serious mistake when attributing the "Aesopus latinus" of Thiele to a date later than Phaedrus: the difference between the two authors is not so great. As regards his idea that a Greek collection was translated into a "Phaedrian" Latin, this in fact agrees with what Zander says. Yet Nøjgaard generalizes too, based on a limited exemplification, when he says[5] that "peut-être la plupart des fables romuléennes remontent-elles a une tradition entièrement originale qui ne dépend directement d'aucune autre tradition connue". And his study on the *stemmata* of the various fables is based on a still insufficient knowledge of this theme.

That is to say, in summary, Romulus depends on prosaic Latin versions, derived either from Phaedrus or from various Greek fables, or from fables identical to the Pseudo-Dositheus. These versions must be placed between the date of the Pseudo-Dositheus and the end of Antiquity: although the question remain open as to whether some of the new fables are not, in fact, Medieval. Another open question is that of the minor Medieval alterations of the ancient prosaic versions, which include contaminations with Phaedrus or with independent prosifications of his work (the so-called "Phaedrus solutus", see below). Since, just as the Byzantine fables in prose used the prior Byzantine versions and contaminated them with their models, the same could have happened here, even if we discard Thiele's exaggerations. The advantage we have is that we know (partially) the source of those contaminations: Phaedrus; the inconvenience, that the Latin metre offers less help than the Greek.

[4] *Op. cit.*, II, p. 414.
[5] *Op. cit.*, II, p. 411.

And there are still many more open questions. Romulus begins with an epistle "Romulus Tiberino filio" where the author (with a fictitious name, undoubtedly, although we may agree with Thiele that those two names were used in late latinity) says falsely that he translated the collection from Greek to Latin. What he did in fact was use a collection that began with another epistle "Aesopus ad Rufum", in which Aesop makes a gift of his work to his master Rufus (the Greek Xanthus). The first letter is lacking in the Ademari and Wissenburgensis codices, the second is in all of them (although in some it is transferred to the end by the conflict between the two epistles). It is clear that, as Thiele says, the epistle of "Romulus" is late. It is a matter, then, since it is lacking in the two important manuscripts of reference, of seeing whether we may distinguish the work of the recensor "Romulus" from that of his antecedent, the author of the "Aesopus ad Rufum".

Another task would be that of distinguishing what is original to Romulus from what is characteristic of the different recensions: those that Thiele calls *gallicana* and *vetus* and the two mss. cited, Ad and W: these are two mss that undoubtedly reach directly, occasionally at least, to the "Aesopus ad Rufum". In fact, Thiele himself concedes this in his *stemma* on p. CLXXXII; cf. also Zander, p. XIII. All this may be of assistance when distinguishing between the three stages: "Aesopus ad Rufum", Romulus and the different recensions and mss. A task that here, in a provisional and schematic manner, we will attempt to move forward.

However, with this the main problem is established: that of the reconstruction of the sources of the "Aesopus ad Rufum". Since the paraphrases of Phaedrus are not uniform, but with different natures: we know three types, the purely mechanical paraphrases, the rhetorical expansions and the "Phaedrus solutus" (this, incorporated in a secondary phase, must not be considered for the "Aesopus ad Rufum"). On the other hand, the non-Phaedrian fables have no reason to come from a single collection: we must propose their origin and their range of themes.

To sum up, we must see the "Aesopus ad Rufum" as a collection that uses already existing prosaic Latin versions, made on the basis of Phaedrus and Greek originals: this is not at all strange, as we know the Latin Pseudo-Dositheus and we know about the prosaic fables that were the model for Avianus. Of course sometimes

their author may have created the paraphrases or translations himself and make wholesale stylistic alterations.

In short, I believe we are dealing with yet another mixed collection, although we would need to study the detail. Its analysis is important for various reasons. One, because it provides new data on the ancient tradition of the fable: on other different Greek fables, of which we sometimes find very original versions. Another reason is that, once again, we see how a new collection is created on the basis of other existing ones (and with the creation, perhaps, of new fables, as usually occurs). Furthermore, we can see how that new collection, the "Aesopus ad Rufum", was added to, mutilated, altered in Ad, W and "Romulus", sometimes contaminated with each other or with Phaedrus: no more and no less than happened in the Byzantine tradition of the Greek fable.

Finally, we must recall the importance of the collection of Romulus in the Western Latin Middle Ages. Various collections have come from it, introducing variants: Latin collections that, such as that of Walter the Englishman, exercised an enormous influence—we need only mention the Archpriest of Hita—in the tradition of the fable, and whose manuscripts have been preserved in large numbers. Or French collections such as the "Ysopet de Lyon" and the fables of Marie de France. Yet there also came from "Romulus" very successful Medieval fables which proliferated outside of the collections, such the famous "Gallus et vulpes". And he influenced the Latin and French animalistic epic. In short, "Romulus" represents the main link between the ancient fable and the Western Medieval fable, both in Latin and in the new literatures.

II. *"Romulus" and his Elements Posterior to "Aesopus ad Rufum"*

1. *General Remarks*

Hervieux publishes the collections of the Ademari, the Wissenburgensis and "Romulus" as three independent *corpora*, which was evidently excessive, since they agree to a large extent. Conversely, Thiele included in his edition of "Romulus", with a continuous numbering going from 1 to 98, all the fables that exist in one, two or three of these sources: his thesis is that these 98 fables come from the "Aesopus

ad Rufum", the various collections or recensions or manuscripts would have done no more than subtract fables. The reality is more complex.

As I have said, the epistle of Romulus to Tiberinus is absent from Ad and W: since these two mss. present other common and special characteristics, I think the conclusion to draw is that they descend directly from the "Aesopus ad Rufum", though they may subsequently have been contaminated with the recensions of the so-called "Romulus" or, more specifically, with the *gallicana*. Note, in any event, that when we discussed these two mss. we did not say that all their original features were precisely their own: in fact, they are representations of two older traditions which could indeed have be contaminated with "Romulus".[6]

This shows that any of the lines of the tradition of the fables that we are studying could have added fables taken from whatever source. This happens, very significantly, not only with the line of W that we have just discussed, but also with that of Ad. And, of course, with some manuscripts of "Romulus". All this will be studied later on. What is more interesting, however, is the fact that fables exist that appear in all or almost all the mss. of "Romulus", but not, with one or two exceptions, certainly of secondary origin, in Ad and W. We are referring to eight fables which practically transcribe the Latin versions of the Pseudo-Dositheus. Stating matters in this form, it is clear that their introducer was the creator of the "Romulus" himself, the author of the epistle of Romulus to Tiberinus. And these fables, which stand out from all the others on account of their structure and style, are of no use for dating the supposed "Aesopus latinus", as Thiele believed; on the contrary, the Pseudo-Dositheus was only introduced in a secondary, more recent phase, by a slavish compiler, who barely altered it.

Thus, the epistle of Romulus and the fables of the Pseudo-Dositheus are the main innovations of the new drafter of the collection; also,

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[6] The so-called Ademari ms., mentioned after its copyist, is from the 11th century; he did no more than copy a previous recension, cf. Zander, p. VII, n. 1. Within this ms., about 200 sheets away from our collection, is the epistle of Romulus and Thiele's fable XXIII, which is absent from the collection: this does not demonstrate that they belonged to it. As regards the ms. W, from the 10th century, at the end of it were added two fables of "Phaedrus solutus" used by Ad (also in V. from the *recensio vetus*) as well as the fable *Aesopi statua*, taken from "Romulus", who places it at the end; it was corrected with the help of a ms. of the *recensio vetus*.

clearly, a series of innovations in the details of the establishment of the text, derived from the liberties that were traditionally taken by all those who worked with fables. Moreover, there are some fables common to "Romulus" (or to the *recensio vetus* at least) and external to Ad and W, that is to say, liable to have entered the collection at that same moment.

Among the fables of Ad that are absent from "Romulus" there are eight, also absent from W, which Thiele, p. LVI, postulated as coming from a more complete version of "Romulus": if this were the case, W and our "Romulus" eliminated them. This does not seem likely *a priori*: the agreement of W and "Romulus" makes us think, rather, that they were additions by Ad. However, we will return to this theme later on.

2. *Inclusion of fables of the Pseudo-Dositheus*

Below I present a list of the fables of the Pseudo-Dositheus present in "Romulus" but absent from W and, unless it expressly affirms the opposite, in Ad. They appear in the *recensio gallicana* and, also, with one or two exceptions, in the *vetus* (abbreviated as g and v). I give, as always, their number in our appendices and, with regard to our collections, in Thiele's edition:

Not-H. 7 (= Pseudo-Dositheus 5, Rom. 85) "The Cat and the Birds".

H. 114 (= Pseudo-Dositheus 17, Rom. 93) (it is in Ad and is missing from v and S, the acronym of the ed. by Steinhöwel) "The Ant and the Cicada".

Not-H. 143 (= Pseudo-Dositheus 8, Rom. 87) (absent from S) "The Thirsty Crow".

H. 147 (= Pseudo-Dositheus 6, Rom. 86) (it is in Ad) "The Old Lion and the Fox".

H. 215 (= Pseudo-Dositheus 10, Rom. 88) (absent from S) "The Boy and the Scorpion".

Not-H. 232 (= Pseudo-Dositheus 13, Rom. 89) (absent from v) "The Sick Ass and the Lion".

H. 242 (= Pseudo-Dositheus 14, Rom. 90) "The Horse, the Lion and the He-goats".

H. 264 (= Pseudo-Dositheus 15, Rom. 91) (it is in Ad, absent from v) "The Lion and the Man".

Already Thiele, p. LXVI, indicates, following a previous study by Getzlaff, that these fables come precisely from the collection of the Pseudo-Dositheus and that their language and style differ significantly from that of "Romulus". Yet he draws no conclusion from this that affects the history of the Medieval collections; nor from the fact that, as I have said, these fables are systematically absent from W, almost always (with three exceptions) from Ad; on the other hand, they are always present in g and appear in v with some exceptions (three are entirely absent). They are even missing sometimes from manuscripts of g, as well as from S; and 93 is only in one ms., B, or the Bernensis.

Let us look at the fables of the above list. It is absolutely certain that they come from the Latin version of the Pseudo-Dositheus, without intermediaries.[7] It is one of the rare cases in which we have the model and the derivative of an ancient fable. To begin with, although first the Latin text and then the Greek is offered in groups of two or three words in the manuscripts of the Pseudo-Dositheus, it is clear that it is the Latin that is a translation. And this because the Greek, as we have seen in another chapter, shows remnants of the ancient verse, also preserved, sometimes, in other versions: this would be impossible if it were a translation starting from the Latin. There are no traces of verse, on the other hand, in the Latin. The latter is derived from the Greek, not vice versa.

Comparing the Latin of the Pseudo-Dositheus and that of the corresponding fables of "Romulus", we see very clearly that the former corresponds exactly to the Greek, whereas the latter introduces innovations. We will exemplify with just two fables.

The first is Pseudo-Dositheus 17 = Rom. 93 "The Ant and the Cicada", which, if we recall, offers metrical remnants that are so clear that the editors give it as a fable of Babrius, no. 140 (Hausrath does not even include it in his edition of the Pseudo-Dositheus): on this, see above, pp. 67 ff. Comparing the Latin text of the Pseudo-Dositheus and that of "Romulus", it is easy to realize that the latter introduces:

a) Changes of word order, with Pseudo-Dositheus following the Greek and "Romulus" altering:

[7] Not, therefore, from the source of the Pseudo-Dositheus, as Zander believes, *op. cit.*, p. XXII.

Pseudo-Dositheus	"Romulus"
frumentum . . . siccabat formica hiberno salta inquit si aestate cantas	formica frumentum . . . siccabat si aestate cantasti, hieme salta

b) Eliminations:

Pseudo-Dositheus	"Romulus"
cui formica . . . at illa . . . ait	(all this is missing)

c) Variations:

Pseudo-Dositheus	"Romulus"
congesserat	colligendo coagulaverat
dare	ut daret
hac aestate	in aestate

d) Errors:

Pseudo-Dositheus	"Romulus"
sed cantabam saepius	† per sepes oberrabam

It is very easy to make parallel studies of each and every one of the other seven fables. I will content myself with referring briefly to just one, H. 215, so that it is not thought that "The Ant and the Cicada", the supposedly Babrian fable, is a special case. Without analyzing the whole fable, it is sufficient to see the beginning to realize that twice the *locustas, locusta* of the Pseudo-Dositheus (gr. ἀκρίδας) is replaced in "Romulus" with corrupt forms († *auguria*, † *ururia*); "Romulus" changes the *super lapidem stetit* to *stetit super lapidem*; he alters the word order *scorpius iacebat* to *iacebat scorpius*; he eliminates an *inquit*; etc.

It proves clear, without further repetition, that it is "Romulus" that added these fables of the Pseudo-Dositheus at the end of the collection of the "Aesopus ad Rufum". They occupy, indeed, almost all the last numbers of the collection: from 85 to 91 and 93. I think that the model of "Romulus", that is to say, the "Aesopus ad Rufum", finished with the fable prior to those of the Pseudo-Dositheus, that

is to say, number 84. This may become likely in the following way. The fables that follow are classified in three groups:

a) Number 92, inserted between the fables of the Pseudo-Dositheus, is found in Ad as one of the fables of the "Phaedrus solutus" added to his model subsequently by him, while he eliminates the corresponding fables (that were preserved in g v W). That is to say, it is a fable of the lost Phaedrus ("The Flea and the Camel") whose prosification entered the "Aesopus ad Rufum" and from there entered the "Romulus" collection, being replaced in Ad, as at other times, by the corresponding version of the "Phaedrus solutus". What is enigmatic is its placement in "Romulus" among the fables of the Pseudo-Dositheus: perhaps it was eliminated or forgotten by the author of the "Romulus" and was later rediscovered and placed at the end. In any event, this is a separate case; and also that of 96, a fable that is only in Ad and belongs to the group of those that only this manuscript incorporated. It has been placed here by Thiele in an arbitrary manner.

b) The numbers 94 (below, in Thiele, from the Pseudo-Dositheus) and 95 are two fables derived from Phaedrus (the first from the lost Phaedrus, "The Sword and the Walker"; from the preserved Phaedrus the second, "The Crow and the Sheep") that are in "Romulus" (recensions g v), not in Ad W. They belong to a group of fables which I will consider next, which I think were added by "Romulus" to the end of the "Aesopus ad Rufum".

c) Finally, 97–98 are fables, one from the lost Phaedrus and the other from the preserved Phaedrus, that are in v W, not in Ad. Given the influence exercised by v on W (see below), I think they are new fables from v, which subsequently crossed over from there to W. Or rather, they crossed over to W from a model of v, since sometimes one, sometimes the other of the two manuscripts preserves the verse better and, also, in W they appear at the end of the whole work (after the second half of Aesop's letter, placed arbitrarily at the end of this manuscript), whereas v transferred these fables to the numbers 64 and 65, undoubtedly intentionally (it is a series of fables concerning women).

I believe, in short, that it is not only the fables of the Pseudo-Dositheus that are not in the "Aesopus ad Rufum", but also 94 and 95, added, like the former, to the "Romulus"; and 97–98, added by

v and crossing over from there to W. Number 92 is indeed from "Romulus", but with its order subsequently displaced.

Another secondary slippage parallel to that of 97 and 98 explains that a few of the fables of the Pseudo-Dositheus, which I have proposed "Romulus" introduced on a date after the splitting off of Ad W, appear, however, in Ad. They are specifically, I will remind the reader, those corresponding to Romulus 86, 91, 93. It is significant that others are absent from v or even from some mss. of g. Evidently, the entry of the Pseudo-Dositheus took place into a branch of the manuscript tradition of the "Aesopus ad Rufum", which influenced the rest; including to a certain extent Ad (which, we will recall, is not more than a witness of a previous model). The different branches of this tradition are very much contaminated with each other; we will return to this.

What proves clear is that outside of the eight fables in question, there is no knowledge of the Pseudo-Dositheus by "Romulus", nor by his fundamental source, the "Aesopus ad Rufum". If the latter book had known the Pseudo-Dositheus, indeed, the thesis that we sustain would be seriously damaged—although not totally invalidated. Yet not even Thiele, who, following Getzlaff, finds significant agreements between certain fables of the "Aesopus ad Rufum" and others of the Pseudo-Dositheus, defends this direct knowledge. He affirms, on the contrary,[8] that in a few fables the version of Romulus derives fundamentally from Phaedrus: either from the preserved Phaedrus or from the lost Phaedrus, but always with rhetorical variation. And that, also, in those fables there is contamination with the "Aesopus latinus", with the Pseudo-Dositheus deriving from this.

We are referring, more specifically, to the following fables (I give the correspondences with Phaedrus in brackets and, when the version of the latter has been lost, the reconstruction of Zander, Z.):

H. 76 = Rom. 57 "The Stag Reaching the Spring" (Ph. I 12).
H. 126 = Rom. 19 "The Crow and the Fox" (Ph. I 13).
H. 136 = Rom. 6 "The Dog that Carried a Piece of Meat" (Ph. I 4).
H. 155 = Rom. 22 "The lion and the Mouse" (Z. 6).

[8] Cf. Thiele, pp. LXVI and CXXV, as well as other pages corresponding to each fable, for example, XXXI.

H. 302 = Rom. 4 "The Mouse and the Frog" (Z. 1).
Not-H. 210 = Rom. 15 "The Town Mouse and the Field Mouse" (Z. 4).

These are all fables present in Rom. W Ad (here, except in the first, the version of the "Phaedrus solutus" has been introduced), that is to say, coming from the "Aesopus ad Rufum". Of course, even supposing that the author of this collection knew the Pseudo-Dositheus and used it to contaminate the paraphrases of Phaedrus, this would be perfectly compatible with its use by "Romulus" to extract whole fables. I believe, however, that this is not the case: that it is only in the case of H. 136 that Phaedrus is contaminated, and not with Pseudo-Dositheus, but with one of its sources. In the other cases, I believe that we are dealing with rhetorical expansions of Phaedrus either by the author of the "Aesopus ad Rufum" or by his sources.

3. *The Introduction of Various Other Fables*

a) *General Remarks*

I have said above that the fables 94 and 95 of Thiele are two fables from Rom., but not from Ad W: according to the hypothesis stated here, they are fables introduced by "Romulus" starting, in this case, from paraphrases of Phaedrus, yet which we know were known in the Middle Ages, since they were used by various manuscripts either to make some additions or else for contaminations.

Indeed, it is likely that a fable that is in Rom. and one of the two manuscripts, has been lost from the other, that is to say, that it comes from the "Aesopus ad Rufum", although it is not impossible that, in any event, there has been a slippage of a fable from Rom. to Ad or W. Yet if a fable is absent from Ad W, it is reasonable think that it is in the situation of other elements seen to date, which were added by "Romulus": the prologue and the Pseudo-Dositheus. It is excessive to attribute to chance the loss of a fable from "Romulus" in the two manuscripts cited, although this is not in itself impossible. On the other hand, it could be thought that a fable that is in Rom. and also in Ad as a version of the "Phaedrus solutus", but not in W (the case of not-H. 302) was absent from the "Aesopus ad Rufum" and was incorporated subsequently by Ad, see below, p. 548, although it is not impossible that it was in Romulus and was lost by W and replaced in Ad.

We will give a list of the fables that it is reasonable to think were added by "Romulus" to his basic collection, the "Aesopus ad Rufum" and which, as a consequence, did not enter W Ad. Except for the two already cited, placed at the end of "Romulus", the others are dispersed within this work. It gives the impression that its writer proceeded as follows: first, he inserted other new fables between the fables of the "Aesopus ad Rufum"; he then added fables from the Pseudo-Dositheus at the end, inserting between them one from the "Aesopus ad Rufum" that had been forgotten (number 92); he then included two further fables from the collection he had already used before, numbers 94 and 95. Romulus ended here: 96 is an addition by Thiele of a fable from Ad, 97–98 are only in W (and in v, with another position).

However, let us look at the complete series of the adventitious fables of "Romulus" that are absent from Ad W:

H. 39 = Rom. 77 "The Hunter and the Birds".
H. 81 = Rom. 72 "The Weasel and the Mice".
H. 156 = Rom. 83 "The Ass and the Lion".
H. 238 = Rom. 79 "The Horse and the Stag".
H. 288 = Rom. 23 "The Sick Kite".
H. 299 = Rom. 59 "The Widow and the Soldier".
Not-H. 76 = Rom. 94 "The Sword and the Walker".
Not-H. 162 = Rom. 32 "The Dog to the Lamb".
Not-H. 174 = Rom. 95 "The Crow and the Sheep".
Not-H. 273 = Rom. 50 "The Frog that Burst and the Ox".
Not-H. 301 = Rom. 76 "The Rams and the Butcher".

There are eleven fables in total. They can be divided into two groups, according to their origin. I must warn that here I do not carry out a detailed study of this origin: I refer the reader to the final part of this chapter and to my Appendices.

b) *Fables derived from Phaedrus*

H. 81. From Phaedrus IV 2.
H. 288. From the lost Phaedrus (Z. 27). Cf. Thiele, p. XLIX. Zander reconstructs the fable using the two complementary versions of v and E; cf. below, p. 547.
Not-H. 76. From Phaedrus (Z. 30).

Not-H. 162. From Phaedrus III 15 (altered, misunderstood; cf. Thiele, page XLIII).
Not-H. 174. From Phaedrus, *Ap.* 26 (substantially altered).
Not-H. 273. From Phaedrus I 24.
Not-H. 301. From the lost Phaedrus (Z. 29). Substantially altered; compare Thiele, p. LIV.

The degrees of alteration of Phaedrus are variable. The paraphrases of this used by "Romulus" were undoubtedly the same ones used previously by the "Aesopus ad Rufum".

c) *Fables that are not Phaedrian*
H. 39. The fable Rom. 77 deduced from here is very different from the fable taken from Phaedrus (Z. 28), which crossed over to Romulus as number 24 ("The Birds and the Swallow"). There is no doubt that it derives independently from the ancient model of this fable; moreover, this version is isolated, except for what I think is a derivation in the Indian *Tantrākhyāyika.*[9]

H. 238. The version of Romulus of the fable by Stesichorus of the horse differs from the tradition that comes from Demetrius (from Phaedrus also, therefore) in that it preserves the stag, and does not replace it with the boar. Likewise in Horace. Both derive from a version that along one path or the other can be traced back to Stesichorus and has been contaminated with the versions of Demetrius. It is a version, as we can see, prior to Horace.[10]

H. 299. The novelette of the widow of Ephesus is in Phaedrus, *App.* 15, but, as in the case of the previous fable, this is not the model followed. Thiele, p. XXV (he already dealt with this question in his "Phaedrusstudien II", *Hermes* 43, 1908, pp. 361 ff.), sees that Romulus agrees essentially with the version of Petronius, not with that of Phaedrus. Both are expansions derived independently from the more traditional model preserved in the *Life of Aesop*, still with remnants of the ancient verse.

We must add a doubtful case, that of not-H. 302 = Rom. 54 "The Birds and the Bat". This is a fable of Rom. that is absent

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[9] Cf. "La fábula de la golondrina de Grecia a la India y la Edad Media", *Emerita* 48, 1980, pp. 204 ff.

[10] See in this same Vol., pp. 86 ff. and "Más sobre la fábula de la golondrina", *Emerita* 50, 1982, pp. 75–80. Also "Neue jambische Fragmente . . ." cit.

from W, and is in Ad in the version of the "Phaedrus solutus". I propose below (p. 548) that, just as the fables of the "Phaedrus solutus" in Ad that present versions of the paraphrases in Rom., W are certainly recent replacements in Ad of the fable presented outside of there when a fable is only in Ad and precisely in the version of the "Phaedrus solutus", it is likely that not-H. 302 is an addition by this manuscript. In that case, H. 302 would be an addition by "Romulus" still absent from the "Aesopus ad Rufum".

The fable refers to the theme of ambiguity: the self-interested neutrality of the bat in the fight between birds and terrestrial animals, to see who wins. The question consists in the fact that the version of Rom., W more or less agrees in its beginning with that of Ad: it comes from the lost Phaedrus (Z. 12). But it then diverges: it talks of the intervention of the eagle, resting on the hand of Mars, who decides on the victory of the birds. Both Thiele, pp. XXVII ff., and Zander, p. 25, believe that here a second model intervenes, a latinized Greek original. This is very likely, although it cannot be ruled out completely that it was an expansion of a Phaedrian paraphrase by the author of the "Romulus".

d) *Doubtful fable*

H. 156 = Rom. 83 "The Ass and the Lion". The theme is in Phaedrus I 11, which develops a theme better preserved in the Augustana. As regards Romulus, it is closely related to Phaedrus, but presents new elements (the climb up the mountain, the escape from the various animals) and does not offer literal agreements. Thiele, p. XXXV, talks of contamination of Phaedrus and the "Aesopus latinus"; but it seems, rather, to sometimes be a free development by Phaedrus (and is the most probable explanation, though there are others), sometimes a parallel version.

We see with this that, in general terms, the fables added by "Romulus" to his model are either derivations of Phaedrus (sometimes very closely related to him, at others with various developments), or, in three cases at least, versions independent of Phaedrus. Very ancient, Hellenistic versions, however: in two cases, prior to Horace and Petronius; in another, from the 2nd century BC, because otherwise the arrival from H. 39 to the *Tantrākhyāyika* could not be understood.

The author of the "Romulus", in addition to the "Aesopus ad Rufum", had access to various Phaedrian collections, together with

the Pseudo-Dositheus and, undoubtedly, a Hellenistic collection, evidently latinized.

4. *The Manuscript Tradition of Romulus and of Ad and W*

We cannot embark in this book upon a detailed study of this theme. Yet by combining what has been stated so far with the data of the editions and the introductions to these, we can draw some conclusions that are not without interest for the history of the Latin fabulistic tradition.

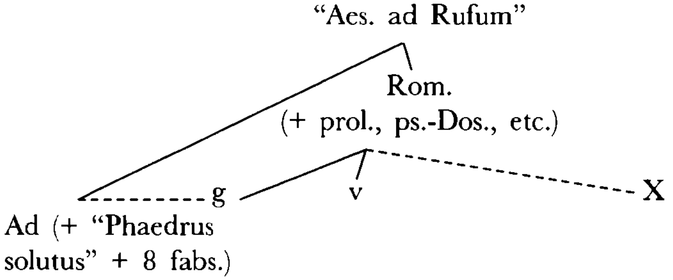
As we have said, Ad, W and "Romulus" in its two recensions come from the "Aesopus ad Rufum": a fable, of course, may be absent either from Ad or from W, or from one of the two recensions of "Romulus". In principle, each of these three branches and the two sub-branches of Romulus reproduce the Latin model of the "Aesopus ad Rufum", whose origin we will discuss later. I say "in principle" because, apart from the omissions of fables, the different recensions and subrecensions may add other fables of various origins, as we have indicated; and they may even contaminate the common fables, particularly with Phaedrus. This theme of the contaminations, which Thiele stressed particularly, and received considerable criticism for doing so, has been extensively debated. Occasionally it is doubtful whether the greater proximity of a recension to Phaedrus depends on a secondary contamination or on the fact that it reproduces the model better: in order to decide we would need a meticulous study, which we cannot carry out here and which, on the other hand, is not very interesting here from our standpoint. Later there are the contaminations, or possible contaminations, with other sources.

Let us now look at the relations between the recensions where they clearly derive from a common model, one reconstructable to a greater or lesser degree, that of the "Aesopus ad Rufum". Thiele's position is rather confused. On one hand (p. CLXXV) he talks of the agreements between Ad and W, to add subsequently that there are arguments in favour of a dependence of W with respect to g and to contradict himself later (p. CLXXXII) by describing W as being a mixed composition of g, v and U (the primitive text of "Romulus"). I do not doubt that Zander is right when he says (p. XIII) that W is not a codex of Romulus, they are two independent lines, with sometimes one, sometimes the other more closely related to Phaedrus,

depending on the case. The same must be said of Ad, which Thiele likewise considers a mixed recension of g and U. In the case of both ms., he also emphasizes the contaminations with Phaedrus (particularly for W).

Moreover, I believe that Thiele's *stemma*, p. CLXXXII, where from the primitive "Romulus" or U (the "Aesopus ad Rufum") we may deduce three lines, those of Ad, Rom. and W, adding a series of contaminations, essentially represents the truth. Although it would not be so if Thiele's own thesis is true that eight fables only present in Ad, which we will discuss next, are a remnant of U eliminated by W and Rom.; in that case we would need to postulate a binary, not ternary *stemma*, with a branch from which would come W and Rom. and another from which would derive Ad. I think that this thesis is not correct, that Ad added those fables: that is to say, that they were not eliminated by an ancestor of W and Rom. There does not exist, on the other hand, a totally close connection between W and Rom. such as to justify the binary *stemma*. Furthermore, W frequently arrives at the ancient original in readings preferable to those of Rom. and Ad. The ternary *stemma* is preferable from all viewpoints.

In this *stemma* Ad and W agree in archaisms: the absence of the prologue of "Romulus", of the fables of the Pseudo-Dositheus and various others, the preservation of ancient readings of the original. Rom. offers innovations both in the additions corresponding to those absences and in new readings common to its two recensions, including many innovations. All this does not prevent the secondary contamination between the various branches (resulting, for example, in the passage of two new fables of v to W, that of three from the Pseudo-Dositheus into Ad) nor the additions of Ad or W or various manuscripts of Rom. nor eliminations of fables in Ad W and partly from Rom. (in v, S and F, particularly). We postulate, then, in short:



with an indication of only the most important relationships between the recensions and without going into the details of the manuscripts.

Thus, the different recensions, subrecensions and manuscripts may have eliminated traditional material and added new fables or new versions of those of the same collection. They may have taken these fables or new versions from ancient sources which, evidently, were preserved for a long time (this is clear in the case of Phaedrus, who has reached us to a large degree, but no less so in other cases); but they may have taken them from other branches of the same tradition. And they possibly may have also contaminated a fable with its sources.

All this is parallel to what happened in Byzantium with the Greek Anonymous Fables. The difference is that in the West the main ancient source (Phaedrus) was better preserved; yet, on the other hand, the spreading out of the recensions over the course of time is less clear and the metrical remnants are less easy to identify.

III. *Innovations of the Different Recensions and Manuscripts*

Not only "Romulus" introduces new fables and new textual variants, either original or coming from contamination. W, Ad and the different recensions and manuscripts of the "Romulus" itself do the same. We will quickly review them; but once we have classified the new fables introduced, we will leave the more detailed consideration for the general study of the problem of the sources that we will carry out on the subject of the "Aesopus ad Rufum". We will also touch upon the theme of the eliminations and substitution of fables.

We have already discussed the collection of the ms. W, with its appendix of two Phaedrian fables certainly coming from contamination with some ms. of v. Moreover, the tradition that is reflected in this ms. experienced some significant alterations, certainly in the last phases: the fables of the "Aesopus ad Rufum" were reduced to 56 (the two cited ones separate); and the whole was divided into five books. We must then add the interpolations starting from Phaedrus, although, as I have said, their importance may be evaluated in various ways; this would require a new study.

The codex Ademari contains only 67 fables, of which there are eight extraneous to the rest of the tradition we are studying. On the other hand, in the case of 29 fables Ad offers the text of the so-

called "Phaedrus solutus": Phaedrus practically complete, although put into prose. Thiele (pp. CC ff.) states that it is likely that these fables were introduced by Ad in exchange for the version in common with "Romulus", of which there sometimes remain phrases and even the corresponding figures. It is less likely that also in the case of 7 of these fables (numbers 2, 37, 38, 41, 71, 82, 84, which are only found in Ad) we have to consider the loss of the fable of "Romulus" outside of Ad. Rather, there were seven new fables of the Ademari that did not expel an ancient fable because it was not there. On the other hand, of the 29 fables of the "Phaedrus solutus" we must note that 18 belong to the preserved Phaedrus and 11 to the lost Phaedrus, which is reconstructable starting from here.

Thus, the model of the codex Ademari, which left out a series of fables of the "Aesopus ad Rufum", replaced 22 with the versions of the "Phaedrus solutus" and added seven from this.

However, there are also the eight fables mentioned that are only present in Ad: these are fables that Thiele proposes as having been in the original "Romulus" (that is to say, in the "Aesopus ad Rufum") and which have been lost everywhere apart from in Ad. I will leave aside the fables of the "Phaedrus solutus" to which I have just referred.

Here I will look at the eight fables of reference, in the case of which we must determine whether they really are a remnant, preserved by Ad and lost by W and Rom., of the "Aesopus ad Rufum" or whether they are simply an addition by Ad. I lean towards the second hypothesis, as I have already stated, and I will attempt to give the reasons for this. First of all, here is a list of these fables:

Not-H. 42 = Rom. 80 "The Stork, the Goose and the Hawk"
Not-H. 45 = Rom. 96 "The Eagle and the Kite"
Not-H. 73 = Rom. 7 "The Two Cocks and the Hawk"
Not-H. 78 = Rom. 18 "The Crane and the Crow"
Not-H. 158 = Rom. 26 "The Bald Man and the Gardener"
Not-H. 168 = Rom. 25 "The Owl, the Cat and the Mouse"
Not-H. 171 = Rom. 9 "The Snail and the Mirror"
Not-H. 260 = Rom. 34 "The Partridge and the Fox"

Thiele already indicates that not-H. 171 comes from Phaedrus and not-H. 73 probably does too: they are undoubtedly from the lost

Phaedrus, see the reconstruction in Zander 3 and 2, respectively. Not-H. 42 is also from there, despite Thiele's doubts; he talks of a contamination without any data to support this: see the reconstruction in Zander 18.

Phaedrus is not the only source of these fables. Let us review the five remaining ones one by one, to then draw our conclusions.

Not-H. 45 = Rom. 96. The fable of the eagle, who appears as a female and marries the kite, who promises to feed her with large prey—a promise that he evidently cannot fulfil afterwards—plays a strange role within the fabulistic tradition: although it is a development of the theme of the wedding with somebody of a different nature, something that is revealed at the end, the eagle as female, without any trace of the regal, powerful animal that it habitually is, seems to be late. And something properly Latin, on account of the feminine gender of the word *aquila*. This is Zander's opinion, p. LV, cf. also Nøjgaard, p. 430. The problem is whether this fable was added by the author of the "Aesopus ad Rufum" to the collections that he took as his basis or whether this addition was from a model of the codex Ademari.

Not-H. 158 = Rom. 26. The fable of the bald man and the gardener also sounds anomalous. It is a quite stupid fable, which tells of the dispute between the bald man and the gardener: the latter hits the former with a melon, only to be killed by the bald man's sword. Thiele, p. LXIII sees this as a fable from "Aesopus latinus" of Oriental or southern origin and not prior to the 2nd century AD, all this on account of the presence of the melon. Although the fable is placed within the comic and fabulistic tradition of the mocking of the bald, it has no parallels, as in the previous case. It presents the same problem with respect to the other one.

Not-H. 78 = Rom. 18. This is not the case of the fable of the crane and the crow. It tells the story of the alliance between the two birds and the failure of the divinatory virtues of the latter of the treacherous cunning of man. It is closely related to two fables by Babrius: I think that from Babrius 26 comes Babrius 33 and from the latter, our own; and that the former comes, in turn, from not-H. 141 (already in Ennius). I neither believe, as does Thiele, p. LXIII, that it is from the good Greek tradition, coming from the "Aesopus latinus",

nor, as Crusius[11] and Nøjgaard[12] do, that it is a Phaedrian fable, on account of the simple fact that it differs from Babrius' version.

Not-H. 168 = Rom. 25. This refers to the curses of the mouse against the cat and the owl: the cat has accompanied the latter to his door. The names of the animals and the whole tone of the fable reveal its late character, as Thiele, p. LXIV, and Nøjgaard, p. 430, already saw: although it could be placed starting from the 2nd century. It is derived from the fabulistic tradition of the fight between cats and mice.

Not-H. 260 = Rom. 34. The fable of the partridge and the fox is also a *unicum* which derives conclusively from "The Crow and the Fox" and has a significant descendant in the Medieval fabulistic tradition: the fable of the cock and the fox. The motif is similar: the partridge (later the cock), captured by the fox, makes him open his mouth by asking his name and escapes. A Medieval dating has been considered, but Thiele, p. LXII, and Nøjgaard, p. 429, believe the fable is ancient; the former from "Aesopus latinus", of course.

Thus, in short, together with three Phaedrian fables, the codex Ademari presents, with respect to the other recensions, five extra fables that are unique not only within the Medieval Latin tradition, but unique in absolute terms. They are all linked in one way or another with the ancient tradition, but only in one case can we postulate a totally direct derivation: starting from Babrius, the case of the fable not-H. 78.

With this we can renew the principal line of our study, weighing up the grounds for the two hypotheses proposed.

If we re-examine the data that we have considered so far, we will draw the following conclusions on the composition of the "Romulus" and the "Aesopus ad Rufum":

"Romulus". Of the 98 fables that Thiele attributes to it, we must discount seven that are only in Ad as versions from the "Phaedrus solutus"; they are an addition by this manuscript; and two only found in v, W, also an addition. 89 remain.

[11] *De Babrii aetate*, p. 206.
[12] P. 421.

"Aesopus ad Rufum". To evaluate its content, we must discount the material introduced by "Romulus": eight fables of the Pseudo-Dositheus and 11 (or 12) from a second addition, sometimes coming from Phaedrus, sometimes from Hellenistic versions independent of him. That is to say, it would have 69 or 70 fables.

These two evaluations do not take into consideration the eight fables to which we have been referring: these fables (except for three that come from Phaedrus) are very special, from the ancient tradition as their remote source, but secondary creations, not fables from the Hellenistic collections. They form, on the other hand, a cohesive group, inasmuch as their tradition restricts itself to Ad. Stating matters in these terms, I find it doubtful that they belong to the "Aesopus ad Rufum", which, as we will see, only contained fables from Phaedrus, with two Hellenistic fables as exceptions. Nor to "Romulus", who introduced Hellenistic fables, together with more fables from Phaedrus and those of the Pseudo-Dositheus. It is Ad, therefore, to which we must attribute the introduction of these fables, alongside those of the "Phaedrus solutus".

Thus, in short, the "Aesopus ad Rufum" would have had 61 or 62 fables; the "Romulus" 81. Ad lost some and introduced the two groups of seven and of eight.

An almost exclusively Phaedrian collection, the "Aesopus ad Rufum" was maintained and expanded through a series of steps: "Romulus" and Ad (and likewise some isolated manuscripts) continued to introduce further Phaedrian or new fables: "Romulus", the fables of the Pseudo-Dositheus, of Phaedrus and Hellenistic fables translated into Latin; Ad, fables of Phaedrus and late fables, also Latin.

The five non-Phaedrian fables of Ad to which I am referring are isolated fables within the tradition of the ancient fable, derived more or less distantly from known fables and themes, but isolated, individual derivatives. They sometimes offer a clumsy literary treatment and late motifs. On the other hand, the non-Phaedrian fables of the "Aesopus ad Rufum" and of the "Romulus" come from a good Hellenistic tradition: or else they are derived from primary branches of this, derivatives which have parallel versions beside them; or else from a secondary branch, likewise with parallels in other versions. They are fables that add to our knowledge of the stemmatic structure and of the ancient versions of the fables; the others are distant and late derivatives, which add nothing.

They represent, I believe, creations from a new age and come from a different collection. The Middle Ages have sometimes been postulated for some of them, in any event a date has been established starting from the 2nd century AD. I find the Medieval dating doubtful, particularly on account of the existence of a fable derived from Babrius. The style, language, lexicon, incline me rather to think of creations from the 5th or 6th centuries AD, found again by the model of the Ademari, or else created by it.

Ad is, then, a miscellaneous codex, particularly interested in the drawings it contains. Its model eliminates fables of the "Aesopus ad Rufum", replaces others with those of the "Phaedrus solutus", adds yet others from this collection and from a paraphrase of Phaedrus, others from a late collection (if indeed it did not create them). It is a good witness of the "Aesopus ad Rufum" on account of its good tradition and its archaism, but at the same time it is a very innovative collection as regards its content.

As regards the recensions and codices of "Romulus" as such, I have already indicated that there exist "slippages" between those on one side and Ad and W on the other. There are, then, fables that are in g and absent from v, or vice versa, or that are absent from such and such a manuscript: we have given examples of this. And there are even fables that receive a new version in some manuscripts: either original and from an ancient source or a new prosification of Phaedrus. To a certain extent, recensions and manuscripts behave as independent collections, with the right to introduce variants. Their authors nevertheless had ancient fabulistic texts at their disposal.

Thus, initially, the collection of the "Phaedrus solutus" is certainly the source of the two fables added at the end of W and common also with v, which I have already discussed. And also of the variant that appears in the ms. E (of v) in fable 23 of "Romulus" "The Sick Kite"; the copyist of this manuscript did without the ordinary paraphrase of Phaedrus, replacing it with this other, as the copyist of Ad very frequently does. A different case is that of 47 "The Fly and the Mule", also from Phaedrus: here it is simply a matter of two different paraphrases.

Yet it was not only the various prosifications and paraphrases of Phaedrus that, as we establish, were within reach of the Medieval writers and copyists. Steinhöwel's collection of fables, which used a manuscript today lost belonging to the recension g, offers two significant variants of the fables H. 15a (= Romulus 71) "The Fox and the

Grapes" and H. 160 (= Romulus 3) "The Wolf and the Lamb". This collection is a very special case, however.

For Thiele, pp. XLIX ff., in this codex, to which he gives the acronym S, we find a contamination, in these two fables, of Phaedrus and a prosified Latin Babrius. I think that matters are more complicated. To begin with the fable of the wolf and the lamb, it is clear that S expands its model, which is that of the whole of "Romulus" and derives of Phaedrus, with a different addition. There is contamination, therefore. This addition is not exactly and literally from Babrius, although it does partially agree with Babrius. In our study of this fable (cf. above, p. 57) we have seen, in fact, that Babrius, Par. and Dod. derive from a secondary, metrical line. Sy. also comes from it. In it there appears a part of the expansion of the dialogue of the wolf and the lamb, as appears throughout the branch: the lamb denies having pastured on the property of the wolf in the field, and affirms that he is not yet able to do so. Yet in the details there is agreement with Par. and Dod. and not with Babrius: the introductions to the words of the two animals agree (metrical in Par., Dod.; Babrius removes the introductions). There are, on the other hand, differences of detail, particularly at the end of the fable, with Babrius, Dod. and Par. (with the latter two contaminated by Babrius).

Something similar happens in the fable of the fox and the grapes, but in this case without contamination. Here (cf. p. 62) there are two semiprosified versions, with complementary verse: one of them is the one reflected in Babrius, Par. and Dod. A comparison with the version of Sy. is sufficient to realize that it is to the latter and not to Babrius that Sy. is close.

Starting from these facts not only is the hypothesis possible that the model of Steinhöwel followed a Latin prosified collection derived from Hellenistic models, as happens with the Pseudo-Dositheus and Avianus; there is another more simple hypothesis, which seems to me to be preferable. The two fables always agree with Par. and Dod. in contrast to Babrius; then it may happen that they simply translate a related Greek original, certainly its own paraphrase. The discrepancies are explained by the innovation of the Latin translator. With this hypothesis, it is not necessary to have a manuscript that presented a Latin version of these fables that are the model for those of Steinhöwel. Steinhöwel himself, who translated Greek fables and incorporated them in his edition (the fables of the Accursiana), may have translated these fables from the paraphrase. This is most likely.

IV. *The "Aesopus ad Rufum" and the other Component Parts of the "Romulus"*

As we have seen, "Romulus" is an aggregate that takes the "Aesopus ad Rufum" as its basis; another different aggregate, on the same basis, is the model of Ad and the technique is repeated, on a smaller scale, in other manuscripts. Yet in turn the "Aesopus ad Rufum" is also an aggregate, as we will see and, in fact, as we have already indicated when talking about its Phaedrian prosifications, its expanded or rhetorized paraphrases (also of Phaedrus) and the very limited number of non-Phaedrian fables.

All these elements were within reach of anyone in late Antiquity and during part of the Middle Ages: again and again the same collections were exploited by the successive compilers. If we added what we know on the Latin Pseudo-Dositheus, dated in 207, and on the Latin paraphrases, from a Hellenistic source, on which Avianus relied, we must recognize that in the Latin world the proliferation of collections of fables, in verse and in prose, was similar to that with which we are familiar in the Greek world.

The fables in prose, different as regards their narrative techniques, did, however, have common elements. Thiele, pp. CXII ff., has shown that, with the exception of the fables of the Pseudo-Dositheus, the others that he collects in his edition (which, in fact, is an aggregate of the "Aesopus ad Rufum", the "Romulus" and the elements introduced by Ad and by v, W) have common stylistic and linguistic features. Without following his arguments in detail, which reach the point of placing the origin of the "original Romulus", that is, the "Aesopus ad Rufum" between 350 and 500 AD, it seems clear that all the material to which we have referred took on its definitive form starting from the end of the 4th century, until the 6th century at the latest.

The role of Phaedrus and his paraphrases is decisive in that definitive form. Since the non-Phaedrian fables are full of reminiscences of Phaedrus. This became a characteristic of the genre: in the Middle Ages new contaminations took place with Phaedrus (like those that took place in Byzantium with ancient models of the Augustana). We have seen that also in the fables of Avianus that are independent of the tradition of Phaedrus, there are reminiscences of him. It is clear, we repeat, that with the exception of the Pseudo-Dositheus (which is a slavish translation of a Greek collection), the paraphrases in

Latin prose of various fables that must have been going around starting from the 4th century AD if not before, were strongly influenced by the paraphrases of Phaedrus.

There is not, then, an "Aesopus latinus", but a proliferation of collections, either Phaedrian or not, with the latter influenced by the former. In them the compilers were inspired again and again to expand, modify, contaminate their *corpora*.

The truth is that we do not have precise data to place the origin of these *corpora* within the period of time indicated. The oldest is clearly the "Aesopus ad Rufum", which is best preserved in the manuscript W, which does not offer the expansions of "Romulus" nor those of Ad; although it did subsequently receive two fables of v, it was contaminated with this recension and with Phaedrus, it lost numerous fables. However, it will not be excessive to repeat that it is not easy to determine to what extent all this is characteristic of W or of its models. Nor to decide whether it is its organization into five books or that of "Romulus" into four, or that of Ad without division into books, that continues the organization of the model.

In any event, the two recensions of "Romulus" and of the model of the codex Ademari, whose additions (eliminations and substitutions too, in the latter case) have already been mentioned, are subsequent to the "Aesopus ad Rufum".

With this let us return to the "Aesopus ad Rufum". It is clear that its materials are miscellaneous; we have already said that they are predominantly Phaedrian. They were gathered together by a compiler who placed at the front the prologue in which Aesop is addressing Rufus, bequeathing him his fables. Thiele has shown that this prologue reveals knowledge of the Greek *Life of Aesop*: this is clear. What is less so is his idea that this *Life* preceded the "Aesopus latinus", the supposed model for the collection. If there really are hardly any non-Phaedrian elements in it, this is unlikely to be true. On the other hand, it was in Byzantium that the collections had the *Life of Aesop* at its head: not in Antiquity, although we have proposed that it perhaps headed Demetrius' collection.

On the other hand, it was not at the start of the Augustana, nor any of the known ancient collections: the tradition of the *Life* in the Antiquity is different, although *Life* and fables occur together in Byzantium. On the other hand, the prologue to the "Aesopus ad Rufum" only reveals a minimal knowledge of the traditional biography of Aesop: this was certainly along an oral route. There are

the prologues of Phaedrus, enriched with this knowledge, that provided the model.

As regards the contents of the "Aesopus ad Rufum", we have already discussed these. As, in short, this collection, the same as those that followed it, worked with a series of more or less contemporary materials and it is these materials that we are fundamentally interested in, we will deal with them later as a whole, irrespective of which collections used them. Even so, we must offer a few comments.

Fundamentally, we are referring to the old problem of the relationship between the Phaedrian and non-Phaedrian elements. This problem has been greatly simplified by the previous pages, which have shown us that the non-Phaedrian elements are almost always additions either by "Romulus" or by Ad: additions coming, moreover, from two different sources.

Regarding the "Aesopus ad Rufum", we believe that the non-Phaedrian elements are minimal. We will show that a series of elements attributed by Thiele either to the "Aesopus latinus" or to contamination coming from this or from the Pseudo-Dositheus (or his sources) are in fact innovations attributable to the prosifiers of Phaedrus or to the author of the "Aesopus ad Rufum" himself. On the contrary, many of what Thiele calls contaminations starting from Phaedrus, are, in fact, traces of the original Phaedrus. Zander performed good work when reconstructing this, raising the number of fables attributable to the lost Phaedrus from 11 to 30, I believe always correctly. Some of these fables were considered by Thiele not to be in Phaedrus and proper to the "Aesopus latinus". Clearly, the acceptance of Zander's reconstructions does not mean that they are reliable in all their details: but they are as a whole.

The "Aesopus latinus" must therefore be considered to consist of:

a) All the fables that are in Rom., Ad, W.

b) All those that are in Rom., Ad (as a witness of g) and not in W: H. 22, 114, 147, 264; not-H. 60 (Ad contaminated with the "Ph. sol."), 173, 203 (Ad contaminated with the "Ph. sol."), 283.

c) All those that are in Rom., W and Ad with the "Ph. sol.": H. 44, 126, 136, 140, 154, 155, 158, 160, 161, 172, 302; not-H. 77, 164, 172, 199, 210.

d) All those that are in Rom., W and not in Ad: H. 15, 27, 109, 132, 143, 198, 259; not-H. 34, 202, 217, 218, 221, 241, 256, 259.

I remind the reader of the doubt regarding not-H. 302 and refer the reader to p. 490# for the numeric evaluation.

Of all these fables, I can only mention two, H. 136 and not-H. 240, that are not in Phaedrus.

H. 136 = Rom. 6 is the fable of the dog that carried a piece of meat. The version of the "Phaedrus solutus" in Ad derives, of course, from Phaedrus. Yet for the version that is reflected in the other versions, Thiele, pp. XXVII ff., XXXI proposes a contamination of Phaedrus with the "Aesopus latinus": that is to say, with a non-Phaedrian source closely related to the Pseudo-Dositheus and Babrius, but not agreeing with them.

The reader will recall that in our examination of this fable above, p. 69, together with a primary line represented, in particular, by AnF., Phaedrus and Par., we postulated a secondary one characterized, in particular, by the initial ἁρπάσας and by the fact that there was talk of the shadow of the meat, not of that of the dog. It is in the Pseudo-Dositheus, Babrius and Sy. (and there is a derivative in Aphthonius and Branc.); it is a summarized version. The significant aspect is that Rom. seems to belong to this version, but not in all respects. It presents the theme of the "shadow" of the meat like the Pseudo-Dositheus, Babrius and Sy. and the fact that the dog carries it in its mouth like Branc. and S. Yet at other times it agrees not only with Phaedrus, but with the whole primary version: there is not the equivalent of the ἁρπάσας, rather, the beginning is similar to that of AnF. and likewise the ending (the river carries away the meat, as in AnF. and Branc., not in Phaedrus). I think that we are dealing with an intermediate version between the primary and the secondary versions, not a contamination with Phaedrus.

Let us look at the case of not-H. 240 = Rom. 5 "The Sheep, the Dog and the Wolf". The fable of the wolf as false witness of the supposed loan made by the dog to the sheep is only found in Phaedrus I 17 and here. However, there are differences: Thiele, p. XXX, talks of contamination, Nøjgaard, p. 429, of various source. There is not the death of the wolf at the end, as there is in Phaedrus; there are three false witnesses, and not only one, and a direct style, with a series of lively retorts. Either the author of the "Aesopus ad Rufum" has totally reworked Phaedrus, improving him stylistically, or, as is more likely, he has used a Hellenistic source that has been

clipped and moralized by Phaedrus. This is, I believe, the most likely explanation.

With this, I would like to review a series of fables derived from Phaedrus and for which—I believe without decisive reasons—a contamination has been proposed with the "Aesopus latinus" or with the Pseudo-Dositheus or his sources.

Let us be quite clear that neither as regards the fables of the "Aesopus ad Rufum" nor as regards those introduced later into the collections derived from it, is there in principle a difficulty in admitting that it may have given a contamination of this type. Since in all those collections, including the "Aesopus ad Rufum", not only is Phaedrus the source, but there are also secondary sources, as we have seen: in principle there may have been, then, contaminations. We have even accepted this in some cases, such as that of the fable recently cited. On other occasions, on the other hand, we have established that the differences with respect to Phaedrus are not explained by contaminations, but because our collections used Hellenistic sources older than them.

And, specifically, in the series of fables in which Thiele, pp. XXVII and CXXIV ff., proposes contamination, either with the "Aesopus latinus", or with the Pseudo-Dositheus, I think there is none of this. I discount, to begin with, a series of fables already commented, for which I have proposed other interpretations. And I add that Thiele himself, on other occasions, hesitates as to whether to propose a contamination of Phaedrus and another source or an expansion of Phaedrus.

With this, I will now move on to study with a certain speed the fables for which I have proposed a contamination with the Pseudo-Dositheus. Certainly, it is not in itself impossible that this collection, used by "Romulus", was already known by the "Aesopus ad Rufum": except that I believe this was not the case. I repeat that I leave out some fables in which I have also proposed knowledge of the Pseudo-Dositheus, having demonstrated that in fact what occurs is that our collections knew a previous, Hellenistic source, prior to the Pseudo-Dositheus and the other versions.

This is the case, firstly, of H. 76 = Rom. 57, present in Rom., W, Ad. I believe that the contamination of Phaedrus I 11 with Pseudo-Dositheus 1, proposed by Thiele, p. CXXV, does not stand up. The only close agreement with this source is Rom. *venatoris vocem audivit . . . canes . . . latrare . . . coeperunt* and Pseudo-Dositheus. *latratus*

canum et venatores proximi, not too far removed from Phaedrus *venantum . . . vocibus conterritus*: this is insufficient. There is more reason to say this of H. 126 = Rom. 19 "The Crow and the Fox", which Thiele, p. XXVI, rightly declares to be derived from Phaedrus, while in the Critical Apparatus, p. 58, he draws attention to a variant of the ms. M *alta supersedit arbore* which he compares with Pseudo-Dositheus 9 *et super arborem volans sedet.* I believe, rather, that it comes from Phaedrus *celsa residens arbore* (cf. AnF. ἐπί τινος δένδρου ἐκάθισεν).

Let us now look at the fables in which, with greater or lesser certainty, a contamination of Phaedrus with the "Aesopus latinus" is proposed: in short, with some non-Phaedrian source, which is to what the material of that supposed collection amounts to being.

H. 27 = Rom. 44 "The Fox to the Mask". Of course, Thiele's proposal of contamination, p. XXXIV, based only on the fact that the fox has been replaced by the wolf, does not stand up.

H. 132 = Rom. 66 "The Parts of the Body". Thiele, pp. LIV ff., considers an interpolation of Phaedrus (Z. 7) and Livy, which happened in a previous stage of our *corpus*. The *stemma* that we establish on pp. 106 ff. makes this speculation useless.

H. 158 = Rom. 63 "The Sheep and the Wolves". In "Romulus" and W the theme of Phaedrus (Z. 15) is expanded with that of the hostaged wolf cubs, as Thiele sees, p. XXIX: Zander does not include it in his reconstruction. However, there is nothing to prevent this expansion from being from the "Aesopus ad Rufum" itself.

H. 161 = Rom. 11 "The Wolf and the Crane". Here Phaedrus I 8 experiences an expansion, inasmuch as the whole negotiation process between the crane and the wolf takes place through *petitores*. Thiele, p. XXXI, considers it a contamination. Yet the truth is that the expansion in question, which in a certain sense supposes the theme of the wolf-king, is not-Hellenistic. It is undoubtedly an early Medieval development, imitated from the theme of the lion-king, which foreshadows the later Medieval developments of this theme. It could be from the "Aesopus ad Rufum" or from its immediate source.

Not-H. 118 = Rom. 10 "The Wedding of the Sun". This comes from Phaedrus I 6, but Thiele, p. XXXII, believes that there is con-

tamination because there is talk of people (*omnis natio*) and not of frogs and on account of the appearance of the moon as the girlfriend in the illustration on the Ademari ms. This is unnecessary: the introduction of Phaedrus with the theme of the wedding of the thief prompted the first innovation, the second is by the illustrator of the codex in question or of its model.

Not-H. 131 = Rom. 58 "Juno, Venus and the Hen". Thiele, p. XXXIII (and also in *Hermes* 43, 1908, pp. 357 ff.) proposes that the beginning, in which the scene of the fable is placed on Olympus, and the ending, in which Jupiter gives the decision, are contaminations from another source, with Phaedrus, *App.* 11 as the basis. However, this, though not impossible, is not at all necessary.

Not-H. 166 = Rom. 33 "The Old Dog". Thiele, p. XXXIV, believes that there is contamination of Phaedrus V 10 with the "Aesopus latinus", from where the hare would come, which in his view is more logical than the boar. Yet this logic may be applied to the secondary substitution of an animal with another. On the other hand, I believe that Havet is right when he thinks that *auritus* (hare) was inspired by the *arripuit aurem* of Phaedrus.

Not-H. 172 = Rom. 28 "The Pigeons and the Kite". This comes from Phaedrus I 31, but Thiele, p. XXX, believes he contaminates it with the "Aesopus latinus". The basis is the fact that the theme of Phaedrus (the pigeons choose the kite as king, and he devours them) is expanded by "Romulus" (the pigeons take refuge, to escape from the kite, into the protection of the *acceptor* or hawk, which in turn devours them). There may certainly be contamination, but it seems easier to postulate that Phaedrus' theme has been developed in the same direction by the "Aesopus ad Rufum", or by its source.

Not-H. 241 = Rom. 40 "The Sheep, the Stag and the Wolf". Thiele, p. XLI, cannot decide between a derivation from Phaedrus I 16, with expansion, and a contamination of the same fable; Nøjgaard, p. 424, also talks of a contamination. In fact, it is simply an expansion of the theme of the stag that asks the sheep for a little wheat with the wolf as guarantor: "Romulus" introduces a first promise by the sheep, who is frightened by the wolf, then some words by the wolf to the stag. There is not a different theme, as is very clear here.

This conclusion can in fact be applied to the other fables. They are almost always simple expansions of the fables of Phaedrus, plus some variants in the exposition. Some changes of animal may also intervene. This is insufficient to postulate contaminations.

And the same also happens, here and there, with fables of the various recensions, that is to say, those coming after the "Aesopus ad Rufum".

H. 155 = Rom. 22 "The Lion and the Mouse". Here it is Thiele, p. XLII, who admits the derivation starting from Phaedrus in general terms (Z. 6): he says that the ending of Ad, with the more detailed description of how the mouse gnaws the net to free the lion, is not from Phaedrus. It is certainly an expansion. And WR expand even more.

H. 302 = Rom. 4 "The Mouse and the Frog". Thiele, p. XXXI, talks of contamination in g, W from Phaedrus (Z. 1) and the "Aesopus latinus", to which the happy ending is supposedly due. I do not see this happy ending: the kite takes the two other animals. Phaedrus and the Pseudo-Dositheus come from a derivative branch, cf. p. 56. There is no contamination: there is expansion of Ad by W and Rom.

Not-H. 121 = Rom. 36 "The Kid and the Wolf". Here Thiele, p. XL, believes he can detect poetic expansions in W that are absent in the model of Phaedrus (Z. 23). This is doubtful; in any event, there is no proof of contamination.

Not-H. 165 = Rom. 12 "The Bitch has Pups". The sow (*scrofa*) in Ad seems to Thiele, p. XXXIV, to be more original than the dog of Phaedrus and Justinus. Yet see our p. 145 on this fable, now enriched with a Greek version. It is very clear that the sow is an innovation, a logical one perhaps, but an innovation nevertheless.

Adding all this to the fables studied above, we may reach a very clear conclusion: the fables of Phaedrus may have undergone expansions and variations, both in the "Aesopus ad Rufum" and in the derived collections and recensions. However, specifically in the "Aesopus ad Rufum", we continue to think that the original model is always Phaedrus, with the two exceptions mentioned.

It is appropriate, when reaching this point, to indicate that where we have a fable in the version of "Phaedrus solutus" (usually in Ad)

and in that of W, Rom. we have a good basis for studying the expansions (rarely contaminations) of the "Aesopus ad Rufum"; and where we have this version and that of Rom., we have the same basis for studying the expansions of "Romulus". And also, in both cases, the possible contaminations. This offers us a parallel for the case in which we only have Phaedrus and a more or less uniform version from the collections we are studying; or else a more or less uniform version from these, without the original Phaedrus having been preserved.

Specifically, there is a series of fables both in H. and not-H. in which we can see the expansions of W, Rom. perfectly, that is to say, of the "Aesopus ad Rufum"; these are generally purely rhetorical and do not affect the content. Some cases have already been mentioned. These, very specifically, are:

H. 140 (Rom. 92) "The Flea and the Camel" (Z. 20);
H. 155 (Rom. 22) "The Lion and the Mouse" (Z. 6);
H. 158 (Rom. 63) "The Sheep and the Wolves" (Z. 15);
H. 272 (Rom. 53) "The Proud Horse" (Z. 11);
H. 302 (Rom. 4) "The Mouse and the Frog" (Z. 1);
Not-H. 199 (Rom. 51) "The Lion and the Shepherd" (Z. 9);
Not-H. 210 (Rom. 15) "The Town Mouse and the Field Mouse" (Z. 4).

As we see, I only offer examples in which the original Phaedrus has been lost: when it has been preserved, the study can be performed directly, see the pages above where I have rebutted the hypothesis that there is contamination in practically all cases of major differences. On the other hand, in the fables that I have just mentioned, the expansions are greater or lesser depending on the case; the most extensive ones are in H. 158 (the new theme of the hostaged wolf cubs) and in H. 198 (the ending of the fable). It is very likely that the "Aesopus ad Rufum" has contaminated the fable of Phaedrus (from a Hellenistic original; substantially preserved by the "Phaedrus solutus") with a model from which the versions of Aelian and Apion on the story of the grateful lion derive. Cf. Thiele, p. XXIV.

The contamination is exceptional, as we can see. Of course, some doubtful cases remain:

H. 288 (Rom. 23) "The Sick Kite" (Z. 27). Here it is Rom. (not W!) that expands the theme of the "Phaedrus solutus" preserved by

E: it could be thought that "Romulus" follows the procedures of the "Aesopus ad Rufum", yet some of these expansions agree with Babrius. There may be contamination with the common source.

Not-H. 302 (Rom. 54) "The Birds and the Bat" (Z. 12). The theme of the ambiguity of the bat in the battle between the birds and the quadrupeds, is complemented in "Romulus" (not in W!) by the intervention of the eagle, who is decisive in favour of the former. Perhaps there is contamination with a romanized Greek original (the eagle is perched on the hand of Mars), as Thiele believes, pp. XXVII ff., perhaps simply expansion. Cf. above, pp. 526 ff.

Of course, when we do not possess a version of the "Phaedrus solutus" that is well differentiated from the others or we do not possess it at all, the question of the originality of our text with respect to the Phaedrian model is more difficult to resolve. This is the case of H. 198 (Rom. 52) "The Lion and the Horse": the change from the ass to a horse and from the wolf to a lion, as well as other related innovations, could be by Phaedrus or it could be from later. Sometimes, however, the simple possibility of the metrical restoration means that the alterations with respect to the other (Greek) versions of the fable must be attributed to Phaedrus: this is the case, for example, of H. 262 (Rom. 64) "The Trees and the Man" (Z. 16).

The cases of contamination or of a non-Phaedrian source in the "Aesopus ad Rufum" are, as we have seen, minimal. Also in the other collections. The most doubtful aspect was sometimes whether a fable came from Phaedrus or from another source, where Thiele did not succeed in reconstructing Phaedrian verses: to give an example, in H. 198 = Rom. 52 "The Lion and the Horse". Zander solved this problem wisely: the fable cited, for example, is reconstructed as Phaedrian under his number 24.

Thus, conclusively, in the "Aesopus ad Rufum" we have a large majority of fables from Phaedrus (those preserved or those lost), compared with very few Hellenistic non-Phaedrian ones; and "Romulus", who adds fables from the Pseudo-Dositheus, also adds them from Phaedrus, as well as Hellenistic non-Phaedrian ones (3, perhaps another contaminated one). Ad does the same, except that here, with the exception of 3, the new fables of Phaedrus are from the so-called "Phaedrus solutus", often introduced in exchange for other Phaedrian versions (some, as I have already said, are only here, and are new);

and the non-Phaedrian ones are not Hellenistic, but are late fables, perhaps created by the compiler of this recension.

Both the compiler of the "Aesopus ad Rufum" and the compiler of "Romulus" had access, then, to various paraphrases of Phaedrus; as did the compiler of Ad. They also had access to Hellenistic non-Phaedrian fables: we do not know whether from one collection or from various. A similar case, as regards Ad, is that relating to the paraphrases of Phaedrus, although it is not exactly identical: the compiler of Ad used a collection of the "Phaedrus solutus" that practically he alone knew.

We have, then, as remote sources:

a) Paraphrases of Phaedrus (collected by the three compilers).
b) The "Phaedrus solutus" (practically only by Ad, see below).
c) Various Hellenistic fables (by the first two compilers).
d) The Pseudo-Dositheus (by "Romulus").
e) Late fables (by Ad).

Going into detail, we must say something further on the Phaedrian versions.

The paraphrases to which we are referring are not uniform: Thiele and Zander have shown that they are sometimes concise and abbreviated, sometimes expanded and rhetorical. And we have seen that, in the case of the latter, there may be doubt as to whether we are dealing with contaminations. On the other hand, to establish two collections of paraphrases precisely, each of one of the two types, is not very reliable. What it is clear is that various paraphrases proliferated: in Rom. 47 the mss. follow two different paraphrases. I am not going to study the differences between the paraphrases in detail here. What is significant is that, habitually, for each fable only one is followed, whether they are fables from all the collections starting from the "Aesopus ad Rufum" or others introduced by the most modern ones. Neither I am going to look in detail at the theme of the contaminations of the paraphrases in question with Phaedrus himself.

As regards the "Phaedrus solutus", the question is posed in somewhat different terms. We are dealing, in principle, with a Phaedrus preserved literally, except that it was written continuously, as though it were prose. Undoubtedly, the point of departure of this procedure (which later led to secondary alterations) is the custom of copying

the text of Phaedrus continuously, not verse by verse: this is what our manuscripts of Phaedrus (the Pithoeanus and the Remensis) do. The collection of the "Phaedrus solutus" was used almost exclusively by Ad; as we have already said, this replaced a series of versions of the paraphrases of Phaedrus with the corresponding ones of the "Phaedrus solutus", but added some further ones from the latter. At other times it contaminated the version of the paraphrases with this other: such as in not-H. 62 = Rom. 49 and in not-H. 202 = Rom. 48.

However, we have already said that in v W there are two fables of the "Phaedrus solutus" that are exclusive to these branches; there is also one in the ms. E (in H. 288 = Rom. 23) and, possibly, another in v W (in not-H. 297 = Rom. 98). That is to say, the collection was accessible at a given moment not only to Ad, but also to other collections or manuscripts.

All this shows us that the tradition of the Latin fable was richer than could be expected. What has reached us is only the result of successive decantations and reworkings of the collections. And always of Latin collections derived from the Hellenistic Greek ones; the only exception are the few late fables of Ad, which were undoubtedly created directly in Latin, either by the compiler of this manuscript or by the compiler of its model.

Just as Greek collections with a more or less evolved Hellenistic basis were the point of departure for the Latin versions of the Pseudo-Dositheus and for the collection that was later versified and modified by Avianus, another collection or collections of this type were used as the model, subsequently, for the "Aesopus ad Rufum", for Romulus and for Ad. They were collections that contained very interesting material: sometimes very archaic versions, only known today through these Latin versions.

The alternative hypothesis that the authors of the successive collections translated Greek fables into Latin themselves does not seem acceptable. Their fundamental model was constituted by paraphrases of Phaedrus: we must suppose that also in the other cases they followed Latin material with a Phaedrian style, of Greek origin, of course. Note that "Romulus" left the Pseudo-Dositheus intact: he would have translated Greek fables poorly into Phaedrian language. In short, the fact that the three successive collections we are considering contain comparable materials makes us think that the three also worked with comparable materials, all Latin. The greatest innovation may have been the possible creation of new fables only from

a remote Greek model on the part of the compiler of Ad. There are various Latin materials, not a unique "Aesopus latinus". This name means no more, in short, than Greek fables translated into Latin and absent from Phaedrus (or present in him in another, different version).

It was already known that there was non-Phaedrian material in "Romulus". What we have done here is to reduce this component to its due limits and to show how, like the Phaedrian material, it only entered the Latin collections progressively and in a succession of steps. And to study it to see what is new in it, just as there is in the material derived from Phaedrus, when his fables have not reached us directly.

The biggest surprise is the wealth and variety of the paraphrases of Phaedrus, which occasionally practically created a new fable. They are the main core of the "Aesopus ad Rufum" and of the following collections, although material was added to them from other origins, material which, on the other hand, was written with a Phaedrian style and vocabulary, with the exception of the Pseudo-Dositheus.

V. *New Light Shed on the Knowledge of Phaedrus*

1. *General Remarks*

With this, and by way of an appendix, I will go on to say something about on the conclusions that may be drawn for a better understanding of Phaedrus from the study of the Phaedrian material of the collections studied to date. Of course, it is important to separate in them what comes from Phaedrus, what from the expansions and even later contaminations. I have already made various statements on this, moreover, I start in principle from Zander's reconstructions, refraining from offering new arguments on the Phaedrian or non-Phaedrian origin of the different fables. What does not interest us from our current standpoint are the differences between the texts of the fables in the various collections; nor are we concerned whether a fable from the lost Phaedrus has been used by these collections starting from the "Aesopus ad Rufum" or only in subsequent phases of the tradition ("Romulus", Ad, W). Nor with the problem of through which paraphrases or ancient Phaedrian collections it has reached us.

What does concern us, on the other hand, it seeing whether the 30 fables of the new Phaedrus reconstructed by Zander are, as regards the *stemma* and the content, on the same line as the preserved Phaedrus, which is much more extensive, in spite of everything (122 fables). The comparison with other versions of the fables in question is, as always, the basis for that study.

First and foremost, the new Phaedrus must be divided into the three groups that we have already discussed: fables that are also in AnF., fables that appear outside of Phaedrus, but not in AnF., and fables that are only in Phaedrus.

2. *Fables in Phaedrus and AnF. (and, Possibly, Other Sources)*

Of the 30 reconstructed fables there are five that are also present in AnF.: a higher proportion than in the case of the Phaedrus that has been directly transmitted to us, although we must specify that for various of them there is no version from the Augustana, only from the other anonymous collections. The position of the new Phaedrus in the *stemmata* varies:

α) As was to be expected, the most frequent case is that of the fables with a single model or else those with a primary model with AnF. and Phaedrus compared with a secondary one with, possibly, Babrius. I cannot find fables with two primary models with AnF. and Phaedrus in one, Babrius in the other. As regards the differences with respect to the other versions, what has been seen so far is clearly confirmed: Phaedrus usually introduces dramatic elements, sometimes with modification of the subject and very often with expansions. The material is the following:

H. 93 (Rom. 21) "The Ass that Played with the Master". The single model (from which come AnF. and Babrius) is expanded by Phaedrus, who describes the game of the dog, the damage done by the ass and its punishment by the master and all his family.

H. 109 (Rom. 97) "Zeus and the Vixen". Likewise (absent from Babrius), but the dramatic quality that Phaedrus introduces is greater, since it is Zeus himself that makes himself a man and the vixen enters his bed.

H. 140 (Rom. 84) "The Mosquito and the bull". The single model from which AnF., B. and Sy. come. It is altered significantly: now the bull does not say that he is indifferent to whether the mosquito settles in him or not, but rather we are described a full-blown fight between the two animals, a fight in which the bull appears a little ridiculous for not simply scorning the mosquito. A new fable has been recreated.

H. 155 (Rom. 22) "The Lion and the Mouse". Phaedrus is closely related to the unique line of AnF., Bab., Pseudo-Dositheus, Branc., although he gives a picturesque relief to the whole fable, particularly to the liberation of the lion by the mouse.

H. 158 (Rom. 66) "The Sheep and the Wolves". Here Phaedrus goes with the primary line, with AnF., whereas Babrius occupies his place in the secondary one. He barely departs from the model; this is done only by the version of "Romulus", which undoubtedly observed this absence of a dramatic quality.

H. 198 (Rom. 52) "The Lion and the Horse". Here Phaedrus is in the primary line with AnF. and Babrius in the secondary one. We have already seen that Phaedrus replaces the original wolf and ass with the lion and the horse; moreover, he describes the weakness of the lion, to whom he gives a more rhetorical "closing statement" than the original.

H. 262 (Rom. 64) "The Trees and the Man". Another fable from a single model, undoubtedly of four verses: from this there derive Ib, IIIδ, Par., Dod., Bab. Phaedrus expands and makes the situation dramatic: the intervention of three trees instead of only one, a closing statement placed in the mouth of the ash addressing the oak.

H. 272 (Rom. 53) "The Ass and the Horse". Also a single model, with significant alteration by Phaedrus: now the horse is not going to war. The fabulist dramatizes the encounter of the two animals, with the involuntary obstruction of the road by the ass and the arrogant words of the horse. The final compassion of the ass is changed to a closing statement by him.

H. 288 (Rom. 23) "The Sick Kite". I have already referred to this fable above (p. 547); it is very short and rather expanded by Phaedrus, whose agreement with Babrius probably comes from the original model.

β) We also find the anomalous model that we have already discussed, in which Phaedrus goes with the secondary line. There are only two fables of this type:

H. 143 (Rom. 35) "The Hares and the Frogs". Here Phaedrus goes together with AnF. I in the secondary line, which reduces the laments of the frogs; he develops the fable to a certain extent. In the primary line are AnF. III, Babrius, etc.

H. 302 (Rom. 4) "The Mouse and the Frog". Phaedrus, together with the Pseudo-Dositheus, are on a secondary branch that eliminates the beginning; in the primary line are the mss. M and F, Par., and Dod.

Surprisingly, in these fables, in which Phaedrus seems to use a collection II, to which I have already referred, he hardly expands or dramatizes; in the primary line are AnF. III (or M, F) and possibly Babrius.

γ) There remains a special case, which, undoubtedly purely by chance, is not in the fables of the preserved Phaedrus directly: that in which a fable has various primary lines, with Phaedrus belonging to one independent of that of AnF. For the *stemmata*, I refer the reader to Part I.

H. 39a (Rom. 24) "The Swallow and the Birds". As we have stated (pp. 110 ff.) this fable produced four primary versions; and one of them is in turn the model for Phaedrus, from *PMich.* 457 + *PYale* 1158v., in addition to AnF. 39b (Ib). It is a version in which the theme of the mistletoe is replaced with that of the flax; it is difficult to see the degree of innovation by Phaedrus in it.

H. 51 (Rom. 39) "The Farmer and the Serpent". Here there are again four lines (cf. pp. 107 ff.), considering the Indian *Panchatantra*

as one of them. That of Phaedrus is characterized by its archaism (the initial theme has been eliminated by AnF.) and by innovations such as the locating of the whole fable in the farmer's house. Its narration is simple and effective, dramatic.

H. 132 (Rom. 66) "The Stomach and the Feet". There are three lines derived from the Egyptian fable (cf. pp. 106 ff.) and Phaedrus follows the most archaic, as do Livy and Maximus Tyrius; the first presents an action confrontation between the stomach and the limbs (AnF. creates the debate between the stomach and the feet, Babrius obtains the fable of the snake's head and tail).

Not-H. 60 (Rom. 41) "The Ass, the Ox and the Oxherd". Cf. p. 104 on this branch and two other versions, in Plautus and Babrius.

Of course, the new materials present a situation that is not exactly identical to the one we have already discussed for the traditional Phaedrus, but it is sufficiently close to also confirm, on grounds of *stemma* and literary form, the attribution achieved on mainly metrical grounds.

3. *Fables of Phaedrus that appear outside of him, but not in AnF.*

I can only find two fables of this type, which does not offer scope for major conclusions regarding *stemma* structures:

Not-H. 199 (Rom. 51) "The Lion and the Shepherd". We have already seen that the original fable by Phaedrus, preserved by the "Phaedrus solutus" of Ad, has been expanded (possibly contaminated) in "Romulus". Restricting myself to the first, it is undoubtedly the fable of the grateful lion, created starting from the theme of the grateful eagle and the grateful mouse: it is set in a Hellenistic court. It is not a creation of Phaedrus, as one derived from it is at the basis of the versions of Apion (in Aulus Gellius) and Aelian: it is a derivative already with a Roman environment. In short, Phaedrus follows a Hellenistic fable that did not reach AnF. or Babrius, etc.: perhaps it appeared in a repertoire that was not exactly fabulistic, as is the case of other fables of this group, studied in our chapter devoted to Phaedrus.

Not-H. 209 (Rom. 15) "The Town Mouse and the Field Mouse". A very widespread fable, from a single model, moreover. The version of Phaedrus is closely related to that of the Pseudo-Dositheus: but it dramatizes, at the end, the dialogue between the two mice. Horace, Babrius, etc., introduce other variants.

4. *Fables of Phaedrus only found in "Romulus"*

Finally, the fables that we only know through the Phaedrian versions not yet studied (13) are very numerous, as was to be expected after our study of Phaedrus. Of course, in some cases we may be dealing with ancient fables that have only been lost from other sources by chance; but most are undoubtedly creations of Phaedrus. Sometimes we recognize the models that may have inspired them, which are those we have called "derivative fables"; at other times, those models are much more remote. As regards the themes, we recognize the traditional Phaedrian ones, including the very characteristic one of the punishment of evil. It seems more practical to list the 13 fables in question, without further subdivisions, making the pertinent comments in each case.

H. 140 (Rom. 92) "The Flea and the Camel". Phaedrus deduced two fables from H. 140: one that of the mosquito and the bull, with a change of theme; the other is this one, with maintenance of the theme and a change of animals. On the other hand, it is longer and more dramatic than the model.

Not-H. 42 (Rom. 80) "The Stork, the Goose and the Hawk". The theme of the useless ally. (like other traditional ones): here this uselessness is demonstrated with the death of the goose.

Not-H. 73 (Rom. 7) "The Two Cocks and the Hawk". The theme of wickedness punished.

Not-H. 76 (Rom. 94) "The Sword and the Walker". From a fable of four verses, undoubtedly, with situation and closing statement.

Not-H. 108 (Rom. 82) "The Horse and the Ass". Against greed: this is the Cynic theme of the ass against the horse, derived from H. 272 and H. 286.

Not-H. 121 (Rom. 36) "The Kid and the Wolf". We do not know what precedents this fable of the kid that escapes from the malicious intrigue of the wolf, destined to be very successful, may have had, other than the very general ones of the weak animal that escapes from the strong evil one by using his cunning (the theme of the cat doctor, etc.).

Not-H. 171 (Rom. 9) "The Snail and the Mirror". A short situation fable on the ἄνοια of the snail, comparable, for example, to that of the snake and the file.

Not-H. 200 (Rom. 70) "The Kingdom of the Lion". The theme of the powerful who imposes his will, whatever he may say, seems to have been inspired by the well-known themes of "the lion's share" and "the wolf and the lamb".

Not-H. 204 (Rom. 55) "The Nightingale and the Hawk". This is the same theme, with the addition of the punishment of evil. It originates from H. 4 "The Hawk and the Nightingale".

Not-H. 283 (Rom. 78) "The Monkey King". The theme of the advantages of the lie, familiar to Phaedrus; echoes of H. 83 and the theme of the city of the monkeys (in Hermogenes, *Prog.* 1 and in Syr. XXXVIII) are added.

Not-H. 301 (Rom. 76) "The Rams and the Butcher". Because they do not defend themselves together, the rams are sacrificed. Cf. Pseudo-Dositheus 9, "The Cat and the Hens".

Not-H. 302 (Rom. 54) "The Bat". Theme of the ambiguity of the bat, who is criticized. It is inspired by similar fables on the hyena and the ostrich.

Not-H. 305 (Rom. 56) "The Envious Fox and the Wolf". The fox denounces the wolf to the shepherd, and is then punished.

Without needing to go further, the contributions that can be made to the knowledge of Phaedrus by these indirectly transmitted fables of his are clear.

Supplement to Part Three, Chapter Six

This new bibliography is to be added:

F. BERTINI, *Il monaco Ademaro e la sua raccolta di favole fedriane*, Genoa 1975; id., "Un perduto manuscritto di Fedro fonte delle favole medievali di Ademaro (Note a Phaedr. I 3, 9; I 1, 8; I 22, 8)", *Helikon* 15–16, 1975–1976, pp. 390–400;
P. GATTI, "Le favole del monaco Ademaro e la tradizione manoscritta del corpus fedriano", *Sandalion* 2, 1979, pp. 247–256;

and the collective volume *Favolisti Latini Medievali*, I, University of Genoa, 1984, as well as;

S. BOLDRINI, "Fedro in Ademaro", *Maia* 43, 1991, pp. 47–49;
N. HOLZBERG, "Die Fabel von Stadtmaus und Landmaus bei Phaedrus und Horaz", *WJA n.s.* 17, 1991, pp. 229–239 (on Rom. 15).

Part of the bibliography that we give for chapter VIII also deals with the subject.

It must be noted that we can now demonstrate that the paraphrases of Phaedrus began to be made in the Imperial Age: we have a papyrus of one of them (*POxy.* 11.1404, from the 3rd century), studied in my "Nuevos fragmentos papiráceos de fábulas esópicas", *Emerita* 67, 1999, p. 9.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE MEDIEVAL GREEK AND LATIN FABLE OF THE ORIENTAL TRADITION AND THE INFLUENCE OF THE GREEK FABLE IN THE ORIENT

I. *The Fable in the Middle Ages: General Outlines*

In the previous chapters I have studied the various collections of Byzantine fables, in which the ancient tradition, which they help to reconstruct, hugely predominates; and also the Latin collection of Romulus and the related ones of the Ademari and Wissenburgensis codices, in which the ancient tradition also predominates and there is also ancient fabulistic material that is only known through this source. Essentially, I have conducted the study of these collections with a view to reconstructing their ancient precedents, although I have also considered their innovations, while leaving the detailed study of some of these for this chapter and the following one.

Until now I have not, however, offered a general outline of the fable in this age, except for some elements that can be found in Vol. I (in the prologue and the chapters on the *Life of Aesop* and the irradiation of the Hellenistic fable, in particular) and here and there in the current volume. I am going to give these outlines here; they are intended at the same time to justify the length and limits of this study, as well as the organization of this chapter and the one that follows.

I have expounded practically everything concerning the Byzantine fable: the origin and characteristics of the different collections, in which the ancient tradition predominates; as I say, I will discuss some properly Medieval aspects in this same chapter. We may also consider aspects relating to the *Life of Aesop* as dealt with; it two recensions preserved (apart from some papyri) are, as I have said, Byzantine, but they rely on ancient recensions and do not introduce any innovations of importance. Something must also be said on the exemplum-fable in Byzantium, although I will say in advance that in most cases they are a continuation of this or that line of the tradition of the respective ancient fables. And I am not going to touch,

apart from in passing, upon the Byzantine animalistic epic, starting from the *Pulologus*. On account of its date (from the 14th century), it lies outside the chronological framework that I have established; its origin, on the other hand, as I believe, is in the Western tradition. It is derived from it, as are many works in Romanic, Germanic and other languages. On the other hand, I will make reference to the translations into Greek, in the 11th century, of Oriental collections (the *Panchatantra* and the *Sendebar*), since they exercised a very great influence on the Greek fable and, particularly, the Latin one, during the period of time to which this book is dedicated.

This period of time, it is now appropriate to say, reaches up to the middle of the 13th century AD, in general terms. The justification will soon be seen.

The reader will have observed that the criterion for studying the Medieval collections of fables has been different as regards the Latin West compared with the Greek or Byzantine East. Only Romulus and the collections of the Ademari and Wissenburgensis have been touched upon so far: the reason for this is that it is only here that we find data of interest for the study of the tradition of the fable in Antiquity. Fundamentally, as in the case of the Byzantine collections mentioned, the collections are ancient, although they have certain minor alterations and occasionally even introduce new material. Their study is important for the restoration of the ancient versions. The other Medieval Latin collections, later than those I have mentioned, contribute nothing new to our knowledge of the ancient fable: they contain either derivatives of already known fables, including those of Romulus, or new fables invented on the basis of the previous ones or in a free form. In any event, the study of these collections is interesting for the study of the evolution of the fable in the Middle Ages, but is not for that of the ancient fable: for that reason I have left them aside.

The Medieval Latin fable has, to sum up, greater originality than the Byzantine one. On the other hand, in the West the link with the ancient tradition of the fable was broken: the Medieval Latin fabulists only knew Phaedrus, Avianus and Romulus. The panorama was very different from the contemporary one of Byzantium, where the ancient tradition, including collections lost to us, were alive until the 9th century; on the other hand, very little was created or innovated. Hence the very different treatment that I give to the two sectors.

However, I must make a correction to the previous statements, which are too generalizing. In Byzantium, as I have already said, within the collections that I have studied there are occasionally fables that I believe not to be of ancient, but of Oriental origin. Entering the Latin West, apart from the new creations, there is, I believe, new fabulistic material coming from Byzantium, whether its origin is remote ancient Greek or Oriental.

Thus, in the Middle Ages, the Latin West remained more isolated from the ancient tradition than the Greek East, but it showed greater originality. Yet that originality with respect to the Latin ancient tradition consists to a certain extent of the reworking of Greek or Oriental models transmitted by Byzantium. In Byzantium, on the other hand, almost all that may be said that is new with regard to the ancient tradition of the fable has, apart from the detail, already been stated, on the characteristics of the various collections and the fact of the entrance of some Oriental fabulistic material. The Latin influence was, as I have said, later on, and lies outside of our period.

If I close this period in about the middle of the 13th century, in general terms, as I said, it is because starting from here the Latin fable rarely showed the originality that I am attributing to it: it usually restricted itself to continue the previous fables. I have already said, regarding the Greek fable, insofar as it innovates, that it is on the basis of imitating the Latin West. From the 13th century onwards, Greek and Latin are no longer the languages in which the fable and related genres (the romance genre, particularly) are developed and prosper. It is French, with its *Roman de Renart* and its *fabliaux*; it is various Germanic languages with their various versions of the *Roman*; Hebrew, with the *Mishlé Shu'alim*; and, from the 14th century, very significantly Castilian (with the *Libro de Buen Amor, Conde Lucanor*, etc.), Italian (with the romance, in which Boccaccio stands out), English (with the *Canterbury Tales*), etc. Of course there are earlier precedents, particularly that of Marie de France, but her fables are substantially derived from the Latin tradition.

Furthermore, something important occurs. Starting from middle of the 13th century, the translations of the *Panchatantra*, the *Sendebar*, the *Barlaam*, etc. proliferate in Castilian and in many different languages, including Latin. The *Panchatantra* was translated into the Latin from Hebrew in 1270 and it is above all the translation by Juan de Capua, the *Directorium humanae vitae* (circa 1262) and also another

later one by Raymond de Béziers, which found the greatest diffusion. These are translations that exercised considerable influence.[1] Other fables in modern languages were now also translated into Latin, such as the French collection by Nicolaus Bozon.

All this literature in translation is not of primary interest in the context of this book: it is in fact part of the new development of the fable in modern literatures. And when fables of Oriental origin appear in these literatures, being added to those of ancient origin in authors such as Don Juan Manuel, we must think, in principle, that they come from the new wave of translations (though this is not always is true).

Latin fabulistic literature as such finishes, with some exceptions, by the middle of the 13th century. It is this literature that we must investigate in terms of its evolution and its originality, in parallel, insofar as the fact justify it, with the new Byzantine fables of whatever origin. On the other hand, cutting off by the date mentioned has the advantage of separating this evolution from the new wave of Oriental fables that now arrives.

Because I am convinced that if in Antiquity there was an influence of the Oriental fable on the Greek one, which I have studied in Volume I, pp. 287 ff., for the Archaic, Classical and Imperial Roman periods, that influence continued in the Middle Ages. This is a theme that we must touch upon first, because only by connecting the elements of the ancient Classical tradition with those of Oriental origin do we have sufficient bases to be able to understand the originality of the Medieval Latin fable (and, to a much smaller extent, of the Greek one). This chapter will therefore be devoted to the theme of the Oriental influence, which will be followed by an appendix on the opposite influence, that of the Byzantine fable in the East; and the next and last chapter will look at the general characteristics and description of the Medieval fable.

The theme of the Oriental influence on the European fable (including the Byzantine one) prior to the mid-13th century, is extremely sensitive. Firstly, we must say that in the last century there was an exaggerated exposition of the problem, a Panindianism which, in the hands, for example, of T. Benfey, had practically the whole fabulistic tradition and universal storytelling coming from India. This caused

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[1] Particularly this movement, cf. Vol. I, pp. 706 ff., and later on.

a reaction whose most characteristic exponent is J. Bédier[2] and which undoubtedly went beyond what was justifiable, as usually happens.

Certainly, nothing can be argued against the opposition to seeing Indian motifs everywhere. Yet Bédier undoubtedly exaggerates when he polemizes against Indian motifs in the *fabliaux* of the 13th and 14th centuries that are sometimes highly likely. His polemic goes beyond justifiable bounds, I believe, with regard to the theme of "The Three Wishes of Saint Martin", which is in the *Sendebar* (cf. below, p. 601); and is sometimes incorrectly expounded, as it is not very likely that the *lai d'Aristote* comes from the story in the *Panchatantra* IV 7; rather, in the Indian story we must see a reflection of the Medieval legend of Aristotle generally (cf. below, pp. 623 ff.). In any event, not even Bédier himself dares to reject certain derivations, such as that of the theme of "Auberée" in *Sendebar*, story 13, and others. He restricts himself to saying that they are few in number.

In any event, as has been said, it is not my intention to debate this theme with regard to the fable and romance of the 13th and 14th centuries. Yet Bédier's book gives me greater cause to look more in depth at our problem. Since, on one hand, he demonstrates that on a date prior to the Crusades stories of this type, for example, by Marie of France, were already known in Europe; but, on the other, he rejects the Indian origin, because supposedly in that period there were not yet any translations of works of Indian origin in Europe.[3] This is the crux of the question: if the unlikelihood of an independent origin of practically identical fables or stories is established, what we must demonstrate is the direction of the influence and the path along which this has reached us. Because other authors have also found fables of Indian origin in, for example, the Latin animal epic (*Ecbasis captivi, Ysengrimus*, etc.); but, lacking the possibility of answering the previous question, they have restricted themselves to observing the fact or, simply, indicating the similarity, without going further.[4]

Of course we could think, as a first solution, of an imitation of the work of Petrus Alphunsus, in around 1100 AD: of his *Disciplina Clericalis* which, together with ancient Classical elements, incorporates others of Oriental origin translated from Arabic. This is not so, as

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[2] *Les fabliaux*, Paris 1893, reprinted by Geneva-Paris 1982.

[3] Cf. Bédier, *op. cit.*, pp. 121 ff.

[4] Cf. below, pp. 576 ff.

a large part of the Oriental elements of the Medieval fable are not in Petrus Alphunsus and some appear in older works than his. Cf. below, pp. 605 ff.

Without denying that Petrus Alphunsus may have exercised some influence, the key to the problem is not here. I am going to advance my solution: it is through Byzantine versions in Greek, translated in turn into the Latin in the West starting from the 9th century, that the Oriental fable was known in Europe. This is what I am going to attempt to sustain here, partially reproducing various previous works of mine.[5] Of course it is not sufficient to indicate that the path runs through Byzantium: we must add more precise details on the arrival of this tradition in Byzantium. We will also consider this problem.

It is appropriate to specify another point here. Although I have said that our theme is the Greek and Latin fable only until the 12th century, and this for the reasons stated, we must make certain clarifications. Firstly, we must take into account non-Latin works included in this period, such as that of Marie de France and the *Roman de Renart*, and this not out of direct interest, but because they use Latin sources that have sometimes been lost, and are therefore a help that we must not reject. Secondly, we must take into account Latin works that lie outside the period in question, or whose chronology is so uncertain that we do not know if it lies outside of it, simply because it contains original elements that could come from the previous age: this is the case the so-called Romulus of Munich, who presents certain "fabulae extravagantes" known only by him, which, with others of the same type, were collected in Steinhöwel's edition at about the end of the 15th century. Thirdly, we must even take into account non-Latin works that lie outside the period in question, precisely on the basis of their ancient Latin sources: this is the case of the *Mishlé Shu'alim* and the *Libro de Buen Amor.* It is likely that by investigating the literature of the 13th and 14th centuries, whose Oriental elements are usually attributed to the translations of the 13th, we may find remnants of the Latin literature of the 12th cen-

[5] Particularly: "The Influence of the Indian Fable on Medieval Latin Writings", in *Classica et Mediaevalia*, 35, 1989, pp. 243–253, Copenhagen; "Aportaciones al estudio de las fuentes de las fábulas del Arcipreste", in *Honorem Manuel Alvar*, Madrid 1986, III, pp. 459–473; "Siria, cruce de caminos de la narrativa bizantina y la oriental", *Aula Orientalis*, 1, 1, 1983, pp. 17–29.

tury and earlier. However, I cannot go into that particular laborious investigation here.

With this I will begin, initially, the study of the Medieval, Byzantine Greek fables that possibly derive from Oriental sources.

II. *The Greek Fable of Oriental Origin*

1. *Preliminary Questions*

However, before beginning this study, I must make a few observations:

1. The fables of Oriental origin in AnF. starting from the number 262, fables that I have already mentioned, could in fact come—the possibility at least exists—from an extraneous influence already during the Byzantine Age. I am referring, indeed, to fables of the Accursiana collection (or some mss. or subcollections of this), which could certainly have come from the ancient tradition, but also have an Oriental origin. I refer the reader to the study of these fables in II 6 and III 3. Later I will give a list of the fables to which I refer.

2. Some of the fables of Oriental origin to which I referred in Volume I have been studied more attentively in this one. This must be taken into account for the restoration of the Greek model in its more archaic form. See, for example, pp. 106 ff. for H. 132 "The Stomach and the Feet", pp. 50 f. for not-H. 295 "The He-goat and the Vine". It is also important that we confirm the knowledge of *Ahikar* with the advice "Son of mine . . ." in Syr. (compare p. 421); this was already stated in Volume I on the subject of not-H. 242 "The Trap". However, see below.

3. As regards the suggestion of new Oriental material in our collections, the gains are not very great in this volume.

There are certainly fables with animals or motifs that could be described as Oriental, but without our being able to present specific models in fables known outside of Greece. We could be dealing, rather, with elements introduced into the fables in one of the countries around the Eastern Mediterranean or simply with references to exotic motifs. This is the case in H. 12 "The Fox and the Leopard", H. 32 "The Murderer" (with an Egyptian environment), H. 274 "The Ethiopian", not-H. 29 "The Arab and the Camel" (Babrius 8), not-H. 63 "The Priest of Cybele and the Lion" (*AP* VI 217),

not-H. 66 "The Farmer and the Plant" (Par. 85, Dod. 85, the theme of the sacred plant), not-H. 101 "Hermes' Chariot and the Arabs" (Babrius 57, Par. 113), not-H. 135 "The Camel in the River" (Babrius 40, Par. 145); not-H. 256 The panther and the shepherds (Phaedrus III 2), not-H. 278 "The Libyan Ostrich" (*Tetr.* I 22).

The latter fable is a good example of derivation starting from an ancient theme, that of ambiguity (cf. H. 182, on the bat). And it has a doubtful date; as it is only in *Tetr.*, it could be ancient or Byzantine. The same applies in the case of the fables of dispute between two trees (for example, H. 263), which could be Oriental or Greek derivations of an Oriental theme; or the new fables of the cat, for example not-H. 74 (= Phaedrus, *App.* 18). At other times, it is a Greek theme that is exemplified with Oriental motifs, as is the case in various of the fables cited, for example, in "The Ethiopian", on the theme that nature does not change. To tell the truth, only three of the fables mentioned, those of the farmer and the plant, the Arab and the camel and the camel in the river, all three of Babrian tradition, have original themes. Of them, the first at least is Hellenistic, although its origin could be Oriental.

4. The problem of the chronology of the entry of the Oriental material into the Graeco-Roman world therefore proves complicated. To attribute this entry to the Byzantine Age, a fable needs to be present in collections of this date and only in these, it needs not to show traces of Hellenistic verse and, if possible, there need to be Oriental counterparts. This latter circumstance does not always occur, however. Or else it occurs in such a form that it leaves room for doubt.

I believe, therefore, that the fable not-H. 242 "The Trap", referred to above, which only occurs in Syr. and has a clear counterpart in the *Ahikar*, was only introduced into Syr., if we continue this reasoning, in the Byzantine Age, in contrast to what I stated in Volume I. We have seen, indeed (cf. above, p. 421), that in this collection there are some fables that are absent from Synt. and seem to have been recently incorporated into this collection. Later I will discuss another fable that possibly crossed over from the *Ahikar* to the West through Byzantium; I have already said that in Syr. there is an element clearly derived from *Ahikar*, the invocation "Son of mine . . .".

We must add, as has been indicated, that under the circumstances mentioned fables of the properly Byzantine collections could have

reached Byzantium directly from the East, without passing through Antiquity: fables from *Tetr.*, Syr. and from the final Appendix of the Accursiana, that is to say, from the 10th century onwards. And later exemplum-fables exist in Byzantine authors that are not known in Greece before them, yet which have Oriental precedents. In the collections mentioned, this whole group is mixed up with purely Byzantine elements, for example, novelettes that do not necessarily have to always be of Oriental origin. These fables are sometimes re-encountered in the Western fabulistic tradition and it is a likely hypothesis that they crossed over to there from Byzantium starting from the 9th century. From here onwards, it may be concluded that Western Latin fables without an ancient tradition and with an Oriental origin also crossed over through Byzantium. On proof of this is that fables of the ancient tradition, but from a different line from the Phaedrian one, crossed over through Byzantium to the West: sometimes, fables that are only in the Byzantine collections cited.

5. It is occasionally complicated to distinguish between these fables of Oriental origin and Oriental fables of Greek origin. As the reader may recall, I discussed in detail the Greek influence on the Oriental fable in Vol. I, pp. 699 ff. In the present volume I have added further specific data in this area, as in the case of H. 39 "The Swallow and the Birds" (cf. pp. 110 ff.) and H. 51 "The Farmer and the Serpent" (cf. pp. 107 ff.), fables that I believe crossed over from Greece into the *Panchatantra*. Cf. also my study, in this same chapter, of the influence of the Greek fable in the East. However, there may sometimes be doubts as to the direction of the emigration of a fable.

This is so in the case of H. 281 "The Archer and the Lion". The whole tradition comes from Babrius and the theme is completely isolated in Greece, while there is an Egyptian parallel (cf. Vol. I, p. 712). I now think that, as in a few other locations cited, Babrius must have followed an Oriental source (although this fable, on the Egyptian papyrus, frames the Greek fable of the lion and the mouse).

2. *Direct Evidence of the Presence of the Oriental Fable in Byzantium*

Before presenting the list of Byzantine fables of Oriental, Indian or Mesopotamian origin, I am going to offer some data on the Greek translations of the Indian collections and the influence of the latter.

In another section I will consider more carefully the problem of the transmission of the fable from the East to Byzantium and from Byzantium to the East.

It must be made clear, simply, that the translations of the *Panchatantra* into Greek, through Arabic, were much earlier than the Western ones, the oldest of which is the Castilian one of 1251. The first dates from around the year 1000;[6] and later there is the very well-known one by Simeon Seth, from 1080, which was entitled *Stephanites kai Ichnelates*, from the names of the two jackals that in Castilian are Calila and Dimna.[7] From the same date approximately is the translation by Michael Andreopulus of the book of Syntipas, that is to say, the *Sendebar*.

The knowledge, then, of the *Panchatantra* in Byzantium is proven starting from the year 1000, as, indirectly, is that of the *Ahikar*, as we have seen. The archetype of the manuscripts of Syr. where the new material of the *Ahikar* appears must be from approximately the same date.

Without further ado, I will give the list of Byzantine fables and romances of probable Oriental origin.

a) *In the Syriac Versions*

As has been said, in Syr. there are a few fables that are absent from Synt. and from the whole ancient fabulistic tradition: Christian fables, Oriental fables and others from the ancient tradition, but in a very modified form. There are 12 fables, which I discussed on pp. 417 ff. We must add that the text of the fables that are in Synt. and Syr. sometimes offers innovations in this collection, as are epimythia of the Christian type or beginnings of the type "Son of mine . . .", derived from the *Ahikar* (compare p. 421).

In short, the basic Greek collection that lies at the origin of Synt. and Syr. received certain additions in the archetype of this latter branch, including those derived from the *Ahikar*. This Assyrian romance, which influenced the Greek fable, as we know, from the same Archaic Age, again influenced the Byzantine Age.

From it comes, as has been said, not-H. 242 "The Trap". We need only recall the two texts:

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[6] Cf. G. H. Beck, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Volksliteratur*, Munich 1971, p. 41.

[7] On this translation, cf. Isidoro Montiel, *Historia y bibliografía del libro de Calila y Dimna*, Madrid 1975, pp. 81 ff.

Ahikar VIII 10: "My son, a trap was placed on a pile of manure and a sparrow arrived and asked: "What are you doing here?" And the trap answered: "I am praying to God". The sparrow said: "And what are you holding in your mouth?" The trap said: "Bread for the guests". Then the sparrow approached and took it and the trap grabbed it by the neck. And the sparrow said, as the trap shook it: "If that is bread for the guests, I hope the god to whom you pray never listens to your words".

Syr. 74: A trap was placed on a manure heap. A lark saw it and said: "What are you doing here?" The trap said: "Praying to God". The lark replied: "And that thing you have in your mouth, what is it?" The trap said: "It is bread". Then the lark approached to eat and the trap caught it. The lark said to the trap: "I hope God, to whom you pray, does not listen to your prayer". This shows us that we must examine all things with patience.

As we can see, Syr. has only added the epimythium. I add not-H. 246 = Syr. XXXVIII "The Monkeys who Want to Build a Town" (also in Hermog., *Prog.* 1 and in other sources, cf. Vol. III, *Appendix* II). As I said above, this fable, in which the monkeys that want to build a house are dissuaded by the advice of the old monkeys who lived in the inland desert, who tell them that they will become ridiculous, contains motifs that are more characteristic of an Indian fable. I am reminded of the theme of the monkey who wants to catch the axe when the carpenters are building a house and ends up with his testicles trapped in the tree, in *Tantr.* II, p. 7 = *Panch.* I 1, p. 25;[8] that of the wise warnings of the monkey in *Panch.* V, pp. 454–461; and that of the old swan as saviour of the flock of swans in *Tantr.* III 11, pp. 138–139 = *Panch.* I 21, pp. 157–158.

In any event, I believe that the *Ahikar* left yet other traces in the Middle Ages. See below, p. 595, on Latin versions (we lack the Greek ones) of the fable of *Ahikar* VIII 36 on the wolf who learned how to read.

[8] The quotations are from the translations that are cited in Vol. I, pp. 308, n. 25 and 288, n. 2 (for *Tantr.* and *Panch.*, respectively).

b) *In the Tetrastichs of Ignatius the Deacon*

We have also seen that both in the *Tetrastichs* of classicist type (in intention) in book I and in the Byzantine fables of book II, there are isolated fables, occasionally more or less altered derivations of the ancient tradition. Others, however, are perhaps from the Oriental tradition.

I have already presented the aporia around *Tetr.* I 8 (not-H. 212) "The Mouse and the Blacksmith". A mouse starves to death in a blacksmith's forge and the one who is about to bury it criticizes the blacksmiths for their late and useless pity. This comes from the proverb, appearing in Herodas and Seneca, on the place "where mice eat iron" (Hades, or an inhospitable place) or from the fable in *Tantr.* I 17, p. 55 = *Panch.* I, pp. 192–196, in which a fraudster refuses to return the iron scales that have been left with him as a deposit, saying it has been eaten by mice? It is likely that the proverb produced the two fables as independent derivatives, as I have already said.

On the other hand, I believe the Indian origin of *Tetr.* II 28 (= not-H. 186) "The Wolf Teacher and the Hen" is likely. Here a literary theme is introduced, the obscurity of the verses of Lycophron (his etymology derives from λύκος "wolf") which the wolf attempts to teach the hen. Yet the fundamental theme is that of the wolf teacher who attempts, with this pretext, to devour the hen. The theme of the ascetic cat that takes advantage of this disguise to devour the partridge and the hare is well-known in India.[9] In the Latin Middle Ages the theme proliferated in connection with the cat, the wolf and the fox, cf. below, pp. 596 ff.; among the victims are the cock or the hen. In Byzantium the wolf was the only perverse animal, who, by means of a disguise, attempted to devour another: see below, in d); see also the simulation of the wolf in H. 269, in c). However, in fact, the theme of the wolf dressed in a sheep skin already appears in Matthew 7, 15 and that of the priest "devourer of sheep" in Nonnus, *Par. Ev. Io.* B112: I believe that the theme entered the Christian environment from the East in the 1st century AD, see below, p. 596.

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[9] Cf. *Tantr.* III 4, pp. 114–115 = *Panch.* III 41, pp. 315–324; cf. the theme of the jackal and the mice in the *Jātakas* 127 and 128, plus further examples in M. Bloomfield, "On false Ascetics and Nuns in Hindu Fiction", *JAOS* 44, 1924, pp. 202–242; cf. also "El león y el chacal religioso", in *Calila* XIV.

c) *In the Appendix*
In III 3, pp. 432 ff., I gave a list of fables added by some collections of the Accursiana (or some isolated ms.) to those coming from the ancient tradition of the AnF. I have already said that many are derivations of ancient fables, but I also indicated the existence of some that are probably of Oriental origin and that only reached Byzantium in the Middle Ages. These are occasionally fables in prose, without traces of verse, in others there are traces of *politici* dodecasyllables. Below I bring together the fables of this Appendix that show these characteristics.

H. 269 "The Lion, the Wolf and the Fox". Here the wolf appears wanting the lion to kill the fox in punishment for his absence when the former, sick, called the animals to his cave. But when he arrives, the fox tells that he has been on a pilgrimage looking for a medicine for the lion, which proves to be the skin of a wolf: Thus he takes his revenge.

At the basis is the theme of the animals that visit the lion, which is ancient and Indian at the same time, and the theme of the sick lion and his servant the fox, also present in both fabulistic traditions. If on p. 517 I propose that this fable, which shows trace of *politici* dodecasyllables, contains Indian motifs, it is thinking of the motif of the heart in *Tantr.* IV, pp. 140–143 = *Panch.* IV, pp. 381–388; the crocodile's wife convinces her husband that only the heart of a monkey (a friend of the crocodile, of whom she is jealous) can cure it. Furthermore, in the well-known fable of "The Ass without Ears or Heart", in certain versions (*Tantr.* IV 2, pp. 145–147 = *Calila*, page 247 of the edition by Keller-Linker, also in the transl. by John of Capua, p. 247 of the ed. by Hervieux) the fox says to the sick lion that only the heart and ears of the ass will cure it. On the other hand, the motif of the lion king and his court is many more explicit in the Indian (and Medieval) tradition than in the Greek: it is only here that he is called "king" in a Greek fable (but cf. Phaedrus IV 14).

The fable we are considering was known in the West since the 9th century: I think that it could only have reached there through Byzantium. Certain ancient themes and certain Indian themes merged there in this fable, in which the role of the evil animal and of the victim belong to the wolf at the same time. The contrary hypothesis,

that our Byzantine fable comes from the West, lacks any evidence to support it. And it has arguments against it: there are many fables from the "Appendix" to AnF. III that entered Medieval European literature; on all this, see supra, pp. 432 ff.

H. 281 "The Archer and the Lion". This fable appears on an Egyptian papyrus (cf. Vol. I, p. 712) contaminated with the Greek one of the lion and the mouse; and it also appears in the *Calila*, contaminated with the Greek one (not-H. 292) of the bull, the lioness and the boar (only in Synt. 11 and Syr. XI and 13). There is a derivative "Homuncio, leo et filius eius", in the *Fabulae extravagantes* of Steinhöwel = 706 Perry (see below). I think it is of Oriental origin and that it was subsequently contaminated with Greek fables within that environment: specifically, we only know H. 212 through the Syriac fables.

H. 293 "The Trees and the Olive", a fable in prose, taken from the book of Judges.

H. 300 "The Adulterer and His Wife", a prosaic novelette; on the other hand, I do not believe that it is of Indian origin (cf. Rohde, *RhM* 31, 1876, pp. 628 ff. = *Kl. Schriften* II, pp. 193–195, where there is discussion of its diffusion in Italy in the Renaissance period). There is no relationship with the claimed model of the *Panchatantra*.

I would like to add some points to show that the whole Appendix of the Accursiana, of complex origin, crossed over to the West in very early times. I make reference to a work of mine "Aportaciones al estudio de las fuentes de las fábulas del Arcipreste"[10] in which I indicate a series of fables from this addition which reached the Archpriest through the Medieval Latin tradition and which either are not in the Latin tradition that comes from Phaedrus (H. 273 "The Eagle") or else appear in this in a different version, whereas the Accursiana and the Archpriest agree (H. 272 "The Proud Horse and the Ass"). Note that on various occasions, as I pointed out in this article, the Archpriest presents the fables of the Phaedrian tradition with variants born within the European Latin tradition: it also

[10] In *In honorem Manuel Alvar*, Madrid 1986, pp. 459–473.

received from it, then, the fables of the Accursiana; both those of Oriental origin and those of ancient origin. The fact that the Accursiana was known in Europe from the 9th century is proven not only by the echoes of various Byzantine fables, including that of the lion, the wolf and the fox, but by the fact that the Archpriest presents in H. 154 (the theme of the lion's share) the Greek version of AnF. and not the version by Phaedrus: it undoubtedly received the former from the Accursiana. At other times he presents a Byzantine version of Oriental origin (H. 269, arriving through Byzantium and the European tradition; there are other fables that undoubtedly followed the same itinerary, although the Byzantine version has not been preserved for us, cf. below, p. 598).

We must add the Western versions of H. 300 and 301, which Rohde discusses (cf. above), although it cannot be ruled out that these novelettes, conversely, are derived from Western romances.

That is, in short, I believe that the Accursiana, including of course its Appendix, was known in Europe from the 9th century AD. This Appendix has a Byzantine character, both when it rewrites ancient fables, when it incorporates Oriental fables and when it includes other versions, in prose or with remnants of dodecasyllables or derived from *Tetr.*, which we can only describe as Byzantine; cf. above, p. 432, on H. 268, 269, 278, 293, 295, 300, 301, 306 and 307. However, of course, not all the Oriental fables that were known in Byzantium were known through this Appendix: we must add to what was stated above on Syr. and *Tetr.* what follows on exemplum-fables and what I will say later on Latin fables of Oriental origin whose Greek stage has not reached us.

What I do wish to emphasize is an idea that I have previously only hinted at: the character of the Appendix, which is possibly from Asia Minor or, rather, Syrian. Here, as I must emphasize, the ancient tradition and the Oriental tradition of the fable do not only coexist, appearing together in the Appendix. The fact is that, also, this is the basis starting from which Greek fables and stories (fables and romances) entered the recent stages of the *Panchatantra* and the *Sendebar.* Various fables of the Appendix of reference which entered recent phases of the *Panchatantra* could be indicated: H. 276 "The Shepherd and the Wolf", H. 292 "The Mouse, Prometheus and the Elephant" (one of its themes), H. 302 "The Mouse and the Frog". On all this, cf. below, p. 622.

d) *In the Exemplum-Fables*

The exemplum-fables narrated by the rhetoricians of the Byzantine Age mostly come from the ancient tradition; we will say something on them in VIII, section VI. Yet there are at least two that are clearly of Oriental origin.

Not-H. 61 "The Black Cat". This fable by Nicephorus Gregoras (14th century AD), in *Hist. Byz.* VIII, is very clearly of Indian origin, although it may have also been influenced by H. 7 "The Cat and the Hens", H. 81 "The Cat and the Mice" and H. 174 "The Weasel and the Mice". The shoemaker's white cat falls in a tub and is dyed black: the mice approach believing it to be a monk and it attempts to devour them, until they flee. Here there is clearly a derivation from "The Blue Jackal" in *Tantr.* I 8, p. 31 = *Panch.* I 14, pp. 122–124, contaminated with the theme of the monk cat, which I have already mentioned. The Indian fable, without this contamination, also crossed over to the West: to the story of "Renard teinturier" in the *Roman de Renart*, Br. Ib 2205 ff. (cf. also XIII 1205 ff., where it is dyed black). Of course, this was from a version prior to that of Nicephorus Gregoras.

Not-H. 188 "The Shepherd and the Wolf". This fable by Nicephorus Basilacas (12th century AD) shows us the famous theme of the wolf that dressed in a sheep skin for the first time (in Hausrath, *Corpus Fabularum Aesopicarum*, I, 2, p. 186). Once again, we see a theme referring to the wolf that is of the opposite type in the Greek fable: the ass dressed in a lionskin (H. 199); cf. also in India the fable of the ass with a panther skin (*Tantr.* III 1, pp. 109 ff. = *Panch.* IV 8, pp. 409 ff.). The theme was taken from one place or the other, with the theme of the disguise now passing to the wolf: it is the animal of prey that, do what he may, cannot hide his nature to the weak. As I said above, the theme appears for the first time (referring to the false prophets) in the *Gospel according to St. Matthew*, that is to say, in an Aramaean environment: or else it comes from India through Persia, or this version and the Indian ones referred to come from the Mesopotamian fable, which is more likely. Note that in Nonnus, cited above, the "priests, devourers of gifts" are the Jewish priests. This Christian tradition could very easily have been contaminated later with the Indian fables that we have discussed.

It seems that the theme must be associated with that of the wolf or cat disguised as an inoffensive animal and, more specifically, as a monk, the theme of the Medieval European fable that, as we have seen, was widespread in Byzantium and came from India, since the ancient precedents only refer to the cat (H. 7, 16, 81) and there are no indications of religious disguise. And it must be associated with the theme of the wolf monk, which explicitly appears, for example, in the *Ecbasis*, the *Ysengrimus*, the *Roman de Renart* and other texts from the 9th century onwards. See below, pp. 595 ff. The false monk wolf continues the role of the Indian jackal (and also of the fox), but we must perhaps also compare the wolf of *Ahikar* VIII 36, which we re-encounter in the *Complete Derivative* of the Anglo-Latin Romulus (124 = 688 Perry); cf. below, p. 595. As regards the false monk cat, it is found both in India and in Europe, which accentuates the suspicion of a dependence.

The fable in its most literal expression is found in texts such as Eudes of Cherrington 51 "The Fox with a Sheepskin" (12th–13th centuries) and John of Sheppey 21 (14th century): once again, a Greek motif has crossed over to the West. It explicitly mentions the theme of the bad monk, as the Greek fable does the wickedness of the world.

I think, in short, that although this fable may in fact be explained by Greek precedents, it is influenced by the Indian theme of the animal of prey that hypocritically disguises itself as a monk, causing havoc.

I will also mention a fable that has been transmitted to us in his *Letters* (116) by Michael Choniatas (circa 1140–1213) highlighted by J. T. Papademetriou (*Illinois Classical Studies*, 8, 1983, pp. 127 ff.). It is the fable of the wolf and the piglet, which I have included in my Appendix III with the number M. 242b. It tells how the wolf became Christian and promised to stop attacking men and animals: on seeing a piglet at the edge of the road, he jumped on him and devoured him. The fable is closely related to the Western tradition of the wolf that becomes Christian but later reveals his true nature in a way or another (cf. in particular M. 264 and M. 509, fables that, as Papademetriou indicates, have left traces in the Greek popular tradition). Once again it could be thought that a Western fable crossed over to Byzantium, but it is more likely that the latter is in fact the point of departure.

e) *In the Byzantine Animal Epic*

In contrast to what happens in the Latin animalistic epic poems, as I am going to expound below, it does not seem that the Byzantine animal epic, insofar as it existed, was influenced by the Indian one. On the contrary, my opinion is that works such as the *Pulologus*, the *Tale of the Quadrupeds*, the various *Tales of the ass*, etc., come from the influence of Western narrative and it was only through the latter that they occasionally received Indian influences; they may of course have been contaminated with the ancient Greek fable.

However, there is an exception to this rule, the poem of the fight between the cats and the mice, a work almost definitely by Theodore Prodromus (12th century),[11] although this poem contains ancient elements coming from the *Batrachomyomachia*, as well as contemporary satire; its roots are in the Oriental tradition of the fight between cats and mice, which I discussed in Vol. I, p. 330.[12] On the other hand, the influence of this work on the later Byzantine animal epic, mentioned above, is clear.

III. *The Indian Tradition in the Medieval Latin Fable*

1. *In the Animal Epic*

As a preliminary explanation, I must say that it is not my intention in this book to enter into the detailed study of the flourishing of Western derivations of the Oriental fable starting from the Alphonsine translations of the *Panchatantra* in 1251 and of the *Sendebar* in 1253 (and of works such as the *Barlaam and Josaphat*, around the same dates). For the genealogy of all these derivatives, various specialist works may be consulted.[13] Among them there are, of course, translations into Latin starting from Hebrew or Castilian. This, I empha-

[11] Cf. the edition by H. Hunger, *Der byzantinische Katz-Mäuse-Krieg*, with his important introduction (Graz 1968).

[12] See the bibliography cited there and also in Hunger, *op. cit.*, p. 69, no. 14.

[13] Particularly Juan Vernet, *La cultura hispanoárabe en Oriente y Occidente*, Barcelona, 1978, pp. 309 ff.; Isidoro Montiel, *Historia y bibliografía del libro de Calila y Dimna*, Madrid, 1975; Angel González Palencia, *Versiones castellanas del Sendebar*, Madrid-Granada, 1946, pp. XXIV ff., etc. There are also special works on the *Conde Lucanor*, and the Archpriest (cf. my articles already cited, "El Libro de Buen Amor y la Vida de Esopo", *Serta Philologica*, F. Lázaro Carreter, Madrid 1983, II, pp. 427-434, on its relationship with the *Life of Aesop*, etc.).

size, does not concern us here; it is too large a theme to embark upon in this book.

I am interested in the Latin tradition that comes, I believe, from the Medieval Greek tradition, as I have been saying; also, as we will see later, the Latin tradition derived directly from the Arabic, specifically, the work of Petrus Alphunsus, whom I will also consider. As regards the Romance, Hebrew, Germanic traditions, etc., logically they can only be of interest in a book such as this insofar as authors such as the Archpriest (already mentioned above) or the *Roman de Renart* or Marie de France, for example, offer evidence of lost Latin texts of the type that interest us.

In other chapters of this book I will consider the Medieval Latin collections, the Latin animalistic epic, also Medieval, and various exemplum-fables with the same characteristics. In general terms, they derive from the two ancient Latin traditions: that of Phaedrus-Romulus and that of Avianus, both already studied in this book. I as have already stated, there is a second component, that of Oriental elements that entered Europe, I believe, starting from the 9th century, through Byzantium; it seems that although the other path that was open, that of the Iberian Peninsula, knew the Oriental fable through Petrus Alphunsus (born in 1106), it did not influence the oldest phases of this European tradition.[14]

This chapter must be understood, then, as an introduction to those that follow, since it attempts to shed some light on the Oriental elements, which, combined with the ancient Latin ones, produced a whole Medieval Latin literature, which later exercised an influence on the Romance and Germanic literatures. Only starting from the middle of the 13th century did a new phase open up: the arrival of new Oriental fabulistic material, this time through Hebrew and Castilian Alphonsine translations. In this second phase, the Latin literature was secondary, and consisted of translations; I consider it appropriate, as I have said, to leave it outside of this context.

On the possible influence of the Indian fable on the Medieval Latin animalistic epic poems north of the Pyrenees and on the French,

[14] On the influence exercised by this work, see the introduction to the edition by González Palencia, pp. XXIV ff. In any event, since Petrus Alphunsus was familiar, for example, with the *Sendebar*, undoubtedly in its Arab version, a very serious problem remains open with regard to the path of transmission of certain fables in Latin literature starting from the 13th century. I cannot go into this theme in detail here.

German, Dutch, British fable, etc., related to it, an almost complete ignorance reigns today. The great debate on the origins of the *Roman de Renart* and other versions of the same theme set the Germanist and folklorist thesis of Jacob Grimm[15] and his continuers (L. Sudre, K. Voretzsch, F. Paris, A. Graf, A. Schossing, etc.) against to the "Aesopic" thesis of L. Foulet[16] that is followed today by the most representative authors: J. Nogués[17] and J. Flinn.[18] This latter position is clearly the right one: although there may have been traces of local traditions in various details, as well as definite influences from the Medieval environment, the fables of the *Roman de Renart* fundamentally come from the Aesopic tradition, which entered the Middle Ages through Phaedrus and Avianus in particular, whose works produced an abundant descent of Medieval Latin fables. Frequently, versions prior to the date of the first branches of the *Roman de Renart*, dated between 1175 and 1180, clearly influenced them: the so-called Romulus and his derivations, the imitators of Avianus, other fabulists brought together by L. Hervieux in his monumental work *Les fabulistes latins*;[19] the Latin animal epic poems, namely: the *Ecbasis Captivi* (circa 1039–1046), the *Ysengrimus* (main source of the *Roman de Renart*, prior to 1148). There are yet other works that were more or less contemporary to the *Roman*, which, whether they influenced it or not, derive, in the final analysis, from the same ancient tradition: the *Speculum Stultorum* (circa 1179–1180), the fables of Marie de France (1170–1190), those of Eudes of Cherrington (the beginning of the 13th century), in particular.

Yet there are also Indian elements which, surprisingly, have barely been detected. In books such as those of Foulet, Nogués and Flinn, to which I have referred, on the *Roman de Renart*, there are at most, here and there, comparisons between various fables of the *Roman* and other Indian ones, which are considered to have perhaps been its source, although in few cases. In turn, the work by F. P. Knapp,[20] the most complete study on the *Ecbasis*, the *Ysengrimus* and the *Speculum*, proceeds in the same manner: it indicates a few cases of possible

[15] *Reinhart Fuchs*, Berlin 1834.
[16] *Le Roman de Renart*, Paris 1914, 2nd ed., 1963.
[17] *Estudios sobre el Roman de Renard*, Salamanca 1956.
[18] *Le Roman de Renart dans the littérature française et dans les littératures étrangères au Moyen Age*, Toronto 1963.
[19] Paris 1893 ff., reissued in Hildesheim, Olms 1970.
[20] *Das lateinische Tierepos*, Darmstadt 1979.

Indian influence. Yet conclusions of a general character are never drawn. Neither is the following question, which is decisive, answered: how did the Indian fable come to be known by the European authors of fables starting from the 9th century, before the translations of the mid-13th century?

In fact, the only direct study that I know on the theme is a short work by R. C. Gupta.[21] And he restricts himself, once again, to indicating specific points of contact between the European animal epic and the Indian fable. A few parallels, specifically, between fables of the *Jātaka* and the *Panchatantra* on one hand and fables of the *Ysengrimus* or the *Roman de Renart* on the other. The author explicitly indicates that these are only parallels and states "it is not my aim to go into the question of direct borrowing".

In my opinion, the problem cannot be limited to indicating a few parallels in specific fables: there are general features of European animal epic poems that, I find, cannot be explained without relating them to others of the Indian fable. If this is the case, the "parallels" mentioned of specific fables must be studied again, because the possibility now clearly exists that, if they are true, they may actually be explained by an influence of the Indian fable on the European fable, evidently along an indirect path, converging with the "Aesopic" tradition, that is, that of the Latin fable of Greek origin. There remains one last point to elucidate: that of how, and along which path, the influence in question was able to reach Europe, before the 13th century. I have already stated that this path seems to be through Byzantium; I will specify that it goes through Syrian before arriving there.

Below I will offer some considerations, in summary form, of course, on the three points in question: features of a general type of the European animal epic poem that make an Indian influence likely; specific fables derived from India (a catalogue that will be expanded later with fables from the collections and exemplum-fables); the possible path of access of the Indian fable into Medieval Europe from the 9th century, going further into what has already been said.

To begin with the first point, I think it has been a major limitation to consider European animal epic poems only from the standpoint of the fables included in them. The Medieval Latin, French

[21] "Indian Parallels of the Fox Story", in *Aspects of the Medieval Animal Epic*, Leuven-The Hague 1975, pp. 241-249.

or German fables included individually in collections can be studied, clearly, with a view to the establishment of their sources. Yet animal epic poems are something different.

If we take the *Ecbasis* and consider it in term of its structure, as it has been studied by a series of authors and, finally, by Knapp,[22] we find something in it that is totally in discord with what we usually find in the Graeco-Latin fable and that, on the other hand, is normal in the Indian fable: the narration of a fable framed within another.[23] Just as each book of the *Panchatantra* is in fact a single fable that has others incorporated within it, with which the animals of the fable-frame argue (although these incorporated fables may in turn incorporate others), in the same way, in the *Ecbasis* there is a fable-frame that includes an interior fable narrated by way of an exemplum or argument by one of the characters of the fable-frame. The parallelism cannot be greater with the books of the *Panchatantra*: to say that it is an *ordo artificialis*, imitated from the *Aeneid*, as Knapp does,[24] is to stick with a trite parallel against an absolutely precise one.

As is well-known, the fable-frame refers to the calf that escapes from the stable and is made prisoner by the wolf, who wants to devour it, and is saved thanks to the cunning of the fox, with the wolf dying. At a given moment, the wolf gives signs of his concern over the artifices of the fox and tells this to his servants, the otter and the hedgehog. What he tells them is the story of what happened to another wolf, an ancestor of his, a victim precisely of the cunning of the fox. The interior fable is that of the court of the lion, whom, being sick, the wolf incites to kill the fox for not going when called by him—in the end, it is the fox who convinces the lion that he must cure himself with the skin of the wolf.

There is also no lack, within the interior fable, of allusions to other animal fables or themes: this is the case in the dream of the wolf (231 ff., the theme of the two he-goats), in the story of the fox on his pilgrimage (446 ff., theme of the messenger coot), in that of the "regency" of the fox (the alternating song of the nightingale, the parrot and the swan, verse 938 ff.).

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[22] *Op. cit.*, pp. 9 ff.

[23] On this compositional procedure and its origins, cf. Vol. I, pp. 340 ff.

[24] *Op. cit.*, p. 12, The "Einleitung" to the edition by W. Trillitzsch – S. Hoyer, *Ecbasis cuiusdam captivi per tropologiam*, Leipzig 1964, cf. pp. 23 ff., "Form und Quellen", does not even pay attention to the composition.

Yet there are other important elements to add:

a) The pairing of the fable-frame and the interior fable is framed, in turn, by the narration of the author on the purposes of the composition (verses 1–68 and 1224–1229). The author is a monk who repents his idleness and, when seeing others working, decides to work by writing the pious fable of the calf and the wolf: he attempts to reform himself by work. The fable refers to the festival of Easter and in it the calf symbolizes the straying Christian whom the forces of evil wish to devour. And those forces of evil are symbolized by the wolf, who is defeated in the end: as in other Medieval fables, the wolf is the evil monk, who rejects the abstinence symbolized by the dishes brought by his servants (fruits by the hedgehog, fish by the otter) and wants to eat meat, by devouring the calf: *nunc comedes vitulum, sanctum spernens monachatum . . . nomine tu monachus* says the otter to him (verse 302 ff.). That is to say, the fable of the calf is a teaching within a frame, as is customary in the Indian fable and in its Western imitations: the *Disciplina Clericalis* or the *Conde Lucanor*, etc. The fable in itself presupposes the theme of the wolf as false priest, already mentioned, which we will consider further: it is a theme already present in Saint Matthew, which later received Byzantine contributions and, undoubtedly, Indian ones.

b) It is certainly a teaching within a monastic environment, specifically a Benedictine one, and more specifically in the region of Treveris. The interior fable, with its theme of the court of the lion, specifically contains a political teaching, as do the different books of the *Panchatantra* and, more precisely, the first, in which the lion and his servants the two jackals appear. See the advice of the fox to the king (verse 514 ff.), the dialogue of the leopard and the hedgehog on the theme of service to the king (verse 670 ff.), etc.

c) The theme of the court of the lion, with its hierarchies, has, of course, Medieval elements, but its origin lies in the Indian fable rather than in the Graeco-Latin one. Numerous specific details are also reminiscent of the Indian fable: the very theme of the skin of an animal, used supposedly to cure another, but in fact to kill the first (see below, in the Indian tradition it is the heart), as well as the fabulistic themes mentioned above. I also think that the theme of the wolf-monk (like that of the cat-monk in isolated fables) is of Oriental tradition. On this, see above, p. 570, and below, pp. 596 ff.

I find it clear that there cannot have been a transition, in the Latin Middle Ages, from the isolated, loose fable, to the complex story in which the fable is narrated as an instruction and contains within it another fable that is an exemplification, without prior knowledge of this procedure in the Indian fable. The Indian elements (contaminated with other Graeco-Latin ones) in the interior fable, which we have mentioned and to which we will return, make this hypothesis even more likely.

Neither in the *Ysengrimus* by Nivard of Ghent nor in the various branches of the *Roman de Renart* (beginning with the oldest, II and V, by Pierre de Saint-Cloud) do I see such clear traces of the Oriental influence on the composition of the Medieval Latin epic. The various fables that succeed each other in these poems relate, in a certain sense, the biography of the fox and, particularly, his hostilities with the wolf. There seems no doubt that the *chansons de geste* were a model, to which these poems are a satirical counter-weight. The composition of the *Ysengrimus*, in which books IV and V 1–1128 constitute the story of prior events told by the bear, whose verses are read by the boar, does not in fact contribute any innovation with respect to a traditional well-known resource. In any event, the *Ysengrimus* culminates with the skinning of the wolf, that is, with something corresponding to the interior fable of the *Ecbasis*, but which now does not lead to his death: this takes place at the end, through the actions of the pigs (following a legend on the death of Mohammed). It is basically an expansion of the model of the interior fable of the *Ecbasis*, with its theme of the wolf monk, the court of the lion and the death of the former. Here the death of the wolf is made to precede a long story with the intervention of various animals. There is contamination, certainly, with the usual procedure of the collecting together of adventures in *chansons de geste* and biographical stories. The *Roman* developed this model.

I see the Indian model more clearly and directly in the *Speculum Stultorum*, the narration of the travels and adventures of the ass Burnellus, written towards the end of the 12th century by Nigel de Longchamps. In the view of J. H. Mozley and R. Raymo, authors of the edition of this work,[25] the model is in the fable of Avianus "The Ass and the Lionskin" (derived from H. 199), cited in verse

[25] Nigel de Longchamps, *Speculum Stultorum*, University of California Press, 1960, pp. 3 ff.

57 ff. Yet without doubting this and other ancient elements, as well as other Medieval ones such as the *Ysengrimus*, I believe that the general plot of the work derives from the *Ass*, of which the well-known versions of Lucian and Apuleius have reached us. In this work too, an ass (in fact the author, who speaks in the first person, having been transformed into an ass) travels the world making criticisms from a standpoint very far removed from that of the dominant social strata.[26]

This is not the only influence. Both Knapp[27] and Mozley-Raymo[28] find the *Panchatantra* I, pp. 112–117 to be the origin of the apologue on ingratitude in verses 1804–1912. In my view the most important aspect is not this, but the fact that in various circumstances the ass and other characters narrate various fables, including the one mentioned. This is the Oriental procedure of inserting fables within a frame and of making the characters taking part in a fabulistic narration argue with fables: since, as we have said, Nigel knew the *Panchatantra*, it is undoubtedly from there that he took the procedure, just as later it was taken, for example, by the Archpriest of Hita in the dispute of Doña Garofa and Trotaconventos. On the other hand, the ancient *Ass* presents the adventures of the protagonist, which are in fact fables, but not debates of this type.

Thus, in the *Speculum*, when the ass Burnellus asks the doctor Galienus for a longer tail to match his ears, he receives a negative answer in the form of a fable: that of the two cows whose tails were trapped by the ice. Later it is the Sicilian Arnoldo who answers the words of Burnellus, who wants to be taught in the liberal arts, with a fable (that of the priest's son and the chicken). Various other fables and stories are narrated in similar contexts.

It does not seem doubtful, then, that at least the *Ecbasis* and the *Speculum* have Indian models, which are reflected both in particular fables and, above all, in the structure of these works. Yet that model is reflected, I think, in a perhaps even clearer and more decisive way: in the fact that in the Medieval fable, starting from the *Ysengrimus*, the animals have proper names. This is very important, because if

[26] On the characteristics of this work and the "realistic romance" generally, see my work "The 'Life of Aesop' and the Origins of the Novel in Antiquity", *Quaderni Urbinati*, n.s. 1, 1979, pp. 93–112.

[27] *Op. cit.*, p. 123.

[28] *Op. cit.*, p. 5.

in the case of this poem and of the *Roman de Renart* the argument starting from the composition is less strong, it is reinforced in this manner (in the *Ecbasis* the animals do not yet have proper names, whereas in the *Speculum* we have already seen that they do).

What certainly proves significant is the limited interest shown in the fact that the Medieval fable, in contrast with the Graeco-Latin one, gives the animals proper names. These have been seen as a counterpart of the proper names of the heroes of the *chanson de gestes*: this idea is not wayward, but it can explain the reason for the diffusion of the proper names rather than their origin. This origin was sought by J. Grimm in the "people", in accordance with his well-known theory; G. Paris proposed that it was a "literary invention"; later A. Schossig proposed Grimm's thesis again in a certain sense, talking of a mythical origin of the animals, specifically Celtic.[29]

In fact, another interpretation imposes itself as totally evident. If the Medieval European tradition was not unaware of the Indian fable, which it imitated as regards its composition and as regards particular fables, it is highly plausible that this other agreement, the fact that in both traditions, in contrast with the Graeco-Latin one, proper names are given to the animals, is not accidental. That is to say, that it is from the Indian fable that they took the custom of assigning proper names, often of a descriptive type, to the animals of the fables. The parodical imitation of the *chanson de geste* starting from the *Ysengrimus* (not yet in the *Ecbasis*) undoubtedly favoured this way of proceeding.

I think, conclusively, that the line of argument starting from the composition or structure of the animal epic poems and the name the animals receive is really decisive in support of the idea that the Indian fable influenced Europe prior to the Castilian translations of around 1250. Having said this, we must confirm the argument with the indication that some specific fables (included in the "animal epic" poems or else in collections) are of Indian origin. I have already indicated the main examples, indicating, on the other hand, that on occasions this origin had already been proposed, although without drawing general conclusions. Here we will study the theme more systematically. And we will then consider the following theme: that

[29] "Die Namen des Widders, des Schafes..." im altfranzösischen Roman de Renart", *Romanische Forschungen* 71, 1959, pp. 17–71. Data can be found in this article on the hypotheses of Grimm and Paris.

of seeing along which paths the Indian fable reached the Medieval Europe on the dates that interest us here.

The study of the Indian materials in the successive animal epic poems of the West shows that this material was borrowed in successive stages, that is to say, that there is not a single Western indianized source imitated later; rather, this imitation exists, but the flow of Indian elements increases later.

Before dealing with animal epic poems as such, I would like to draw attention to a precedent for these, as is poem 72 by Theodulphe d'Orleans, a poem of 224 verses in elegiac distichs.[30] It is important both for its antiquity (the beginning of the 9th century) and for the influence it exercised, directly or indirectly (among others, on Chaucer and the Byzantine *Pulologus*, I believe).

This poem, which undoubtedly alludes to contemporary events, contains the description of the battle between two groups or armies of birds, together with embassies, the withdrawal of the survivors, etc. In the ancient fable there are assemblies of birds and debates between birds, but this is very different. I can only find it in the story of the fight between crows and owls, which forms the body of book III of the *Panchatantra*. Here there are also two battles between the two groups of birds, with the owls winning in the first and the crows in the second; one of them, who survives, plans the new strategy with his ministers. The details may vary, but the exposition of the political and military conflicts, with the help of the fight between different birds, is very similar.

The date is also no obstacle, as there are other parallel data from the same period, as I have already stated and as we will see.

If we continue with the *Ecbasis*, the oldest animal epic poem, from about 1039–1046, we have seen that the structure of the poem is clearly influenced by the Indian collections; very probably, it is from the *Panchatantra* that the theme of political instruction comes—by the fox, at the court of the lion. Yet there is an essential element of the Indian fable that has not yet been imitated in the *Ecbasis*: that of giving proper names to the animals. On the other hand, in this poem there are traces of Indian fables or fabulistic themes, which converge with other Western ones: I have made reference to these.

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[30] Cf. D. Schaller "Lateinische Tierdichtung in frühkarolingischer Zeit", in *Das Tier in der Dichtung*, ed. U. Schwab, Heidelberg 1970, pp. 98 ff.

In the later poems new fables or elements are added, together with the proper names of the animals.

Strictly speaking, the *Ecbasis* does not have more than one fable—which I will discuss later—that of the death of the wolf; but it does include numerous allusions to ancient fabulistic themes. And to Indian themes, as I have said. The most explicit of these is the one that appears in vs. 233–234 within the dream of the wolf:

Bini crabrones certabant stringere fauces,
quod mihi nulla salus mansit nec vivida virtus.

It seems perfectly clear to me, in fact—although, as far as I know, it has not never been noted before—that here there is an allusion to the fable of the he-goats and the wolf, narrated in full detail in Ysengrimus II 271–688 and (on this model) in the late *Branche* XX (prior to 1250, in any event) of the *Roman de Renart.* This fable is of Indian origin, as J. Nogués correctly saw.[31] R. D. Gupta also noted the parallel.[32] It comes from *Tantr.* I 3b, p. 18 = *Panch.* I 6, pp. 61 ff.[33] It is clear that this text was seen first by the author of the *Ecbasis*, later by Nivard of Ghent, the author of the *Ysengrimus.*

I can only find the theme of the messenger coot, who brings the fox, on his pilgrimage, the news of the illness of the wolf (verse 446 ff.); it is explicable if we start from the Indian theme of the *hamsaḥ* who plays a comparable role in the Indian legend in passages such as the well-known story of Nala and Damayanti in the *Mahābhārata.* And the theme of the alternating songs of the birds, who celebrate Easter in a kind of song competition (verse 931 ff.), recalls the theme of the election of the king of the birds in the *Tantr.* III 2, p. 110 = *Panch.* II 2, pp. 304 ff. We must compare two poems of Theodulphe d'Orleans, poet of the court of Charlemagne, which touch the theme of the assembly of the birds and the confrontations within it;[34] on the latter, see above.

An extremely interesting problem is posed with regard to the theme of the central fable of the *Ecbasis*, that of the death of the wolf so

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[31] *Op. cit.*, p. 249.
[32] *Op. cit.*, p. 247.
[33] I am quoting again from the translation by A. W. Ryder, *The Panchantantra*, University of Chicago, ed. of 1964.
[34] Poems 27 and 72, cf. D. Schaller, *loc. cit.*, pp. 98 ff.

that the lion can supposedly be cured with his skin, following the bizarre advice of the fox. I have already mentioned the Indian parallels with the theme, as well as the Byzantine version of the Accursiana, in the 9th century. It is from this, as I have said, that ours comes.

I do not believe at all that it comes from the *Aeger leo*, a Carolingian fable from the 9th century, preserved in a ms. of St. Gall, which changes the wolf into a bear (it continues to be a wolf in Marie of France 68). Hausrath's idea[35] that it is a Germanic theme that later crossed over to Byzantium is wrong. The ms. of St. Gall presents learned Latin material from late latinity (Paul the Deacon and others) and our fable specifically is written in elegiac distichs. The whole ms. works on the learned tradition; I believe, in this case, the Greek one mentioned.[36]

I think that my hypothesis could be supported by the knowledge in the West of the "Appendix" of the Accursiana, as already stated above.

As I have already stated, the echoes of the Indian fable in the *Ecbasis* are scarce; except in the case of the central fable, they are merely more or less reliable allusions. The Indian fable has not been imitated in detail, as we also see from the lack of use of proper names of animals; but it is no less sure that it was known by the author of the poem, as the structure and general range of themes of this show. Undoubtedly through Byzantium, as has been said: the fable of the lion, the wolf and the fox makes us think this.

Let us now move on to the *Ysengrimus*. If the composition is less closely related to that of the Indian fable, the entrance of the proper names of animals and of a true, well developed Indian fable make the knowledge of the Indian fabulistic tradition undeniable, and an independent knowledge of that of the *Ecbasis*. The more extensive development of a theme already present in the *Ecbasis*, that of the wolf monk, also makes an independent knowledge of the sources undeniable; this idea is also confirmed by the presence of various fables of ancient or doubtful origin that are in the *Ysengrimus* but not in the *Ecbasis*.

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[35] "Germanische Märchenmotive in griechischen Tierfabeln", *NJbb.* 13, 1937, pp. 140 ff.

[36] Cf. D. Schaller, *loc. cit.*, pp. 94 ff. and F. P. Knapp. *Das lateinische Tierepos*, Darmstadt, 1979, pp. 21 ff., both against the Germanist thesis.

The Indian fable to which I am referring is that of the wolf and the he-goats, a fable from the *Panchatantra* that, as we have seen, was already known by the *Ecbasis* and has been extensively developed (there are four he-goats). As regards the theme of the wolf monk, only indirectly alluded to in this poem (see above), here it is absolutely central. I have already mentioned the likelihood that this theme is a Christian adaptation (among others, as I have already said that the cat and the fox also appear as priests or monks) of various Indian fables, but on an already ancient basis, the influence of Mesopotamian and Aramaean themes starting from the Gospel itself.

Indeed, although the theme of the cat physician (H. 7) or that of the cat that plays dead (H. 81) and so attempt to eat the hens or the mice, occur in the ancient Graeco-Latin fable, nowhere does the theme of the animal that takes on the appearance of an ascetic or a monk to satisfy his appetites appear in it. And themes such as those of the cat, but applied to the fox or the wolf, are not even found in it; at most there is the already Medieval theme of the wolf who attempts to deceive the kid by imitating the voice of its mother (Romulus 36, Ademari 61).

On the other hand, and apart from Saint Matthew, I have already mentioned the Indian fables of the cat ascetic who deceives and succeeds in eating the partridge and the hare, as well as others concerning the jackal.[37]

I think, indeed, that here lies the origin of the Western theme of the animal of prey that disguises itself as a priest or a monk. We need only see that in Eudes of Cherrington, who lived somewhat later than the period of the *Ysengrimus*, at around the end of the 12th century and beginning of the 13th, there appears the theme of the cat who made himself a monk to eat the mouse (fable 15), and other similar ones relating to the wolf (fable 22) and the fox (fable 50). It is impossible to make a list of the diffusion of the theme in the Medieval fable, as it is vast. However, we must say that it is known from the *Metrum leonis* of Bishop Leo of Vercelli (c. 965–1026), the *Fecunda ratis* by Egbert of Liège (c. 1023) and the *De lupo* (c. 1100).[38] More specifically, the theme of the wolf who is instructed as a novice

[37] G. T. Artola, "El libro de los gatos: an Orientalist's view of its Title", *Romance Philology* 9, 1955, pp. 17–19, gives more data and references and links the European Medieval works that concern us with this theme.

[38] Cf. F. P. Knapp, *op. cit.*, pp. 24 ff., 70 ff.

in a monastery is from 1096.[39] We may say, to sum up, that the *Ecbasis* was not isolated in the 11th century in its knowledge of the theme of the wolf monk, which it takes for granted; and that the development of this in the *Ysengrimus*, in the second half of the 12th century, has abundant parallels in its own right.

The wolf does not appear in the Indian fable: it is undoubtedly the amalgamation of the theme of the cat-ascetic and of the jackal-ascetic, both false and traitors, in the Indian fable, with the theme of the rapacious wolf from the Graeco-Latin fable, that has created the new theme of the wolf monk. Perhaps only in Western Europe, but influenced by Byzantium, where we find the theme of the wolf with a sheepskin, which was created on ancient and evangelical models and crossed over to the West, see below, as well as another theme in Michael Choniatas, see above. We will see later on that the theme of the death of the wolf, which, as it occurs in the *Ecbasis*, contains an Indian element, reached the West from Byzantium.[40]

Thus, conclusively, the *Ysengrimus* knew the *Ecbasis*, since it is fundamentally a development of the theme of the death of the wolf and, specifically, of a wolf who is a false monk. Yet it also knew many other sources, both Graeco-Latin and folkloric, and other models of composition. Among its models, there are some that contain elements of Indian origin: specifically, in the theme of the wolf monk. There was, then, in Europe, a tradition influenced by India that was prior to the *Ysengrimus*. The very proper name attributed to the wolf is older than the poem.[41] There is no reason to believe, on the other hand, that the theme of the wolf and the two he-goats, very modified, was taken directly from the *Panchatantra*: there were definitely intermediate sources. In fact, the *Ysengrimus* modifies many of its models: the death of the wolf differs profoundly from the *Ecbasis*,[42] it adds many new fables, etc.

This basis for different fables, which, to a certain degree, come from India, is also found in the case of the *Roman de Renart* in its

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[39] Cf. Knapp, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

[40] On the appearance of the theme of the wolf at school in the Assyrian *Ahikar*, VIII 36 (see Vol. I, p. 364), a fable very comparable to a Medieval one in Hervieux, *op. cit.*, II, p. 642 (= 688 Perry), and in Marie de France, 81, see below p. 595. The fable Syr. 74 "The Trap and the Lark" only finds a parallel in the *Ahikar*, cf. above, p. 566.

[41] Cf. Knapp, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

[42] It includes another source, perhaps Hildebert of Lavardin, cf. Knapp, p. 75.

various *Branches*. It is true that the main model is the *Ysengrimus*, as is well known. But for the individual fables there are various models (apart from the invented fables).

I am now referring to the Indian models, discarding in advance some that have been proposed, which I do not find likely; specifically in the case of *Branche* XVII "Death and the Procession of Renart" (circa 1205) and XIX "The Wolf and the She-ass" (between 1205 and 1250). The latter fable is from the ancient tradition; cf. H. 198.[43] In the former the intervention of a game of chess introduces an Oriental environment,[44] but this is all.

Moreover, it is the fable of the fox Renart and the wolf Isengrin in the well: the theme of the pulley with the two pails, in one of which the fox comes out of the well while in the other the wolf drops down and stays at the bottom. This fable is in *Branche* IV, from about 1178. In contrast to what Nogués says,[45] I do not believe that this fable has anything to do with that of the hare and the lion in the *Panchatantra* I 10, pp. 81 ff. (= *Calila* III 10). It is in the *Disciplina Clericalis* by Peter Alfonsus.[46] It is fable XIV, which is also elsewhere, such as in Eudes of Cherrington.[47] Yet it is not at all certain that the *Disciplina Clericalis* is the source, since it is a very widespread Medieval fable derived from H. 9 "The Fox and the He-goat" (cf. p. 553#). We will see that Petrus Alphunsus not only brings together Oriental fables, but also Graeco-Latin ones and Medieval ones derived from these.

On the other hand, the fable of the wolf and the rams (in *Branche* XX), which I discussed above, clearly comes from the *Panchatantra*.

On the other hand, the fable of *Branche* I b (from the end of the 12th century) comes from the *Panchatantra*, with the theme of Renart the *jongleur*: the mutilation of Isengrin's parts through a trick concocted by Renart. This trick involves the closing of a window, which leaves Isengrin imprisoned when Renart removes a small stick that held it open. If we add that in the German *Reinhart Fuchs* the episode of the bear caught by the fox by means of the trick of making him

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[43] It is not found in the *Panchatantra*, despite what Nogués says, p. 242.

[44] There is an Egyptian representation of the lion playing chess with the gazelle, cf. E. Brunner-Traut, *Altaegyptische Tiergeschichte und Fabel*, Darmstadt 1968, p. 11, fig. 6.

[45] *Op. cit.*, p. 102.

[46] Cf. Nogués, *op. cit.*, p. 105, Foulet, *op. cit.*, p. 288.

[47] Imitated from the *Roman*, according to Flinn, *op. cit.*, p. 488.

put his head into a tree trunk, while at the same time he withdraws the wedge, it will be seen that both themes derive from the fable of *Tantr.* I 1, p. 7 = *Panch.* I 2, p. 25 (= *Calila* III 2) in which a monkey is caught by his testicles in a similar way.[48]

In that same *Branche* there appears the well-known fable of Renart dyed. The fox asks God to protect him from Isengrin: he falls into a vat and comes out coloured yellow, whereupon the wolf does not recognize him. Nogués[49] indicates the exact parallel in *Tant.* I 8, p. 31 = *Panch.* I 14, p. 122, the fable of the blue jackal (which is absent from the *Calila*). Note that a similar fable, "Renard Dyed Black", is in *Branche* XIII (between 1205 and 1250). Earlier, I referred to all this on the subject of a Byzantine imitation coming from these, and also from that of Nicephorus Gregoras.

However, I would like to indicate, in *Branche* XI (around 1200), the fable of Renart and the villainous Lietard; the latter attempts to deceive the former, who helped him to kill the bear that was going to devour one of his oxen. It has been recognized as deriving from number 23 in the *Disciplina Clericalis*, "Exemplum de oratore et lupo iudicioque vulpis".[50] In fact, there are significant differences between the two fables, that of the *Disciplina Clericalis* was introduced by Raymond de Béziers in his *Liber Kalilae et Dimnae.*[51] Rather, it seems that these are related versions: the common part consists of the fact that the farmer curses one of his oxen and says that he will hand it over to the bear (or the wolf); the wild animal appears to claim the ox and the fox helps the farmer to rid himself of it in exchange for the promise of some hens. This seems to be the core, which is very likely to be Indian (on account of its presence in the *Disciplina* and in Raymond de Béziers and its absence from the Graeco-Latin tradition), but may also be derived from H. 163 "The Wolf and the Old Woman".

Thus, something similar happens with the *Roman de Renart* as did with the *Ysengrimus.* Just as this originates from of the *Ecbasis*, which it completes with various material, partly Indian, in the same way the *Roman de Renart* originates from the *Ysengrimus* and adds to it,

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[48] Gupta, art. cit., p. 248, established the parallel for the German fable.
[49] *Op. cit.*, p. 142. Cf. also Dufournet, "Petite introduction aux branches Ia, Ib du R. Renard", Paris 1971.
[50] Cf. Nogués, p. 203.
[51] Cf. Hervieux, *op. cit.*, V. pp. 755 ff.

among others, even more Indian material. We do not know whether this Indian material is taken directly from the Indian collections or whether it reached it along an indirect path. It is from various origins: from the *Panchatantra* (on occasions, in a version prior to its translation into Arabic and the Castilian one), from the *Sendebar*, from an unknown source. It is modified in various ways, sometimes differently in the different versions or *Branches*. We are dealing, on one occasion, with a fable known by the *Ysengrimus* (that of the wolf and the he-goats); on others, with fables that were not known by that text.

We must think along similar lines with regard to the *Speculum*. We have already seen that it includes various fables, and we may add that these are absent from the *Ysengrimus* and the *Roman de Renart*. Among them, we have also seen that there is that of the ingratitude of the man, clearly coming from the *Panchatantra*; this fable is likewise absent from the epic animal poems that we have been discussing.

Everything stated so far confirms our opinion that the Indian fable was accessible to the Latin and Medieval fabulists and to the Medieval French and German epic prior to the date of the Alphonsine translations of the *Panchatantra* and the *Sendebar* by the middle of the 13th century. Specifically, from the 9th century. The Indian texts that reached our authors indirectly were at least partially different from those that were later translated onto Castilian through Arabic. And they were extensively reworked, with derivation from various fables: the two dependent on "The Monkey and the Wedge", the many on the theme of the false ascetic, etc.

Certainly, the dependence of certain Medieval European fables from the Indian ones had already been proposed on occasions, as we have said. Yet there had been no attempt to solve the enigma of how the knowledge of the Indian fables had reached Europe in this period. When faced with this problem on the subject of the "dyed Renard", L. Foulet answered[52] that "this is an enigma which it is impossible to answer for the moment". Once we have seen that we are not dealing with isolated or accidental agreements, but fundamental features of the Medieval fable, specifically of the animal epic, and that these are not explained without the help of the Indian influence, the problem becomes more pressing than ever.

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[52] *Op. cit.*, p. 358.

In my opinion, the solution to this problem must be sought by investigating the possible intermediate sources between the Oriental and the European traditions. The most likely explanations are, *a priori*, in Spain and Byzantium.

Spain is indicated by the work of Petrus Alphunsus, the converted Aragonese Jew, baptized in about 1116 and the author of the *Disciplina Clericalis*. For his influence in Europe, see the introduction to the edition by González Palencia, p. XXVI; but the theme would require a detailed investigation. As regards the "animal epic", we must say the following regarding the influence of the *Disciplina*:

a) It cannot be admitted for the *Ecbasis*, which is prior to it; nor would it explain the agreements with the Indian fable as regards composition, nor the use of proper names for the animals.

b) It is incapable of explaining the knowledge in Europe of most of the Indian fables mentioned, since they are simply absent from this work.

c) The few agreements may perhaps be explained starting from the *Disciplina*, but it is more likely that they come from the existence of a common source, whether the *Sendebar* or another.

In short, the *Disciplina Clericalis* is, in the best of cases, one of the sources, a minor source. And perhaps it is not a source at all, for the period and the works we are considering.

This inclines us to look for the solution to the problem in Byzantium, the other point of contact between Indian literature translated into Arabic and Europe. We have a justification for thinking in these terms: already in the 11th century, translations into Greek both of the *Panchatantra* and of the *Sendebar* exist in Byzantium. And from the 9th century we have evidence of the existence in Byzantium of isolated fables derived from the Indian ones. At least one collection reached Western Europe from that period, the Accursiana. Some of these fables anticipated and foreshadowed the form that certain Indian fables were to take in Europe: particularly in the case of the theme of the wolf monk.

This knowledge of the Greek translations of the Indian fable in the West is part of the same movement that is reflected in the influence of Byzantine art on Romanic art: architecture, sculpture, ivory, sumptuary objects, fabrics. This influence was important starting from the 11th century. To a large extent, it must be attributed

to the relations between Westerners and the Byzantines brought about by the Crusades, from the end of the 11th century, and the pilgrimages to the Holy Land. The *Ecbasis*, precisely, presents us the theme of the pilgrimage of the fox to Jerusalem and Italy. The relations are sometimes older, however.

2. *In the Fable of the Collections*

As I anticipated at the beginning of this chapter, examples can be found of fables of Indian origin not only in the animal epic, but also in the collections. Some are the same; others, different, as will be appreciated. I will use, as I warned, the collections until the mid-13th century; but I make some exceptions where in later collections there exist Indian fables unknown before, which there are reasons to believe do not come from the new translations. And I do this particularly with the fables included in the *Libro de Buen Amor*, since in an article cited above I made it clear, I believe, that all its fabulistic material, whether Oriental, Latin or Greek, reached its author through the European Latin tradition: the fables of the *Panchatantra*, for example, appear with different features from the translation of the *Calila*; and the Phaedrian Latin and the Greek fables, like the former, have adherences with the European Latin versions.

At this point, below I present eighteen fables or groups of fables that I consider to be of Oriental origin and to have had an ancient transmission to Europe; some are the same ones already seen on the subject of the animal epic, most are different. I do not go into the relationships of priority between the versions of the epic and these others. Occasionally we know them in more or less closely related Greek versions that are intermediate between the Oriental and the European ones; occasionally those versions must simply be supposed to be within the general model I am constructing. On the other hand, not all the fables to which I will refer show the same degree of certainty as regards their origin. Specifically, the last two are more or less doubtful. With regard to the specific Oriental origin, it may be in the *Panchatantra*, in the *Sendebar*, in both, or in a third source, sometimes unknown.

In the list that follows, I head the fables with the acronym M (Medieval) followed by a number: it is the numbering of Appendix III. However, I do not give the fables in this correlative order, but in another, derived from basic considerations. Additional data to those contributed here may occasionally be found in Vol. III, Appendix III.

1. M. 246 "Lupus litteras discens". This is fable 124 of the *Complete Derivative* of the Anglo-Latin Romulus, or *Romulus Angl. cunctis* by Hervieux (in his Vol. II, p. 642, no. 124 = 688 P.). It also appears in Marie de France 81. The collection in question is from the 11th/12th century AD.[53] As was said above (p. 575), this fable comes from *Ahikar* VIII 36, undoubtedly through a Syriac version and another Greek one, both lost; we have already seen that for other fables of the *Ahikar*, at least the Syriac version is preserved. To convince ourselves of this, it is sufficient to compare the translation of the fable of the *Ahikar* and the Latin one:

Ahikar:

. . . they say to the wolf: why do you follow after the sheep? He told them: "I find their smell excellent". So they took him to school and the teacher said: "Alpha, beta". The wolf said: "kid, lamb".

Complete Der.:

A priest taught the wolf letters. The priest said "A" and the wolf the same. The priest said "B" and the wolf the same. "C" said the priest and the wolf said the same. "Now put them together", said the priest, "and spell". The wolf answered: "I do not know how to spell yet". And the priest said: "Tell me as you think best". And the wolf said: "I find the sound of *agnus*, lamb, better. The priest replied: "what is in the heart is also in the mouth".

The Latin fable has restricted itself to adding a biblical reminiscence, by way of a "closing statement". On the other hand, it introduces the wolf into a religious environment, showing that it is unreformable; there is a certain parallelism with some of the fables mentioned below.[54] As regards the Syriac source, it is not strange: we will see that the Indian fables passed through this stage on their travels to the West. The two sets of fables were both present in the Syriac versions, from there the passage of both to the West and the passage of Greek fables (also in the Syriac version) to India. On this, see at the end of the chapter.

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[53] Cf. Hervieux, *op. cit.*, I, p. 720.

[54] There is a derivative in M. 193 (Od. Cer. 22 = 595 P.). Cf. also a *bulla* of Urban II, from 1096, cited by F. P. Knapp, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

2. Fables of the wolf, the cat and the fox as false monks. The theme has been dealt with extensively throughout this chapter. I have shown the Indian origins (themes of the cat and the jackal), certain Greek echoes and a long tradition in the West: from the *Metrum leonis* by Leo of Vercelli to the *Fecunda ratis* by Egbert of Liège (11th century), to that of *De lupo*, to the *Ecbasis*, to the *Ysengrimus*, to the *Roman de Renart* and its many derivatives. For that reason, I will restrict myself to citing some material from the Latin collections in abbreviated form:[55]

a) The theme of the wolf as false monk: M. 242 "Lupi" (Marie de France 65b), M. 271 "Lupus audiens vulpis et asini confessiones" (Rom. of Berne 39 = 628 b P., Od. Cer. 81 = 628 P., *Aviani imit. fabulae* 42), 248 "Lupus et aries" (*Rom. Angl. Cunc.* 40 = 655 P., Marie de France 50, Bayeux tapestry 13), M. 260 "Lupus et opilio" (Gualt. *App.* 8), M. 264 "Lupus et sacerdos" (Od. Cer. add. III 1 = 641 P.), M. 257 "Lupus factus monachus" (*Aviani imit. fabulae* 17, cf. Od. Cer. Par. 13), M. 258 "Lupus petens Roman et nauta" (formerly *Romuli Nilantii fabulae rythmicae* 33).

b) The theme of the fox as false monk: M. 497 "Vulpes gallo confitens peccata sua" (Od. Cer. 25 = 597 P.), M. 489 "Vulpes induta pellem ovinam" (Od. Cer. 51, John of Scheppey 21; on this fable, cf. above, p. 570). I have already said that converging here is a theme from Saint Matthew 7–15 (*attendite a falsis prophetis, qui veniunt ad vos in vestimentis ovium, intrinsecus autem sunt lupi rapaces*), certainly of remote Mesopotamian origin, evidently popular in the ancient Christian environments (I have cited Nonnus). The theme proliferated considerably, cf., for example, M. 127, a story by Eudes on the bandits sent by a count who put on Cistercian habits.

c) The theme of the cat as false monk: M. 109 "Catus episcopus" (*Compl. Der.* 132 = 692 P., Marie 101), M. 108 "Catus monachus" (Od. Cer. 15 = 592 P.), M. 309 "Mus et filia, gallus et catus" (Rom. of Berne 39 = 716 P., Gualt., *App.* II, 4).

It is impossible to describe the detail of these fables one by one. The animal as false monk or bishop performs the functions proper

[55] We should add the important figurative documentation, cf. J. F. Flinn, "L'iconographie du Roman de Renart", in *Aspects of the Medieval Animal Epic* cit., pp. 257–264; and on the Bayeux tapestry, L. Herrmann, "Apologues et anecdotes dans la tapisserie de Bayeux", *Romania* 65, 1939, pp. 376–382.

to his ministry: he blesses, confesses, preaches, says mass . . . or simply fasts. Yet with this he does no more than attempt to devour the weaker animals, who sometimes succumb, sometimes survive thanks to their ingenuity. These themes are familiar to us, and I have sought their remote origin in India, with this tradition reaching the West through Byzantium.

3. M. 233 "Leo aeger, vulpis et ursus" (ms. Saint Gall 889, Marie de France 68). See above, p. 571, for my discussion of this fable, which in Marie de France presents a version with the wolf as the Greek prototype and derivatives in the animal epic, while in the ms. of Saint Gall it is replaced by the bear. There information is also to be found on the Indian origin of the theme of the animal who is supposedly cured by the skin of his enemy (that of the enemy of the fox, in this case). I must warn, on the other hand, that the Medieval documentation is much more extensive than that indicated: it can be seen in Appendix III. The wolf habitually appears in it, as in Marie de France and the *Compl. Der.* 59, cf., for example, Romulus Nil. metr. 14 and the number 5 "lupus tyrannus" on the Bayeux tapestry.[56] There is, then, a direct line from the Greek fable to this whole tradition.[57] Yet the variant (innovated) with the bear is also found outside the ms. of Saint Gall, e.g. in the Hebrew version of the Mishlé Shu'alim.[58] In short, either the Greek prototype has had an influence at least twice, with one of them being altered (bear for wolf), or else it did so in a very archaic phase, prior to the ms. of Saint Gall, with the Western tradition ramifying later. The first hypothesis is the more likely.

4. M. 202 "Homuncio, leo et filius eius" (Steinhöwel, *fab. extravagantes* 5 = 706 P.: unknown origin, although it is in a *Promptuarium exemplorum Parisinum* from 1322, cf. 706 a, P.). Above, p. 572, I proposed that this fable, in which the lion cub experiences the force of the man, apparently so worthless, is related with the theme of H. 281 "The Archer and the Lion". I indicated, at the same time, that this fable has an Oriental origin. There is a second Medieval fable, M. 110 "Cerva hinnuleum instruens" (*Compl. Der.* = 678 P., Marie

[56] Cf. L. Herrmann, art. cit., p. 376.
[57] Cf. D. Schaller, *loc. cit.*, pp. 91 ff.
[58] Cf. H. Schwarzbaum in *Aspects* . . ., cit., pp. 232 ff.

de France 54) on a closely related theme. It is closer, in fact, to H. 281: it is the bow (and not the lasso, as in the other fable) that is man's murderous instrument, as the stag explains to the fawn. However, the previous fable is in turn closely related to the Greek one in which the lion appears, not the stag; both Medieval fables agree in the fact that in both we find the dialogue between the animal and its young (lion and his cub, stag and fawn). Cf. another derivative, M. 136.

The agreement H. 281–M. 103 (lion, bow), and M. 110–M. 202 (animal and his young) makes me postulate that in the original it was the man, the lion, his cub and the bow, with which the man killed the cub, in spite of the lion's advice to it. This is precisely what happens in *Calila* XIII, which, as I will explain (see also below, p. 620), is derived from this fable, although contaminated with a second Greek fable. Thus, a Greek fable, I believe of Oriental origin, has left two different derivatives in the Medieval Latin tradition.

5. M. 220 "Leo, cervus et vulpes". This is the famous fable of the fox who succeeds in making the stag enter the lion's cave twice, with the lion devouring it at the end. Yet he cannot find the animal's heart, since the fox has eaten it. The fox states that an animal that has entered in lion's cave twice evident lacked a heart. In Vol. I, p. 325, I postulated that this Greek fable (which is in Archilochus) comes from Mesopotamia, as does the parallel fable of the *Tantrākhyāyika* IV 2, pp. 147 ff., and *Panchatantra* IV 4, pp. 395 ff., in which the role of the stag is taken by the ass; in some versions it is said that the heart of the animal was what the lion needed to be cured.

The fable based on the stag is in various Medieval versions, for example, in *Compl. Der.* 61, and Marie de France 70, see others in Appendix III. Sometimes, curiously, as in a previous fable, the lion has been replaced by the bear, as is the case in various collected by Hervieux III, pp. 504 ff. (the version by Fromundus, from the 10th century, and by Donizus, from the 11th/12th). Yet we are more interested in showing that the Indian fable also reached the European Middle Ages. And this not so much from the case of Nicolas Bozon 6 (in Hervieux IV, p. 258), in which the ass does indeed take part: the date and the customs of this author could make us think that he depends on the late translations. We are more interested in showing that the theme of the heart that the lion must devour to be

cured is in the Anglo-Latin Romulus and in Marie de France. And, particularly, that the version by the Archpriest of Hita, who, as I have already said, did not know the Alphonsine translations and that by John of Capua, depends on the Indian tradition.

In him (dates 893–903) not only does the ass appear (and not the stag), but there is talk of his heart and ears, although not as medicine, as in our *Calila*: evidently, he follows a different version, of the type of the so-called *textus ornatior*.[59] We must note that this version by the Archpriest introduces Medieval themes, such as that of the court of the lion and the concert in which the ass, with his drum, performs badly. It is clear, as always, that the Archpriest receives the fable from the Medieval European tradition.

That is to say, in this tradition there existed the fable of the lion, the stag and the fox, which arrived from Byzantium (it is in the Bodleian Paraphrase 200 Chambry), since it is not found in the ancient Latin tradition. Yet the related Indian fable of the lion, the fox and the ass also arrived, through a variant. Sometimes the Indian fable was followed, sometimes the Greek, sometimes they contaminated each other.

6. M. 201 "Homo et unicornius" (Od. Cer. 45 = 609 P.). This is a well-known Indian fable or simile, which was introduced subsequently in the *Panchatantra* (cf. below, p. 619), but cannot, on account of the date of Eudes, have reached him from our *Calila* II 5.

It is the well-known allegory of the man who, falling into a ditch, eats the fruit of a tree rooted in it, while two snakes gnaw its roots. Although this allegory is in other places in the Indian literature, it is likely that it reached Eudes (directly or indirectly) through the Arab version by al-Muqaffa, the basis in turn of the Castilian version of the *Calila* and of others.

7. M. 97 "Canis, lupus et aries" (Steinhöwel, *fab. extravagantes* 15 = 705 P.). It is the fable in which the ram disguises himself with dogs' skin and manages to scare the wolf, until the skin becomes stuck on some thorns and, when the ram is discovered, the wolf kills it. Although the possibility that Steinhöwel took the fable from a translation of the *Panchatantra* cannot be totally ruled out, the truth is that

[59] Cf. the translation by A. W. Ryder, *The Panchantantra*, ed. Chicago 1956, p. 295. Here there is only talk of the heart, however.

this would be a strange case in him and that, on the other hand, the fable of the ass and the tiger, in *Panchatantra* IV 9, p. 409 Ryder—which is undoubtedly the model—is already very far removed from ours. In it there are three animals, none of which present in the Indian fable, and there are a structure and a dialogue that are properly Medieval. As in other cases, Steinhöwel had access to a Medieval Latin collection that is unknown to us (although not, sometimes, to the *Repertorium exemplorum Parisinum* of 1322, half a century prior to him).

8. M. 304 "Mus matrimonium quaerens" (Cod. Bern. 42, Od. Cer. 63 = 619 P., Marie de France 73, etc.). The mouse wants to marry the Sun, but the latter says that the wind is stronger, that the wall is stronger, that the mouse is stronger: so it marries a mouse. This clearly derives from the story of the mouse transformed into a girl in *Tantr.* III 9, pp. 125–126 = *Panch.* III 13, pp. 353–358. M. 305 (Od. Cer., Add. I 25), although with major expansions, it is still close to the original insofar as there is an attempt to find a husband for a daughter (of the mouse).

9. M. 125 "Columbae et draco" (Od. Cer., Add. II 2). A curious fable of which I know no counterpart either in the West or in India, but which appears referring to a rare tree "in partibus Indiae": a tree, it says, called *peridixon* in Greek. It is clear that the fable comes from a Greek source; I think, remotely, from an Indian one. It is the theme of the sacred tree in which the pigeons take refuge and both the tree itself and its shadow are feared by the snake which tries to devour them. The theme is not Greek at all.

10. M. 298 "Mulier et procus" (*Compl. Der.* = 661 P., perhaps corresponds to no. 10 of the Bayeux tapestry). The wife, surprised by her husband with her lover, convinces him that not everything he sees is real, and demonstrates this by showing him his image in a basin of water. This theme is closely related, I find, to that of the parrot informer whose testimony to the husband is devalued by the lovers by making him believe that the other day he had seen a storm (which they faked). It is story 2 of the *Sendebar.* The theme is closely related to that of "Merchant Strongtooth" in *Panchatantra* I 3, pp. 49 ff.; it reappears in various forms in the *fabliaux* and in the romances of the Renaissance.

11. M. 328 "Tres optationes" (*Compl. Der.* 47 = 668 P., Marie de France 57). In these versions is a mountain dwarf that grants a man three wishes; and it is his wife that wastes two (she makes her husband get an iron pick in his nose and then makes him lose it); the husband uses the third to return to his natural state. In the version in the *Sendebar*, story 17, which is clearly the model, the three wishes are granted the man by a she-devil and the rest of the story runs in a similar way, with the woman disabling two wishes (she makes the man have many women and lose them all, including her) and the man using the last wish to return things as they were. All is more logical than in the Latin version, where the second and third wishes are practically confused and a theme from Nordic myth or folklore is introduced, the dwarf.

The theme was very widespread in the Middle Ages, with the name of "The Three Foolish Wishes" or "The Three Gifts of Saint Martin"; cf. Fradejas, *op. cit.*, p. 145, and Bédier, *op. cit.*, pp. 212 ff. Yet from among the material given by the latter, a part agrees in the general folkloric theme of the wish poorly used (for example, in Phaedrus, *App.* 15), that is to say, it has nothing to do genetically with our specific story. This originates from the *Sendebar* (from there it crosses over to the *Thousand and One Nights*, to the *fabliau* of the gifts of Saint Martin, according to Bédier, to Lafontaine VII 6); the Western version is clearly a derivative.

12. M. 491 "De vulpe" (Od. Cer. 49, *Libro de Buen Amor*, str. 1412–21). The fable of the fox who pretends to be dead but flees when they are about to take out its heart (in Od. Cer. it is simply an artifice for hunting). It depends on the *Sendebar*, but in its Greek version, the *Syntipas*: in the Castilian—which comes after Eudes—it does not appear. The theme of the fox who plays dead is already in the *Ysengrimus* IV 425–44, certainly derived from here.[60] Later the fable crossed over to Jacques de Vitry, to the *Conde Lucanor* and to other places besides.

13. M. 176 "The Cat, the Weasel and the Rabbit" (mentioned in the *Libro de Buen Amor* 929c). It clearly derives from the *Panchatantra*

[60] Cf. F. Lecoy, *Recherches sur le Libro de Buen Amor*, republ. in Wesmead 1974, p. 138, no. 2.

(*Tantrākhyāyika* III 4, pp. 114–115 = *Panchatantra* III 4, pp. 315–324), but I cannot find Medieval Latin sources, only this allusion and the fable by Lafontaine VII 16. Lecoy[61] indicates that the version by the Archpriest shows differences, as is usual, from that of the *Calila*, and that, on the other hand, it is closely related to that of Lafontaine: there must have been a common source. In these versions the weasel takes part, as the animal that expels the hare from its cave, whereas in the other versions it is the hare (or the rabbit) who expels the other animal, generally a bird. On the other hand, the Archpriest restricts himself to a simple allusion (*la liebre del covil saca la comadreja*), which certifies that the fable was known precisely in the form that this allusion presents. In the Indian version, which agrees substantially with the Arabic one, the Hebrew one and that of Juan de Capua, the rabbit is the intruder, not the partridge; this (or another bird, the translations vary) is evicted by the rabbit. The versions by Simeon Seth (the Greek) and the *Calila* introduce modifications, undoubtedly arising on account of the difficulty of it being a bird's nest occupied by the rabbit. The *Calila*, VI 3, talks of a genet, the Greek version, of a squirrel. It is from this line that the Archpriest and Lafontaine evidently derive; they also talk of a weasel. Indeed, the evicted quadruped is now transformed into a weasel; and as this is an animal that would be expected to evict the rabbit (or hare) and not vice versa, there has been an inversion in the role of the two animals. All this inevitably occurred in the period before the Archpriest.

Thus, it is a secondary text, in which a quadruped was evicted by the rabbit or hare, that is at the basis of the evolution. We do not have arguments to identify it with the fable of the *Calila* or the Greek one, which are two parallel and independent developments, I believe. It would be the only example in which the tradition of the *Calila* has been followed by our fabulist. It is more likely that, as at other times, the origin of the new version is the Greek one, the source of a Latin version, lost to us but known by the Archpriest and Lafontaine.

14. M. 245 "Lupi infortunium" (ms. Monac. 36 = 669 P., also in the Archpriest 766–779). Part of this fable is of Indian origin: that

[61] Cf. Lecoy, *op. cit.*, pp. 142 ff.

concerning the episode of the two he-goats who kill the wolf (cf. above, p. 586).

15. M. 503 "De vulpe et umbra lunae" (*Compl. Der.* = 669 P., Marie de France 58). The fox drowns when attempting to catch a supposed piece of cheese that is in fact the reflection of the moon in a well. I think that this fable, which in the *Ysopet*[62] is contaminated with the Medieval Latin one of the fox and the well (M. 440, below, p. 607), of ancient origin, perhaps Oriental. In the *Panchatantra*, I 9, pp. 81 ff. (= *Tantr.* I 6, pp. 24–25) there is the story of the lion who drowned in a well when confusing his image with that of another lion and hurtling at it; and in III 2, pp. 308 ff. (= *Tantr.* III 3, pp. 110–114) the other story of how the elephant is made by the rabbit (as in the previous story) to confuse the reflection of the moon in the lake with the goddess Luna.

16. M. 167 "Fur et satan" (*Compl. Der.* 39 = 662 P., Marie de France 48). The association of the thief and the devil (a witch in Marie de France) is re-encountered in *Panchatantra* III 10, pp. 343–348 = *Tantr.* III 6, pp. 121–122 ("The Brahman, the Thief and the Devil") and in *Sendebar*, story 14. The details vary, the Medieval story has a Christianized ending (the devil allows the thief to be hanged).

17. M. 458 "Urbanus et monedula sua" (*Compl. Der.* 46, Marie de France 56). The theme of the death of the little bird is combined with that of the prevaricating judge. Perhaps there is an echo of *Panchatantra* I 26, pp. 179 ff. (death of the parrot). Yet we could also think of the theme of the grief over the dead bird in Alcuin, c. 61.[63]

18. M. 142 "Cuculus et volucres" (*Partial Der.* 10 = 652 P., Marie de France 46), also M. 128 "Cuculus et aquila" (Od. Cer. = 626 P.) and derivatives such as M. 62 "Bubo et alia volatilia" (in Eudes) and M. 344 "Pavo et graculus" (in the App. by Walter). The turkey prevents the cuckoo being chosen king of the birds; in his place they choose the eagle. I think that the origin is in *Tantrākhyāyika* III 2, p. 110 = *Panchatantra* III 1, pp. 304 ff., where the story is told of

[62] Cf. the Appendix to the ed. of Petrus Alphunsus by A. González Palencia, Madrid-Granada 1948, example 23, p. 226.
[63] Cf. D. Schaller, *loc. cit.*, pp. 95 ff.

how the crow impeded the election of the owl as king of the birds with his unfavourable report, with the consequence of the war between crows and owls. In fact, this story is much more closely related to ours than Greek fables in which other proposals for the king of the birds are criticized (the rook in H. 103, the peacock in H. 244, although these Greek themes may be at the origin of the Indian fable). The subsequent election of the eagle is a contamination with Medieval Latin themes, cf. above, p. 534: a derivative of this contamination is, I believe, the Byzantine *Pulologus* (cf. below, p. 705). We must place on record, in any event, that the theme of the war of the birds already appears (without that of the eagle) in Theodulphe d'Orleans, at the beginning of the 9th century: already at this time it is certainly a derivative from the Indian theme, cf. below, p. 705.

I think that after this exposition, which completes the previous ones on the Greek fables of Oriental origin and on the Oriental elements of the Latin animal epic and romance, there will remain no doubt regarding the reality of these Oriental elements before the appearance of many new translations in the 13th century. They are, fundamentally, fables of Indian origin in the final analysis. Yet there are also others of ancient Mesopotamian origin; and there are some from collections such as the *Sendebar*, which came about precisely in Persia (see below, p. 616). All these texts have reached the Greek phase through intermediate Syriac translations; and from the Greek they crossed over to Latin. I must still emphasize this.

Of course, the study that precedes is only an incomplete sampling: it is certain that further Oriental elements may be found, both in the collections I have investigated and others. Consider, for example, that I have not concerned myself with the whole literature of the first half of the 13th century (I leave out Jacques de Vitry, certain *fabliaux*, etc.). And that neither have I revised the whole literature of the Oriental tradition (the *Barlaam*, for example), nor (except in the case of the Archpriest) have I investigated the ancient Oriental elements in texts from the 14th century onwards.

The reader will have seen that the Oriental fabulistic elements that I have detected mostly come (but I have also given other examples) from the so-called Anglo-Latin Romulus, a lost collection from which derive the two versions published by Hervieux under the names of *Romulus Anglicus cunctis* or *Complete Derivative* and *nonnullis* or *Partial Derivative*, as well as that of Marie de France coming from the 9th century (see the next chapter); and from the collection of Eudes

or Odon of Cherrington, from the beginning of the 13th century. However, there are other previous sources starting from the 9th century: the *aeger leo* of the ms. of Saint Gall, Theodulphe, Leo of Vercelli, Egbert of Liège, Fromundus, Donizus. And there are later texts, such as the extravagant fables of Steinhöwel and the Archpriest, which come from lost sources undoubtedly belonging to our period. It is the same case of, for example, the fable of the black cat by Nicephorus Gregoras (14th century), known by the *Roman de Renart* on a date prior to this Greek text.

On the other hand, it would be wrong to postulate that the numerous Indian elements of the animal epic come from the fables of the collections that we have brought together. Some perhaps did, but the opposite also occurs and it also happens that in all probability that epic used lost sources, older than ours. Sometimes, sources that are common to it and, for example, the Archpriest.

I have attempted to show that it is likely that the route through which the Indian and other elements reached the West was Byzantium. To the arguments given before I have now added others: the agreement, sometimes, of the Western fables with the Greek versions (from the 11th century) of the *Panchatantra* and the *Sendebar* and not with the Castilian ones and others.

However, I have already said that there was an Oriental influence even before that date. And that there was not a single derivation, from which various versions come later. In fact, sometimes the same theme must have entered at different times, with different variants. Later, in the West, there was contamination with fabulistic elements coming from Antiquity and new developments.

3. *In Petrus Alphunsus*

In the period we are studying, in the Latin West there do not seem to be derivatives from the Oriental fable that arrived through the *Disciplina Clericalis*, by Petrus Alphunsus, as I have said; but there are some from a later date. This is a Latin tradition that does not originate from the Greek, but from the Arabic; but it is, in any event, a Latin tradition from the period that concerns us and, as such, merits study. On the other hand, the *Disciplina* is a very curious work in which the Oriental and ancient traditions combine in a manner not dissimilar from the one we have found in the Latin fable and derived from the one we have been studying.

The Aragonese convert Jew, Petrus Alphunsus, baptized in around the year 1110, travelled to England and studied astronomy, but is known mainly for the work we are now discussing. He was well-known and imitated: there are French, Hebrew and various Castilian translations and the stamp of the stories and romances of the *Disciplina* is encountered most frequently in various collections:[64] in Jacques de Vitry, in the *fabliaux*, in the Conde Lucanor, even in Steinhöwel's Aesopic collection. We have already seen that this influence, possible *a priori* in the 12th century, does not seem to have been exercised in practice in the collections we have studied. It is due, perhaps, to the fact that the Latin sources of the fables studied of Indian or Oriental origin are prior to this date; in general terms they are from between the 9th and the 11th century.

The significant aspect, in my view, of the collection of Petrus Alphunsus is that he unites his fables or stories of Oriental origin with elements of the Graeco-Latin cultural tradition. For example, exemplum V (M. 199) "de homine et serpente" is derived from H. 62, IV (M. 297) "de mula et vulpe", is from H. 285 and XXII (M. 406) "de rustico et avicula" is undoubtedly in turn derived from H. 298 "The Man and the Cicada". Of course, we would need to investigate the path of access to these fables followed by Petrus Alphunsus, since the last two cited are in the Greek and Byzantine tradition, but not in the Latin. What is most likely is that, since they appear, among others places, in the Appendix of the Accursiana, so widespread in Europe on the date that concerns us, it was probably through the Medieval European tradition that Petrus Alphunsus had access to this fabulistic material.

Among the ancient elements that reached him, undoubtedly along the Medieval path, are others of anecdotal type that from the confluence of the fable with the Cynic movement tended to be associated with them. These are anecdotes attributed to Socrates (exemplum XXVIII = M. 438: it is a topical anecdote of Diogenes and Alexander), to Alexander (XXXIII = M. 13), allusions to Plato (XXV), etc. And, particularly, maxims and advice with the traditional Cynic themes, merged of course with the Christian tradition. The *Disciplina* continues, indeed, the tradition of the Medieval

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[64] Cf. A. González Palencia, *op. cit.*, pp. VII ff.; and, for the influence of the work, the *Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes*, by Chauvin, IX, Liège 1905, as well as the book by Bédier *cit.*, pp. 133 ff.

Latin fable, of Graeco-Latin origin. It includes new, Medieval elements, for example, the "Exemplum de oratore et lupo iudicioque vulpis" (XXIII), which is the famous Medieval fable "Vulpes et lupus in puteo" (M. 500), of Graeco-Latin origin and which I will consider; and various novelettes with a Medieval and Christian environment.

In short, the *Disciplina* continues the ancient and Medieval line of the fable in a direction that is familiar to us. Yet it introduces variants: the very scheme of the "frame" in which he sets his stories, and which in this case introduces a father who teaches his son, which is, as we know, customary in Mesopotamia, India and late Antiquity, reached him through the Arabic collections. And, in particular, fables entered that we do not know in the early European tradition and which, on the other hand, do appear in the Arabic tradition of Oriental origin: Petrus Alphunsus took them from there, as he himself says in his prologue. In the long run, what the imitations of Petrus Alphunsus starting from the 13th century did was add more Oriental material to that already known by the European tradition, introduced through the other road that I have discussed.

This Oriental material does not deserve to be dealt with here exhaustively, since it is well-known; the details may be seen in the works of Bédier, González Palencia and Fradejas, to which I have referred. There is, particularly, the material that comes from the *Sendebar*, such as the story "de gladio" (XI = M. 178 = *Sendebar* 5), and the "de canicula lacrimante" (XIII = M. 81 = *Sendebar* 10). From the *Panchatantra* (rather, from the prologue to the Pahlavi translation, the story of the physician Burzoe) comes the story "de latrone et radio lunae" (XXIV = M. 216); and story XXVII = M. 278 "de Maimundo servo" has elements related to stories of the *Hitopadeśa* and the *Calila*.[65] With this the list of Oriental elements in the *Disciplina* is not complete; the details require an investigation that is anything but easy.

Thus, conclusively, we could say that the Oriental tradition entered the Medieval Latin fable (leaving aside the elements which the latter inherited from Antiquity) in three phases: first, through the Greek versions; then, through Petrus Alphunsus; finally, through Castilian versions and various others from the 13th century. Petrus Alphunsus occupies the intermediate position, therefore; but I think that his

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[65] Cf. J. Fradejas, *Anónimo. Sendebar*, Madrid, Editora Nacional, 1981, p. 92.

influence arrived with a delay, beginning from the 13th century, whereas the Byzantine path was the first to leave its impact. Thus, in short, the two points of contact between East and West, Byzantium and Spain, made their mark temporarily: first it was the moment of Byzantium, then that of Spain, exercised first through Petrus Alphunsus, later by the Alphonsine translations and others. Of course the latter influence, which we do not study here (nor that of Petrus Alphunsus), was reinforced through a general diffusion of the Oriental fable.

IV. *The Passage from the Oriental Fable to the Byzantine Fable*

I have established various times during the course of this chapter that, once the thesis is accepted that Oriental fables reached the West, together with other Greek ones, through Greek, Byzantine versions, from the 9th to the 12th century, the next problem posed is that of from where these fables reached Byzantium. The solution that I propose is that it is in Syria, on the Byzantine-Arabic border along the Euphrates, where from more or less the middle of the 9th century to the middle of the 11th century, there existed the cultural environment and the favourable circumstances so that new Oriental narrative material entered Byzantium, that studied above and undoubtedly others besides. Here too, I think, certain Greek narrations that I will consider made their way towards Persia and India. With this, certainly, there continued a process that was begun, as I said, in Antiquity and which, on the other hand, continued later in the 5th and 6th centuries, in the Sasanian period, now precisely with the Syriac intermediary.

The role of the translations from Greek to Syriac and (later) from this to Arabic, was essential, I believe; from Pahlavi to Syriac and Arabic or to Arabic directly and from this to Syriac and, possibly, to Greek. Also Armenian and Ethiopian played an important part, as well, as has been said, as Arabic (and later Turkish). Yet Syriac, the continuer of Aramaic, played an important cultural part between the 4th and 14th centuries AD: it was spoken by populations permeated with Christian, Greek and Oriental culture, populations located in the border zone—in the periods indicated—between Byzantine and Sassanian (Arab later) empires and subject to the dominion sometimes of one, sometimes of the other. On the other hand, Syriac is a continuer of Aramaic, which from the 7th century

BC replaced Assyrian and Babylonian and was the official language of the Persian empire, from Egypt to India. In short, for long centuries Aramaic and Syriac (and to a lesser extent, Armenian) were in a position to put the Greek language in contact, on one hand, with the Indo-European languages of Persia and India, on the other; with Arabic, starting from the 7th century AD.

All this is well-known, although I must specify, as has been said, the circumstances from the 9th to the 11th centuries AD. Yet it is interesting to recall this here because I am going to give some specific examples of how, on this basis, there continued in the Middle Ages the exchange and synthesis of Greek and Oriental narrative forms that, as regards Antiquity, I have considered in Vol. I of this book and other works already cited. And how the fables that—as I believe I have demonstrated—crossed over in the Middle Ages from India to Byzantium and from here to Latin Europe (and sometimes to the Castilian Europe of the Archpriest), did so along exactly this path.

Perhaps it is preferable, before going on to deal with the cultural circumstances in question, to begin *in medias res* by means of specific examples.

Already in Antiquity, as I have studied elsewhere, the Greek *Life of Aesop*, of which I believe there was already a written text in the Hellenistic Age, was influenced by the Assyrian *Ahikar*, from which it even took a long fragment, the only one known literally in Greek. We have an Aramaean fragment of the *Ahikar* from the 5th century BC, found in Elephantine, in Egypt. This without mentioning ancient influences of the *Ahikar* in Greece (it was translated, we are told, by Democritus in the 5th century BC), on the ancient legend of Aesop, and in India (in the creation of the *Tantrākhyāyika*, the precursor to the *Panchatantra*). Or the continuous series of new versions: the Armenian (5th century AD), the Ethiopian, the Syriac, the Slav (derived from the lost Greek one).[66]

I will return later to the influence of the *Ahikar* on the genre that interests us, already at the height of the Middle Ages. Yet we will direct our attention first to the collection of Syriac fables preserved in various mss. starting from which it was translated into French by Sister Bruno Lefèvre; and which also produced versions in Arabic (the fables of Loqman), in Syriac with Hebrew characters and in Greek (the version of Andreapulos).

66 Cf. Vol. I, pp. 299 ff., 663 ff.

In Vol. I, pp. 132 ff., and in this same volume, Part III, Chap. 2, I have shown that the model is a Greek collection closely related to our Augustana; or rather, with a more archaic text than this. There are even a few fables, I believe from the ancient Greek tradition, that did not reach it, but were lost beforehand. Yet in the Syriac mss. of Sister Lefèvre there are a few other fables that are absent from Syntipas, not translated into Greek: they are fables that are sometimes Christian, sometimes Oriental, sometimes with a recent theme and structure. They represent an addition to the original collection, and are not from the ancient Greek tradition.

Among them there is one to which I have already drawn attention (Vol. I, p. 363, above, p. 566), a fable that is totally isolated in the Greek tradition. It is number 74 in Lefèvre's edition, "The Trap".[67]

It is all too clear that a branch of the Syriac tradition, the one disregarded by Andreopulos, added a few further fables to the main body. And that Andreopulos took them from a text that circulated translated into Syriac (not to mention Aramaic and Armenian): the *Ahikar*. On what date? It is thought that the translation from Greek to Syriac must have been made between the 9th and 11th centuries AD; we would have to place the new addition at the end of this period. These are precisely the dates to which we have wanted to dedicate our attention in this chapter.

I now leave aside another fable from the "addition" to the Syriac fables, no. XXXVIII "The Monkeys who Want to Build a Town", which I believe to be of Indian origin, and move on to indicate that once the possibility that a fable from the *Ahikar* crossed over into a collection of Greek origin is established, this could have occurred, of course, although the fable in question was not included in our Syriac fables that are preserved.

That is what I proposed above in the case of the fable of the *Ahikar* VIII 36 and of the *Compl. Der.* 124 (also Marie de France 81), the fable of the wolf that when reading always pronounced "lamb". I have already said that the theme is isolated in Latin literature and that in Greek there is a closely related one in the fable of the wolf that taught the hen to read in *Tetr.* II 28.

These examples show the interplay of the translations from Greek to Syriac and from this language back to Greek and the coexistence

[67] I cite the *Ahikar* from the ed. by R. H. Charles, Oxford 1965.

in Syriac literature of these fables of Greek origin with others of non-Greek origin, derived from the *Ahikar* in some cases, from the Indian tradition in others. As is already known, in about the year 570, shortly after Justinian's death and at the height of the Sasanian period, the Indian *Panchatantra* was translated into Syriac; the head-waters of the Euphrates around Edessa, a Syrian zone, was part of the Byzantine empire, but was closely related to the Sassanian one, where the *Panchatantra* had been translated into Pahlavi in about 550. For the Greeks, as for the Syrians, the fable, whatever its origin, formed a unit. So much so that when Andreopulus translated the Syriac fables (of Greek origin, as we already know) into Greek, he included in the same book a translation of his from the *Syntipas*, a fabulistic work of Indian, or rather, Persian inspiration, which I will discuss. And "Syntipas" was considered the author of the collection of Greek fables.

It is not at all strange, then, that in the environment of the Graeco-Syrian contact in the 5th and 6th centuries and, then, in the 9th, 10th and 11th, various fables may have crossed over from the collections of one origin to those of another. And the same occurred, of course, when the Arabic translation of the *Panchatantra* by al-Muqaffa (a translation, like the previous Syriac one, from Pahlavi), made in about 750, began to spread and produced Greek versions: one preserved in fragmentary form from about the year 1000 and later that of Simeon Seth, from 1080.[68] It also produced a modern Syriac one from the 11th century.

I have already said above that a fable from the "addition" or appendix of the mss. of Sister Lefèvre is possibly of Indian origin. The monkeys who want to build a town and are dissuaded by the advice of the old monkeys who lived in the inland desert, who say that the former will appear ridiculous, undoubtedly have to do with the theme in the *Tantrākhyāyika* I, p. 7, Hertel = *Panchatantra* I 1, p. 25, Ryder: the monkey who wants to imitate the carpenters and grabs an axe ends up with his testicles trapped in a tree.[69]

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[68] Cf. H. G. Beck, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Volksliteratur*, Munich 1971, p. 41. Simeon Seth lived in the East, probably in Antioch, and was familiar with the Syrian and Arabic cultures. Yet he probably brought only the first part of the work, without the prefaces, the rest was to be translated later, in the 13th and 14th centuries. Thus, L.-O. Sjöberg, in the introduction to his ed. (Stockholm 1962), reduced it to this first part.

[69] Cf. also *Panchatantra*, V, pp. 454–461, and *Tantrākhyāyika*, III 11, pp. 138–139;

Either through Syriac versions, or, later, Arabic ones, and in the case of the former, versions from various ages, the fables of the *Panchatantra* could have entered the Greek collections, in more or less modified form, and have crossed over from them to the Latin ones. I have already given all kinds of examples of these fables and I have discussed other more profound influences: Western narrations with a "frame" and with proper names for the animals.

Only now can we explain the presence of Indian elements in the Medieval European fable prior to the Alphonsine versions, which was considered to be an enigma. However, to say that the intermediary was Byzantium is not sufficient; we must say that the intermediary was in the period in which the Greek, the Syriac and the Arabic (also, in residual form, the Pahlavi and the Armenian) coexisted on the border of the Euphrates. The moment has arrived to say something about this, to be continued later.

Let us leave, as it is not our specific theme, the question of the relationships between Greeks, Sasanians and Indians during the end of the empire and the first Byzantine Age,[70] without neglecting to indicate the cultural contact testified to by the translation into Greek of the *Life of Mani*[71] and the diffusion of Manicheanism generally, as well as by the first translations into Syriac from Greek and Pahlavi: among the latter, that of the *Panchatantra* already cited.

What interests us in our current context is to indicate that, after the dark centuries that followed the great Arab avalanche, in which the direct contact between the Byzantine world and the core of Syriac culture had been lost, under Basil I and his continuers in the Macedonian dynasty, starting from the central years of the 9th century, there took place the second attempt, after that of Justinian, to restore the Roman empire, by expanding the Byzantine borders at the expense of Bulgars and Arabs. The Oriental boundary, which at the beginning of these dates ran more or less between Trabzon and Tarsus, was displaced until it reached the course of the Euphrates in Melitene and Samosata, and even went beyond it in Edessa. After

Panchatantra, I 21, pp. 157 158, as well as the theme of the country of the monkeys in Western versions in Hervieux, II, pp. 243, 507, 542, 549, etc. (to be added to the Latin fables of Indian origin listed above).

[70] Cf., among the other bibliography, N. Pigulewskaya, *Byzanz auf den Wegen nach Indien*, Berlin 1969.

[71] Now published for the first time, by A. Henrichs and L. Koenen, *ZPE* 19, 1975 and subsequent issues.

Basil I, Romanus Lecapenus, Nicephorus Phocas and Basil II were the main heroes of these conquests. However, it was sometimes peaceful penetration, and we may recall the agreements between Lecapenus and the Emir of Melitene. Only starting from 1071, with the defeat of Manzikert, did the new retreat begin.

During these centuries the contacts between Byzantium and the Caliphate of Baghdad were certainly warlike, but not only warlike. Both empires considered themselves as the true co-participants in the government of the world and exchanged magnificent embassies. There was a constant flow of refugees and renegades; the nomads crossed the borders and the Syrian and Armenian populations militated in one or the other army according to the circumstances.[72] The intimate relationship between the two populations can be seen well in the *Digenis Akritas*, in which, apart from Byzantines and Arabs, a major role is played by bandits, certainly of Syrian or Armenian origin. The sepulchre of Digenis—son of a Muslim emir of Syrian origin—was on show not far from Samosata; he was essentially an Akritas, a man of the border—of the border of the Euphrates. If the ideas of H. Grégoire are correct,[73] It is an Arabic epic poem that forms the core of the *Digenis*.[74]

During this time in Asia Minor there was a respect for the traditions and the religious worship of both, as well as for the different cultural traditions. Specifically, the translation continued of Greek texts into Syriac: among others, and to limit ourselves to those we are interested in here, we can talk of the *Life of Aesop*, the *Life of Secundus*, the *Life of Alexander* or the Pseudo-Callisthenes, the Greek fables to which I have referred above. Yet there were not only translations into Syriac. There were also exports of this Greek tradition to the East: I may recall[75] that we have a fragment of the *Life of Aesop* in Turkish, coming from Eastern Turkistan and accompanied by Manichean and Buddhist literature. And we will see later that

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[72] Cf. A. Rambaud, *L'empire grec au dixième siècle*, Paris 1870, reprinted, New York, s.a.), pp. 416 ff.; H. Ahrweiler, "La frontière et les frontières de Byzance en Orient", *Actes du XIVe Congrès International des Etudes byzantines I*, Bucharest 1974, pp. 207 ff.: and other works in the same volume.

[73] "L'époque romane", collected in *Autour de l'épopée byzantine*, London 1975.

[74] See further details on the historical basis of the poem in the introduction to the translation by Juan Valero, Barcelona 1981, and in the introduction of M. Castillo Didier, *Epopeya de Digenis Akritas*, Santiago de Chile 1995.

[75] Cf. Vol. I, p. 691, n. 13.

the Life of Alexander and the Greek fables exercised their influence on recent stages of the *Panchatantra*, undoubtedly through this path: it is a continuation of the ancient Greek influences at the origin of the *Panchatantra* (of the *Tantrākhyāyika*, to be more precise) and of the *Milinda-panha*. Yet is not only this: in the same field that concerns us and in its continuation on the Persian side first, and Arabic later, the Western literary influences made themselves felt in the entrance of ancient Greek fables into the Arab translation of the *Panchatantra* (the *Kalīlah wa-Dimnah*) and in the creation of the *Syntipas* or *Sendebar*.

I will leave this theme for the moment, however, to conclude that regarding the Oriental influences in Byzantium. I have already discussed the translation of the *Ahikar* into Syriac after the previous one into Aramaic, and also that of the Arabic *Kalīlah*, coming from the *Panchatantra* through Pahlavi, also into Syriac. It is comprehensible, after everything that has been stated, not only that materials from the *Ahikar* continued to enter the Greek collections, but also, particularly, that the new Indian materials entered the Greek fabulistic tradition and, through it, the Western tradition. The latter influence is much more extensive than had been thought until now.

We must place these influences in the direction of the West in a still broader context. I wish to refer to the *Barlaam and Josaphat*, which, as is commonly thought today, is a work by Saint John of Damascus, in this same environment but in the 8th century:[76] evidently, based on echoes of Indian Buddhist literature (the *Buddhacarita*, the *Lalitavistara*, etc.) which arrived along the path we already know, perhaps through versions in Pahlavi. In any event, already in the 10th century there was an Arabic translation and from here the work crossed over to Ethiopian and to Western languages. It seems, then, that, in spite of the decline of Byzantium, in the 7th and 8th centuries there was not a breakdown in cultural communication, although there was perhaps a provisional failure of the Syriac intermediary: from Baghdad Indian themes crossed over to Byzantine Syria. And in Baghdad, as I said, the *Panchatantra* (among other Indian works) was translated from Pahlavi into Arabic (then into Greek, Syriac, Castilian, etc.). See what I say below on the *Sendebar*, which, translated into Arabic and from here into Syriac and then into Greek

[76] Cf. H.-G. Beck, *op. cit.*, pp. 35 ff.

(by Andreopulus, 11th century, as has been said), followed the path we have already discussed: there are also Castilian, Hebrew translations, etc., of the Arabic version. Moreover, the Arabic version directly influenced the *Disciplina Clericalis*, by Peter Alfonsus, as I said above. As regards Greek, the intermediary was once again Syriac.

On the other hand, the existence of Syriac intermediaries is something tangible in the case of many translations of Greek philosophical, astronomical, medical texts, etc., into Arabic in the Damascus of the Umayyads and in the Baghdad of the Abbasids. We even know the names of some of these Syriac translators (cf. F. Klein Franke, *Die klassische Antike in der Tradition des Islam*, Darmstadt 1980, p. 89). It is clear that the case was no different for narrative literature and that the intermediary role of the Syriac translators comes from ancient times.

This, I believe, offers a proposal of a solution to the problem posed above. The zone of contact through which the influence of the Indian (and Mesopotamian) fable entered Greece, from where it extended to Latin Europe, was on the Asian borders of the Byzantine empire. The Syriac translations, particularly, were the intermediary, first in the 5th and 6th centuries, then in the 10th and 11th; in the interval Pahlavi or Arabic texts were created in Baghdad which in one way or another also found their path towards the Greek world and continued to find it later, sometimes through Syriac translations. This is an answer that, though not obvious, was nonetheless correct, once—in contrast to what we dared think—we found those Oriental influences in Europe starting from the 9th century.

V. *Greek Influences on the Oriental Fable and Narrative*

Just as in Volume I of this work I discussed, by way of an appendix, the influences of the Hellenistic fable in the East, I am going to say something here on the influence of the Greek fable of the Byzantine Age also in the East. It took place across that same frontier and in the same circumstances. I think that in this case too some new considerations can be offered.

Once again it is the continuation of an ancient story: the influences that Graeco-Latin culture exercised in Persia and the West, first directly, then through Parthians and Sasanians. In the Middle Ages we must distinguish between two phases: until the 8th century; and

from the 9th century onwards. Within the first I am going to restrict myself to two points: the origin of the *Sendebar*, and the introduction into the *Kalīlah wa-Dimnah*, the version of the *Panchatantra* by al-Muqaffa, of Greek fabulistic elements not in its source.

As regards the *Sendebar*, so-called from its hero (his Persian name; it is Sindban in Syriac, Syntipas in Greek, Cendubete in Castilian, Sindabar in Hebrew, Simbad in Arabic), for a long time we have all made the mistake of considering it, in short, a translation of an Indian *Siddhapati* converted from here into Pahlavi and Arabic. Undoubtedly, the name of the sage or philosopher that gives his name to the work was Indian originally and was dependant upon the Vidyapati of the *Panchatantra*.[77] Yet the work is not Indian; there are no Indian traces in it, although it follows the scheme of the frame. In this case it is the prince that is going to be killed by his father the king on account of the slanders of his stepmother, which gives rise to a tournament of stories in accusation and defence of women, put in the mouths of the seven sages of Greece and the stepmother (killed in the end by the king) respectively. However, I have already shown elsewhere[78] that this scheme is of Mesopotamian origin; we know it, particularly, through the *Ahikar*, and from here it entered both India and Greece.

B. E. Perry, that distinguished scholar in the field of the study of the fable, has presented a hypothesis[79] which I believe to be fully justified on the origin of the *Sendebar*: apart from the influence of the *Ahikar*, in the *Sendebar* we must fundamentally recognize one derived from the *Life of Secundus*, a Greek work from a Cynic environment from the 3rd century AD (so it would seem). There is agreement on the theme of the vow of silence that places in danger the lives of the protagonists (Secundus and the prince), on that of misogyny (Secundus makes that vow when he discovers that all women, including his mother, are prostitutes; the prince is slandered by his stepmother, who attempts to make the king kill him); and on that of the salvation of the hero thanks to his answers (or those of his

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[77] Cf. G. T. Artola, "Sindibad in Medieval Spanish", *Modern Language Notes* 71, 1966, pp. 37–42.

[78] Vol. I, pp. 665 ff.; "Elementos cínicos . . ."; "The Life of Aesop . . ."; "The Influence of Mesopotamia and Greece on the Panchatantra", *Dr. Shastri Felicitation Volume*, Delhi 1981.

[79] Cf. his article "The origin of the Book of Sindbad", *Fabula* 3, 1959, pp. 1–94.

advocates the seven sages in the case of the *Sendebar*). In the *Sendebar* other Greek elements agree, such the seven sages and the misogynous novelettes, characteristic of the Cynic school and which from here emigrated to the Indian and Greek fable and to the stories of the Renaissance.[80] I wish to add precise references to story 21 (the theme of the merchant who attempts to defraud his two companions, who had made a deposit together with him), which is in Valerius Maximus VII 2; to story 22 (the theme of "drinking the sea", in *Life of Aesop* 71 and Plutarch *Mor.* 151b); and to story 19 (the theme of the eagle and the serpent, which has been compared to a fable by Stesichorus in Aelian,[81] not-H. 56, and which also has to do with the enigma of the eagle solved by Aesop in the *Life of Aesop*).[82]

Of course, in the *Sendebar* there are also romances that we find in the *Panchatantra* and other Oriental sources. In the comments of the edition by J. Fradejas cited, reference can be found to various romances, the most well-known being that of the faithful mongoose. However, these are sometimes additions to the original *Panchatantra*, which may have reached it from Persia (and, in short, even from the West). The same applies, in my view, when the agreement is with the *Hitopadeśa*, as is the case of erotic romance 5 (the lovers, the wife and the husband).

Both type of sources were found, then, in Persia: this is our conclusion.

In short, and without going into detail, story by story: the Arab translation by Musa of the *Sendebar*, from the 9th century, depends on an ancient Pahlavi original, that is to say, the book originated in the Sassanian period (a direct passage from Pahlavi to Syriac has even been proposed; compare the table on p. 16 of Fradejas' ed., cit.). From here a Syriac translation was made, which was the translated by Andreopulos into Greek towards the end of the 11th century by a certain Gabriel, *dux* of Melitene on the Euphrates.

This is the environment of the transposition of the Oriental narrative into Greek, and vice versa. It is not always necessary to start from India: the two traditions were found in Baghdad and in Syria

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[80] Cf. "Elementos cínicos . . .", pp. 316 ff., also Vol. I, pp. 623 ff., etc. We may recall that the Castilian translation of the *Sendebar* is entitled *Libro de los engaños e los asayamientos de las mugeres*.

[81] In Page, *Poetae Melici Graeci*, Oxford 1967, p. 138.

[82] See *Anónimo. Sendebar*, ed. Fradejas, cit., pp. 13, 161, 170, 179.

and a new literature could have arisen. Among this new literature we must also include the *Thousand and One Nights*, with the same framed structure, the same theme of the threat of death[83] and a series of narrations coming from the cultural *koiné* we are discussing.

I cannot, of course, go into detail here, but I would like to begin the study of this in one specific case: that of the entry of Greek elements into the successive Medieval versions of the *Panchatantra*. They are Greek elements that continued the other ones that intervened in the birth of the work: they come from the Greek fable and romance tinged with Cynicism which, originating in Antiquity, continued to proliferate in the Middle Ages and were present in Syria and Baghdad through Syriac translations. Here I do believe I can present data and new theories and, at the same time, justify certain comparisons that until now were made in generalizing and hypothetical terms. The important aspect is this: that there are circumstances of time, space and culture that explain the presence of Greek elements in these new versions derived from the *Panchatantra*.

Firstly, in the Arab version by al-Muqaffa, from about 750, carried out by order of the second Abbasid Caliph, al-Mansur, and from which, as is known, the whole subsequent tradition outside of India derives. It is appropriate at this point, first and foremost, to recall some aspects of the situation of its Indian model (the antecedent of the Pahlavi version; today both are lost) within the tradition of the *Panchatantra*.

If we follow the stemma of R. Geib,[84] which slightly modifies the previous one by J. Hertel,[85] it is shown that the original Pahlavi (which we reconstruct through the Syriac and Arabic versions) was closely related to an Indian version of which there are fragmentary remnants in the *Bṛhathkatha*, as well as in Kṣemendra and Somadeva. This whole group is one of the two subdivisions of a branch K, the other being the one that produced the so-called *Panchatantra* of the South, the Nepalese version and the *Hitopadeśa*. The second branch, Ś, is that of the *Tantrākhyāyika* (although there are secondary contaminations between the two).

[83] An ancient theme, it is in the *Diálogo de Alejandro y los Gimnosofistas*, cf. "Elementos cínicos . . .", p. 322.

[84] *Zur Frage der Urfassung des Pañcatantra*, Wiesbaden 1969.

[85] *Das Pañcatantra. Seine Geschichte und seine Verbreitung*, Leipzig 1914. More far removed is that of F. Edgerton, *The Pañcatantra Reconstructed*, Vol. II, New Haven 1924 (2nd ed., New York 1967).

Stating things in this way, we would need to examine carefully all the fables added to the Indian version and see whether they possibly have a Greek origin. The programme is easy theoretically, but not so much so in practice, as we do not have a complete study of all the versions: the closest we come is with the table published by J. Hertel.[86]

A good point of departure for this study I am proposing, which here I can only sketch, is to pay attention to the initial elements added in the Pahlavi version and in those that succeeded it; specifically, that concerning the physician that our *Calila* calls Burzoe, who was the author of the Pahlavi version. In "The Story of the Physician Burzoe" we find, among other things:

a) A Greek fable, that of the dog deceived by the reflection in the water (H. 136) "E serie en esto atal commo el perro que paso por una puente sobre el rrio trayendo una costilla de carne, e vio la sombra della en el agua. E por tomarla dexo la que tenia en la boca, e non fallo nada" (Castilian text according to Keller and Linker, II 4, pp. 33 ff.). The Greek model is of my type Y, the same one that underlies the Pseudo-Dositheus, the Syriac fables and Babrius.

b) The well-known Indian allegory of the dangers of the world, not in the *Panchatantra*, which certainly crossed over to Medieval Latin literature, and therefore to Eudes of Cherrington 45 "Homo et unicornius", prior to our *Calila.*

c) Novelettes such as that of the thief and the moonbeam, which is re-encountered in the *Sendebar*, and that of the lover of the married woman who fell under power of her husband. They are of doubtful origin, in any event, they belong to the cultural *koiné* of the Sassanian world. I have already said that I estimate that, in general terms, the erotic romances of the Indian (and Persian) fable come from the Greek fables, which were cultivated considerably in the Cynic environment and often have an Asian setting: we need only recall the famous one of the widow of Ephesus, in the *Life of Aesop*, Phaedrus and the Accursiana (perhaps taken precisely from Asia

[86] "Das südliche Pañcatantra. Übersicht über den Inhalt der ältesten Pañcatantrarezensionen bis auf Pūrṇabhadra", *ZDKG* 58, 1904, pp. 24 ff. Tables such as that of J. E. Keller and R. W. Linker in their Castilian edition of the *Calila* (Madrid 1957, pp. XXV ff.) have the inconvenience of taking the Medieval Indian versions, which come after the Pahlavi version, as the term of comparison; I will discuss these later.

Minor in the 9th century, as was that of the lion, the wolf and the fox). I would also like to recall the obscene novelette in the Greek fables of Syntipas (no. 54) "The Old Woman and the Young Man", because it is clear that it belonged to the Syriac phase of the collection; and the story of Nectanebos in the pseudo-Callisthenes, which crossed over to the *Panchatantra* at a later date, see below.

That is to say, in the Sassanian environment the translator of the Indian *Panchatantra* found a conglomerate of Indian and Greek elements. The Greek fable and romance continued their penetration into the East, which had begun long before.

Also in the last part of the *Calila* (and of its Syriac and Greek versions) are fables and stories that were evidently added by the translator into Pahlavi. One of them at least, that of the archer who killed the cubs of the lioness, clearly has a Greek component: the fable of the bull, the lioness and the boar, only found in the Syriac tradition (Syntipas 11, Sister Lefèvre's collection 11 and 13). In the *Calila* XII, pp. 302 ff., the archer kills the cubs of the lioness and when she complains, he replies that she in turn has killed the young of other beasts; in the Graeco-Syriac fable the allocation of roles is different, as the mother of the dead lion by the bull complains and it is the boar that gives the moral. The theme is substantially identical; but I believe that the *Calila* has contaminated with a second Greek fable, which is reconstructed starting from that of the lion and the archer in the Appendix of the Accursiana (H. 281) and from a Medieval Latin fable.[87] Whether this is in turn the model of the fable on an Egyptian papyrus to which I referred above, Vol. I, p. 711, as I proposed there, or, as I now think, underlying the Greek fable is the same Egyptian model, in any event both fables coexisted in Mesopotamia and produced that of the *Calila*.

In the Appendix of the *Calila* cited, there are other fables of possible Greek origin and there are also some, of course, of Indian origin. Among these I believe we must mention that of the lion and the jackal (wolf) as a monk, which I think derives from the Indian fables of the ascetic cat, which foreshadows the theme, later very widespread in Europe, of the wolf as false and hypocritical monk; this theme was added, for example, as we have seen above, to those of the wolf reading, of Mesopotamian origin, and of the wolf that

[87] "Homuncio, leo et filius eius" (from the *fabulae extravagantes* of Steinhöwel = 706 Perry). For this reconstruction, cf. above, p. 597.

captured the calf and was then killed by the cunning of the fox (Graeco-Indian theme). In Byzantium there are some, though limited, traces of this motif.

Of course, in the body of the *Calila*, where it offers fables absent from the rest of the Indian tradition, further fables of Greek origin and others of Oriental or undecided origin can be traced. Among the Indian ones, it is appropriate to mention that of the grateful animals and the ungrateful man (I 11), see below; and that of the jackal that ate the elephant (IV 10), certainly derived from "The Ass without Ears or Heart" (IV 3). However, I have already observe that it is occasionally difficult to affirm the absence of such fables in all the Indian collections. Some erotic narrations, in particular, could be interpreted as Greek.

Starting from here, we must move on to a different theme: that of the entrance of Greek material into the Medieval Indian versions, the so-called *textus simplicior*, which is placed between 900 and 1199 AD, and the *textus ornatior* of Pūrṇabhadra, from the latter date. Although there are certain discrepancies regarding the placement of the two collection in the *stemma* of the *Panchatantra*, in any event it is clear that the two are very related, the second has elements of the first (from the K branch) and of Ś (that of the *Tantrākhyāyika*).

It is no less clear that new fables and stories appear for the first time in the two collections. It is a question of investigating their origin and, particularly, of seeing whether any part of this material is of Greek origin. In this case, since the Greek direct influence on India decreased considerably from an early date, that of the origin of the *Panchatantra* itself, we must take account of indirect influence, that of the Greek narrative works that circulated in Syriac, Armenian, Arabic, Persian versions etc. I have already said that the *Life of Aesop* was even translated into Turkish: it is not at all strange that other very widespread Greek works, such as the *Life of Alexander*, could have been imitated here; and in my view the same applies to fables, which were around everywhere in the Arab version of Loqman.

Here we find ourselves once again with the problem of the diffusion of the different stories within the versions of the *Panchatantra*; on the other hand, neither do I wish to make an exhaustive study. Yet I am going to make some proposals.

Firstly, it is very logical to think that part of the material that only enters these Medieval versions or one of them is Indian. Thus, for example, III 17, the fable of the Brahman who pretended to be blind, or V 12, the fable of the princess who had three breasts. It

may also have happened that an Indian fable entered both the *Kalīlah* and derivatives such as those studied here, certainly starting from the former: this is the case, I suppose, of the fable of the grateful animals and the ungrateful man in I 11, a fable that certainly soon crossed over to the West (we have already seen that it is in the *Speculum Stultorum* 1804–1912).

Yet let us return to the Greek, or possibly Greek, fables. Here I give a list (incomplete) of these, with a schematic study (sometimes simply an indication of the possibility), leaving that of the weaver in love with the princess, the most interesting, for the end. I follow the order of the *Panchatantra*, citing from Ryder's translation.

I 20 "The Sparrow and the Elephant". The theme of the elephant that goes mad when stung by a mosquito is found in H. 292 "The Lion, Prometheus and the Elephant", a fable from the Appendix of the Accursiana that we already know. Various of them are fables of Oriental origin or fables that influenced the Oriental fable; it is perhaps a collection that was formed in Asia Minor.

I 23 "The Sage whose Soul Left his Body". Criticism of a false magician or shaman, whose trickery is uncovered; it recalls the Cynic criticism of magic in various fables and in the *Life of Alexander.*

II 1 "The Bharunda Bird, with Two Heads". Evidently a derivation of fable H. 132 "The Stomach and the Feet", which has many other different versions, including one in Syntipas 35. It is certainly of Egyptian origin (cf. Vol. I, p. 329), but it produced a sizeable descent in Greece and Rome.

II 5 "The Merchant's Son who Married the Princess". Erotic story with a happy end, probably Graeco-Latin; cf., for example, Phaedrus, *App.* 16 "Duo proci".

II 7 "The Jackal that Hoped to Eat the Bull's Testicles". The moral is the same as that of fables such as H. 153 "The Lion and the Hare".

II 8 "The Mice that Freed the Elephants". These mice that free a larger animal from the net almost undoubtedly come from those that free the lion in the same circumstances in H. 155. The theme of gratefulness, which is original, has disappeared.

III 6 "The Snake that Bit the Monk's Son". This is one of the clearest examples: above, pp. 107 ff., I have established the *stemma* of this fable (H. 51), which, starting from a Greek original, produced versions in the *Panchatantra*, Phaedrus, the Syriac collection and the Anonymous Fables.

III 15 "The Talking Cave". This depends on the essential motif of H. 147, although the fox does not move away from the lion's cave lion on account of the footprints that go in and do not come out, but on account of the echo of the roar with which the lion answers his greeting. The theme of tracks is found elsewhere in the *Panchatantra* (V 7).

IV 2 "The Frog, the Snake and the Well". Certainly derived from the Greek fable of the frog and the mouse (with final intervention by the snake) in H. 302 (in the Appendix of the Accursiana).

IV 5 "The Jackal that did not Kill Elephants". Practically identical to H. 276 (although the Greek wolf reveals his nature by eating the lambs, the Indian jackal by fleeing). Note that this is also from the Appendix of the Accursiana.

IV 7 "The Queen who Saddled and Mounted her Husband". This is undoubtedly derived from the story of Aristotle ridden by Candace.

IV 8 "The Ass in a Tigerskin". There may be an influence of the story of the blue jackal, common to various versions of the *Panchatantra*, but it seems clear to me that there is an influence of the story of the ass and the lionskin in H. 199. On the other hand, I believe I can recognize a derivation of this Indian fable in the "Canis, lupus et aries" in the *fabulae extravagantes* of Steinhöwel (= 705 Perry). (Cf. above, p. 599).

IV 9 "The Farmer's Wife who Deceived him". This brings together elements taken from H. 136 ("The Dog that Carried a Piece of Meat", see above) with a misogynous novelette.

IV 12 "The Wandering Dog". A clearly Cynic theme, that where there is sustenance, there is the homeland and that known servitude is better than dangerous freedom (cf., for example, Phaedrus, *App.* 20).

V 9 "The Ass that Sang". This seems to derive from a motif from H. 199, already cited: now the ass is a true musician, a theme that entered the version by our Archpriest of the fable of the ass without ears or heart (893 ff.).

As will be seen, the certainty is greater in some cases than in others; but there seems to be no doubt concerning the arrival of Greek material in India, through the Arabs, let us say in the 10th and 11th centuries AD; the Byzantine-Arabic border was crossed in both directions by cultural currents.

I would like to close this study with the most significant example we have of the influence of a Greek story on the recent fables of the *Panchatantra.* I am referring to the presence in this (I 10), but only, I repeat, in the Medieval versions, of the story of the weaver in love with the princess, whom he won over disguised as Vishnu. It is a story derived from the *Life of Alexander* by the Pseudo-Callisthenes in its initial passage: the story of how the Egyptian king Nectanebos (a magician at the same time) possessed queen Olympias, the wife of Philip, disguised as the god Ammon, thus begetting Alexander. It is, according to Benfey,[88] "the most beautiful story of the whole *Panchatantra*". It is possible that this is so; but it was originally a Greek story, although it gained a great deal in the Indian text.

I will briefly summarize the subject. The weaver is in love with the princess and is showing signs of real illness, so his friend the carpenter offers an ingenious recourse to satisfy his love. He manufactures a mechanical bird that imitates Garuda, the divine bird of Vishnu; mounted on the bird, dressed as and with the symbols of the god, the weaver reaches the balcony where the princess sleeps. On seeing the supposed god, the princess consents to celebrate a wedding with the ritual customary in the heavens and night after night she goes to bed with her lover. Alerted by his servants, the king speaks with the queen and she with her daughter, who reveals her divine wedding to her mother. The king is exultant when he sees the false Vishnu with his own eyes and is convinced of the truthfulness of his story. Filled with arrogance over his new relationship, he refuses to pay the annual tribute to a more powerful neighbouring king. And when his fortune in the war with this king

[88] T. Benfey, *Panchatantra*, Leipzig 1859, photographic republication by Olms, Hildesheim 1966, p. 159.

is at its lowest point, through his daughter, he asks for the help of the supposed Vishnu, his son-in-law. The weaver is filled with anguish and does not know what to do. However, the true Garuda tells the true Vishnu what is happening. And he informs him of the danger that, if a king whose son-in-law is believed to be Vishnu is defeated, from now on atheists will destroy his temples, pilgrims will not come to worship him. In short, Vishnu inspires the weaver and he, dressed as Vishnu, enters the battle, kills the enemy king and delivers his kingdom to the king, the father of the princess, from then on living with her in the lap of luxury.

The romance, with its happy ending, is modelled on the theme of the story of the poor man who succeeds, thanks to his ingenuity and worth, in marrying the princess. At the same time, it contains an ironic view of the gods, who are worried about maintaining their worship and are susceptible to blackmail. And it inverts the traditional theme of the god who makes love to a terrestrial woman (the myths of Shiva, Krishna and many others), often taking an animal or a human form; now it is the man that achieves his amorous purpose disguised as a god—and succeeds, with the help of the circumstances, in making the god his accomplice.

Leaving aside the opinions of Benfey on the Buddhist origin of this romance and of the whole *Panchatantra*, opinions that are outmoded today, I must say that it was O. Weinreich who, after making a very interesting survey of the Western derivations of the story of Nectanebos, indicated—though without major clarifications—that the Indian story of the weaver and Vishnu is derived from it.[89] I believe that the derivation is clear, although it is possible that other motifs converged in the Indian version, such as the already mentioned happy ending and the general environment of the story; and also the theme of the mechanical Garuda, which perhaps comes from the well-known collection *Vetālapanchaviṁśatika.*[90]

What I am interested in adding here is the fact that the novelette we are considering is in the line of other Greek elements that

[89] Cf. O. Weinreich, *Der Trug des Nektanebos. Wandlungen eines Novellenstoffes*, Leipzig and Berlin 1911, Chap. VI.

[90] The theme met with great literary success among the Arabs and in the West. Benfey thought that the whole story came from the version cited through its Tibetan translation in the *Siddikur*. However, in these versions the mechanical Garuda is used to recover the person's own wife; the theme of the *Panchatantra* is closely related to that of the Pseudo-Callisthenes.

entered the *Panchatantra* from its very beginnings: erotic elements and others with various characteristics proper to the fable with Cynic tendencies.[91] I have written on the Cynic elements of the Pseudo-Callisthenes in a work cited above.[92] In our narration, specifically, we find: the inversion of the theme of hierogamy, with an insult to Philip and Alexander, the victims of many anecdotes and attacks from the Cynics, the criticism of magic and mockery of the "so-called gods", the bedroom scenes, the theme of the deceived husband and the lewd impostor, the death of Nectanebos, who through looking at the stars falls into a hole (although pushed by Alexander), a theme derived from a well-known passage of Plato's *Theaetetus*[93] concerning Thales of Miletus, which produced a fable, "The Astrologer", which is in the collections of Cynic origin.[94] On the presence of all these themes in literature with Cynic tendencies, see Vol. I, pp. 604 ff.

This, I believe, is the basis of the story of Nectanebos, not the revenge of the Egyptians against the Greeks, as R. Merkelbach would have it.[95] It is a Cynic version of the official genealogy of Alexander, son of Ammon, which caused so much irritation to the Greeks; whether themes of Egyptian mystic worship entered at the same time, as Weinreich believes, I leave it to others to judge. The essential point, I believe, is that Alexander became the *bête-noire* of the Cynics, who saw him as the man hungry for power and ridiculed him in a thousand ways. The significant point is that, in the long run, the theme became a *Leit-motiv* of erotic novelettes, charged with a certain amount of criticism and religious irony (we may recall the story in the *Decameron* III 1 by Boccaccio about the devout woman seduced by the friar who pretended to be the Archangel Gabriel, among others).

All these elements are more or less gathered together in the Indian romance, with the elimination of some of them and the introduction of the humorous tone. "King" Nectanebos is broken down into the king, father of the princess, who depends on the lover of his daughter to reconquer the kingdom, and the seductive weaver. On

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91 Cf. Vol. I, pp. 355 ff.
92 "Elementos cínicos . . .".
93 *Theaetetus* 174a.
94 It is number H. 40. Also in Diogenes Laertius I 34 and in Antipater in *Anthologia Palatina* VII 172.5 ff.
95 *Die Quellen des griechischen Alexanderromans*, Munich 1954, pp. 57 ff.

the other hand, the theme of Vishnu brings with it that of Garuda and this brings that of the mechanical bird (perhaps already in other sources) manufactured by the carpenter. Yet the essential elements agree: the man who passes himself off as a god, by disguising himself, and thus achieves his amorous objective. There are also other agreements: Nectanebus flees from the enemies who conquer his kingdom and an oracle reveals that he will return and reconquer this kingdom, evidently, in the form of his son Alexander. Philip believes that Olympias has had carnal dealings with a human, and Nectanebos, with his magic and his transformations (into a snake and an eagle), succeeds in convincing him that his wife's lover was a god.

All we are now lacking, once again, is discussion of the path of access of the Pseudo-Callisthenes to India, although we have mentioned this before. This is confirmed with the existence of various Greek, ancient and Byzantine versions, and of translations into Armenian, Syriac, Persian, Arabic, Turkish, Ethiopian, Coptic and Hebrew, apart from Latin. The work was imitated by Firdusi in the Persia of the 10th century and its influence reached Java and the Celebes.[96]

The Pseudo-Callisthenes belongs, as does the fable, to the type of literature that became eminently popular in the East and the West from the Hellenistic Age, and whose validity continued until the end of the Middle Ages. Its roots, as I have indicated elsewhere, lie in the mixture of Oriental elements and Greek elements with Cynic tendencies. In its Greek expression, this type of literature found an especially favourable welcome in the East in the marginal and outlying cultures: in India, in the world less subject to the Brahmanic influence. Among others, in that of Jainism, to which the Medieval versions of the *Panchatantra*[97] are attributed. In this context, our story, without losing any of its essential elements, abandoned its bitter profiles and took on a humorous tinge as regards Vishnu, the great god of the Brahmanic religion.

Thus we close, in this schematic study, the cycle of the influences of the East on Byzantium and of Byzantium on the East, through

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[96] See W. Schmid – S. Stählin, *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur*, Munich 1924, II, 2, p. 816; and F. P. Magoun, Jr., *The Gests of King Alexander of Macedon*, Cambridge, Mass. 1929, pp. 22–62.

[97] Cf. Edgerton, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 27 ff.

the zone of contact on the Byzantine side of the frontier of the Euphrates and on the Arab side, in Damascus and Baghdad. After the contacts of the Hellenistic and Roman Ages and those of the period of the 5th and 6th centuries, the arrival of the Arabs did not change anything in the panorama, if anything, it strengthened it: in the 7th and 8th centuries, and especially from the 9th to the 11th centuries, there existed a constant interchange of influences in the field of narrative prose—the fable and the romance—as well as in others. And all these currents extended from Byzantium to far-off Western Europe, the Iberian Peninsula included. The relative isolation that is usually believed to have existed until the mid-13th century is a myth.

Supplement to Part Three, Chapter Seven

For the arrival of the Greek fable, sometimes of Oriental origin, in Latin Europe, see:

F. R. ADRADOS, "The Earliest Influences of the Indian Fable on Medieval Latin Writing", *Classica et Medievalia* 35, 1984, pp. 243–263;
also, previously, "Siria, cruce de caminos..." cit., 1983;
and subsequently, "Aportaciones al estudio de las fuentes de las fábulas del Arcipreste", *Philologica Hispaniensia in honorem Manuel Alvar*, III, Madrid 1986, pp. 459–473;
"Documentación suplementaria...", 1990 (on the *Thousand and One Nights* [cf. F. Bömer, "Die Witwe von Ephesus. Petron. 111,1ff. und die 877. in Tausend-undeiner Nacht", *Gymnasium* 93, 1986, pp. 138–140] and rabbinical literature);
"Literatura sapiencial...", 1993 (on Petrus Alphunsus and the *Haggadah*).
Against this thesis, cf. F. P. KNAPP, "Von der antiken Fabel zum lateinischen Tierepos des Mittelalters", in F. R. ADRADOS 1984, pp. 253–300, together with my replies.
See also my "La fábula en Bizancio entre Grecia, el Oriente y el Occidente", *SIFC* 11, 1993, pp. 196–204.

For Petrus Alphunsus, see Maria Jesús LACARRA (ed.), *Estudios sobre Pedro Alfonso de Huesca*, Huesca 1996.

On the *Ecbasis*, see:

L. GOMPF, "Die 'Ecbasis cuiusdam captivi' und ihr Publikum", *Fabula* 8, 1966, pp. 30–42.

We must add the bibliography relating to the *Calila* and other versions of the Indian fable, cf. the bibliography given on the *Sendebar* and on the Medieval tale generally in the next chapter. Also:

C. I. PAWATE, *The Panchatantra and Aesop's Fables. A Study in Genre*, diss. Delhi 1986, and my *El cuento erótico*..., cit., pp. 46 ff.

On Mani, see the new edition by L. Koenen and C. Römer, Opladen 1988.

On the translation of Byzantine Works in Spain and the West, cf. my "Nuevos textos sapienciales griegos en obras árabe-castellanas", *Emerita* 57, 1999, pp. 195–217. I am writing a book on this subject.

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE REMAINING MEDIEVAL GREEK AND LATIN TRADITION

I. *General Remarks*

This last chapter will be devoted fundamentally to supplementing our previous studies on the Medieval Latin tradition, those carried out on the "Romulus" in a broad sense and on the Medieval Latin fable of Oriental origin. We have left for study, then, the fables of non-Oriental origin (Latin or Greek, with one or two exceptions) after "Romulus", including those derived from this.

The Medieval Greek fable has already been studied in its essential terms. I have in fact discussed the Medieval derivations of the AnF. (the Vindobonensis and the Accursiana), as well as the Syriac fables, those of the Codex Brancaccianus, the Paraphrases and Dodecasyllables, the fables of Ignatius the Deacon and his imitators. They are, in short, with few exceptions, continuations of the two fundamental ancient traditions, the "anonymous" and the "Babrian", although they sometimes transmit very ancient phases of these, including fables that disappeared from the collections of Antiquity that have reached us. The few exceptions refer to derived or new fables that we may consider as properly Byzantine and to Oriental fables.

In any event, also in this field of the Greek fable I must add some points here; I must again draw attention to the original Byzantine elements, to the indirect tradition of the fable in Byzantium and to the existence in Byzantium of fables later transmitted to the West (we have already discussed this). Also, I must make reference to the contrary current, the one that, starting from the 13th century, takes derivations of the Western fable to Byzantium. Apart from the fact that it is appropriate at this point to make an evaluation of the Byzantine fable as a whole.

As regards the Medieval Latin fable, the exposition of this chapter is conditioned by what has been stated in the two mentioned, which will of course constitute the point of departure. They have already illustrated to us, in fact, the very core of the Medieval Latin

fable: "Romulus" (although we must add Avianus, studied in another chapter). And they have already stated important aspects of the major innovation of the Medieval Latin fable, that is, the animal epic poem, and on a second path which, in addition to the one coming from Latin Antiquity, had an effect on the Western European Middle Ages: the new influence of the Greek fable starting from the 9th century; this influence involved the transmission to Europe of fables of the ancient tradition and also, though less frequently, of Oriental fables.

Stating things in these terms, it is clear that there still remain many problems to be resolved. Yet there are some firm points of departure.

In the beginning there existed a strong isolation between the Western realms that were heirs to the Western Roman Empire and the Eastern Roman Empire, that is, Byzantium. The Medieval Latin fable flourished, of course, in the former (although, conclusively, the Latin fable is fundamentally of Greek origin). And I have already stated that the tradition of Phaedrus is very poor in the West and that of Avianus very rich; furthermore, we know that the latter author was customary reading matter in schools.[1] As a result, from Avianus there came about an abundant Medieval literature of prosaic paraphrases and new versified versions, although we must investigate to what extent (rather limited) they innovated or added other elements; whereas Phaedrus is known, in general terms, through "Romulus" and an abundant literature descending from him (which, in turn, must be investigated in parallel to that indicated for Avianus).

Yet things are not resolved so quickly. Our "Romulus", as Thiele has published it, is no more than an aggregate of more or less related elements. First the "Aesopus ad Rufum", then "Romulus", the ms. Ad (or, rather, its model) and even the W (the same observation) have added various ancient elements. Particularly different paraphrases of Phaedrus (some already considerably altered), but also other Latin paraphrases derived from various Hellenistic fables (even ones lost outside of here) and some original fables, although on the basis of ancient fables, which entered Ad. We cannot fix the precise date of "Romulus" nor of the archetypes of Ad and W (the *terminus ante quem* must be established in the 10th century AD). However,

[1] Cf. Max Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, I, Munich 1911, p. 574.

it is clear that in the Western High Middle Ages, even in the Carolingian period, there subsisted various paraphrases of Phaedrus, including one very faithful one, the so-called "Phaedrus solutus", which was used particularly by Ad; and there subsisted various other collections of ancient origin. These collections sometimes included fables that had been significantly altered, sometimes wholly new ones. This panorama is not very different from that of the late Roman Antiquity in which, as we have seen in our chapters on the Pseudo-Dositheus and Avianus, there proliferated various Latin paraphrases; nor is it different, of course, from the panorama of the late Greek Antiquity and from that of Byzantium.

Although in the West Phaedrus as such barely circulated (in any event, we would need to see whether derivatives of him remain), until the 9th century there were at least collections of ancient origin that were perhaps known by other authors in addition to "Romulus" and the archetypes of Ad and W. Conversely, although "Romulus" is the basis of most of the Medieval collections of fables, we must investigate whether this could be said of the whole "Romulus" published by Thiele or only of some parts of it.

In other words, clearly we must study the collections derived from Avianus and from "Romulus", but equally clearly we must see whether all Avianus and all "Romulus" had an influence or only a part of them. And, particularly, we must study the elements external to these two principal lines. Despite everything, did they come from Latin Antiquity? Or from Greece through Byzantium, as I have proposed in some cases? Or are we dealing with Western folkloric elements, as has also been proposed? Or simply new creations from whatever basis? Of course, the answers will vary from fable to fable and from collection to collection.

All this must be investigated, on the other hand, not only in the collections of fables, but also in the exemplum-fables by various authors and in the animal epic. Of course, the authors who use exemplum-fables and those of the animal epic rely on collections (sometimes on lost collections or ancient phases of ours), but they also influenced the collections starting from a given moment. The panorama is complicated.

To everything that has been stated we must add that the materials we have available here are less complete than the corresponding Greek ones. For the collections we rely fundamentally on the great

work by Hervieux, whose efforts were extremely praiseworthy; but it is already ninety years old and is incomplete. Perry was able to add some new materials. For the exemplum-fable many more could be added; here I use some coming from an article by Schaller cited on repeated occasions (for the Carolingian period) and from the *Historia* of Medieval literature by Manitius. My impression is, in any event, that this material could be expanded much more. I draw attention to the fable M. 485 "Vitis et oliva" coming from a codex in the Library of the Academy of History in Madrid[2] and completely new. We must add, of course, the animal epics, which have been published a great deal, although in editions that are sometimes antiquated.

Another problem is that of the limits of our study. I refer the reader to what was stated at the beginning of the previous chapter. For the reasons given there, in general terms I stop in the middle of the 13th century and in the Latin texts. Yet, also for the reasons given, I do make some exceptions, for example, for Eudes of Cherrington (12th–13th), the *fabulae extravagantes* of Steinhöwel, Marie de France, the Hebrew collection by Rabbi Berecchiah, the *Roman de Renart* (in its French version) and the Archpriest of Hita. I do not doubt that an in-depth investigation of the fabulistic literature of the 13th and 14th centuries would provide many more elements of the Medieval Latin tradition.

I wish to add, finally, that the study of the *stemmatic* system of this whole tradition is generally still to be done, although indications are found here and there; and that the "lost links" (or unknown ones) are very numerous. One can expect no more from this book, then, than an initial approach to the theme. An approach, on the other hand, that I hope will offer considerable clarification. It must be taken into account that even the ordering of materials (in Appendix III) is difficult, since the same fable can be found with many different titles. And genealogical lists such as those that are given in the edition of the *Ysengrimus* by Voigt[3] or in the book by Knapp are often simply wrong. In general terms, what has been done is a discontinuous and asystematic work, within a limited knowledge of the history of the fabulistic tradition in general. The previous chapter was already able to illustrate this fact.

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[2] My attention was drawn to this by Manuel C. Díaz y Díaz.

[3] Halle 1884, republished Tübingen 1974.

II. *The Medieval Tradition Derived from Avianus*

1. *Collections Derived from Avianus*

I will begin with the simpler case, that of Avianus, recalling his popularity in Medieval times, when he was used in teaching. This can be seen, among other things, because he appears in the manuscripts alongside the *Dicta Catonis* and other school texts. This popularity is also reflected, as I have also stated earlier, in the abundance of his manuscript tradition: A. Guaglianone, in his edition,[4] indicates 104 codices, 14 of which he chooses as the best, all prior to the 13th century. And it is reflected in the frequent quoting of our poet (although sometimes spelt as Avienus, Anianus and Avianius) starting from the 9th century.[5]

And it is reflected, of course, in the various imitations of his fables. I am going to study them in two successive phases: first, discussing the collections derived from Avianus; second, looking for imitations in isolated fables, in the animal epic or in collections fundamentally of another origin.

Regarding the collections of fables derived from Avianus, we must rely on Vol. III of *Les fabulistes latins* by Hervieux, a work that, in spite of its age (the original edition is from 1894), has not been surpassed. Of course, I will restrict myself to a short summary, which will, however, complete the discussion of some points.

Hervieux initially publishes those which he calls *Anonymi Avianicae Fabulae* (study on pp. 160–171, edition on 319–352). In fact, what he does is publish together more or less long collections of six mss., only partly agreeing, in which they generally follow, and sometimes precede fables from the so-called *Derivative of the Anglo-Latin Romulus.* They are all mss. from the 14th and 15th centuries, for whose writers the fables of both traditions formed a cohesive whole. A far from easy problem would be that of determining the date of these prosaic paraphrases of Avianus, completed using moral distichs (as in the case of the Codex Brancaccianus and with approximate antecedents

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[4] *Le favole di Aviano*, Naples 1958.

[5] M. Manitius, "Handschriften antiker Autoren in mittelalterlichen Bibliothekskatalogen", in *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, Beiheft 67, 1935, indicates 84 quotations. For this whole question of the popularity of Avianus in the Middle Ages, see the introduction to the ed. by F. Gaide already cited.

in Antiquity; cf. the fable of the murderer (H. 32) in the Grenfell-Hunt Papyrus II 84).

It is likely that in the case of this collection or group of collections we move in a chronological sphere that goes beyond the one we have proposed, although I have already said that Avianus was copied and imitated from the 9th century. In any event, it is appropriate at this point to make a few further points.

The first, that this collection (group of collections) is missing a few of Avianus' fables: 24 "The Hunter and the Lion", 27 "The Crow and the Urn", 28 "The Rustic and the Calf" and 34 "The Cicada and the Ant". This is not at all strange, as I have already said that we are dealing with a series of collections, partly agreeing, which did not aspire to prosify the whole of Avianus. Conversely, they also added some new fables, not by Avianus, which demonstrates the continuity of procedures that we have seen, dating from Antiquity.

Specifically, 18 = M. 263 is the fable of the wolf and the image (in Antiquity the fox and the bust), taken from Walter the Englishman 18; and from the same source (59) comes 41 = M. 209, the new fable of the unjust death of the Jew revealed by the partridges. Yet this is not the only source used. Fable 17 = M. 257 is that of the wolf as a monk, a variant of which is found in the Parables of Eudes of Cerington (13): except that here it is the fox that does not believe that the wolf is going to modify his behaviour on account of his new habit (in the other fable it is the facts that demonstrate this). 42 = M. 272 is also closely related to Eudes (81): the wolf listens to the confessions of the dog (in Eudes and in a Byzantine fable that I will study, that of the fox) and the ass, declaring the maximum guilt of the latter and killing him.

Thus, the fables of Avianus were combined with fables of various origins, some precisely Medieval: either by Walter the Englishman or from a source close to Eudes. However, surprisingly, some fables known only by the text that we are now studying were also added. I am referring to 20 = M. 6, the anecdote of the rustics who mistreat the lawyer who oppressed them since they realize that he has been discharged by the master; to 43 = M. 412, the humorous anecdote of the woman who cried when a priest sang horribly, because he reminded her of her ass when the wolf devoured it; and to 44 = M. 294, the anecdote of the singer from Monte Casino who disappeared and to whose homosexuality allusions are made.

A second prosaic paraphrase of Avianus is that of those Hervieux calls *Apologi Aviani* (cf. pp. 172–180, and the edition on pp. 363–370), preserved on two mss. of the 14th century, which Hervieux believes of French origin. The author follows the collection of fables of Avianus in the same order; he finishes them with one or various distichs and occasionally preserves part of the original fable.

We are more interested by the collections of the new versifiers of Avianus, generally in leonine distichs, that is to say, with rhyme between the two hemistichs of each verse. I will quickly review these:

a) The *Cuiusdem Astiensis poetae novus Avianus* (cf. pp. 181–206 and the edition on pp. 371–411). The only thing we know about the author, because he says this, is that he was born in Asti, in Piedmont; he probably belongs to the 12th century and expands the length of the fables considerably, thanks to erudite prefaces in which he invokes the Muses and various ancient gods. The collection contains the 42 original fables, but classified in three groups according to the moral intention, in the interpretation of the author.

b) The *Novus Avianus* of two mss. from Vienna and Munich (cf. pages 207–221 and the edition on 430–451). Another versification of the complete Avianus, following his order; probably from the end of the 12th century or beginning of the 13th, and an imitation of the Avianus of the poet of Asti.

c) The *Novus Avianus* by Alexander Neckam (cf. pp. 222–234 and the edition on 462–467). Here we have a signed work, from the end of the 12th century. The significant aspect is that the same author wrote a *Novus Aesopus,* also in elegiac distichs, which depends on the ordinary Romulus: further proof that the fabulistic tradition was considered as a whole. The *Novus Avianus* is only a sample: it includes only eight fables, corresponding to the first six by Avianus, since the author gives three versions of fable 2 of him, "The Eagle and the Tortoise", a long, a medium length and short one (the latter with four verses). We can see that he continued the tradition of the rhetorical exercises of expansion and reduction of fables and, specifically, of writing fables of four verses.

d) The *Antiavianus* (cf. pp. 236–237 and the edition on 468–474). Here there are only nine fables derived from Avianus, in a ms. from Cambridge from the 13th century.

e) The *Novi Aviani Parisiensis flores* (cf. pp. 238–241 and the edition on 475–479). These are epimythia of some new versifications of

Avianus (not of all the fables), preserved on a Parisian ms. from the 13th century that is an anthology of these "flowers" derived from very different authors.

f) Abbreviations of Avianus (cf. pp. 242–248 and edition on 480–501). These are two collections of versions of Avianus in four verses: the first collection in monorhyme tetrastichs, the second in leonine distichs, also based on four verses per fable. Surprisingly, two derivatives of the same fable are sometimes given, both in the first and in the second collection. There is significant formal parallelism between the two and the *Tetrastichs* of Ignatius the Deacon. The two collections follow each other on the same ms. of Vienna, from the 14th century.

As a whole, we find ourselves, then, with prosifications and versifications of Avianus that are spread out over time starting from the 12th century AD, without our being able, in most cases, to specify too much. Except in the first prosaic collections referred to at the beginning, Avianus is a single model here, though certainly subject to late Medieval expansions or reductions in language and metre.

2. *Other Derivations of Avianus*

However, I have already stated that these collections are not sufficient to gauge the influence of Avianus, which begins at an earlier date. And this not only because of the age of his mss., with the oldest preserved originating in the 9th century, but because of specific influences of some fables. I will consider this theme below.

The fact is that, apart from the numerous Medieval authors who refer to the use of Avianus in teaching, and those who simply refer to him,[6] here and there we do indeed find direct derivations of the fables of our poet. Perhaps the one that had the most influence is no. 5 "The Ass Dressed in a Lionskin", which is fundamental in the *Metrum Leonis* by Leo di Vercelli and in the *Speculum Stultorum* by Nigel de Longchamps, works both already mentioned by us, one from the 9th/10th century, the other from the 12th. Also in a poem by Fromundus (10th/11th centuries), no. 36, there is an allusion to

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[6] A great deal of information can he found in the edition by F. Gaide, already cited (cf. pp. 8 ff., 52 ff.), and in the work by M. Manitius also cited (allusions in Fortunatus, Eulogius, Mico, Leo di Vercelli, Remigius Ratherus, Fromundus, etc.).

this same fable. And another in Alanus ab Insulis (born circa 1128). In the former author there is also reference to the fable of the frog and the fox (Avianus 6). In Remigius (born circa 841) there is a paraphrase of Avianus 10, the fable of the bald gentleman. In turn, we have already seen that the fable of the lion, the stag (or the ass, in the Indian version) and the fox left various traces in the historical poetry starting from the 11th century (cf. above, p. 598); in the *Gesta Romanorum* the version of Avianus 30, in which the animal that supposedly lacked a heart (also ears, undoubtedly by contamination) is the boar,[7] is cited as an anecdote on the subject of the emperor Trajan and his cook.

It is evident that careful delving into Medieval Latin literature would give a much more abundant crop of imitations of so studied an author, cited, copied and, later, translated. We will see the entry of the fables of Avianus into collections that in principle were extraneous to this author; and their quality as a likely model for the creation of some new fables.

This study in a certain sense has a surprise in store for us. We must separate, initially, the fables of Avianus that are also in Romulus and, consequently, in the collections derived from him: they are Avianus 2 (= M. 25 "The Eagle, the Crow and the Tortoise"), 37 (= M. 96 "The Dog and the Wolf"), 27 (= M. 130 "The Thirsty Crow"), 34 (= M. 163 "The Ant and the Cicada"), 24 (= M. 196 "The Man and the Lion"). Apart from these five fables, those of Avianus, whatever their origin, find no correspondence in Romulus. And, in general terms, they are not found in the Medieval collections except in those derived from Avianus, which I discussed above.

Only to a very limited extent did the collections of Avianus add fables from other origins to his own fables: they are in a certain sense an exception to the customary procedure of the authors of collections. To this exception there is in turn another exception, already indicated above: the collections of the *Anonymi Avianicae fabulae* omitted some fables by Avianus, while adding some either from the *Complete Derivative of the Anglo-Latin Romulus* or from Eudes, or of unknown origin (or new creations). They are, moreover, collections certainly from the 14th century, at least this is the date of the oldest mss. Furthermore, the collections derived from Avianus were often

[7] It is M. 455 "Trajanus, aper et cocus", collected by Hervieux III, p. 509.

copied alongside those derived from Romulus: this procedure was generally preferred to that of mixing them up.

What we are seeing now is the other side of the same coin. The collections derived from Romulus also did not accept fables by Avianus.

On the other hand, Eudes, a very significant English fabulist from the late 12th and early 13th century, translated into Castilian in the so-called *Libro de los gatos*, allowed a few fables of Avianus into his collection. We have already seen that Oriental fables arriving through Byzantium also entered this author; and we will see yet more information on the multiplicity of his sources. More specifically, in him or in his Appendices we find Avianus 5, the fable of the ass dressed with a lionskin (M. 52), 42 "The Wolf and the Lamb" (M. 253) and 35 "The Monkey and her Children" (M. 433). Of course only the first of these fables is in the collection of Eudes as such, as the other two (and also the first) are among those that Hervieux calls "fables sometimes compiled, sometimes imitated by Eudes of Cherrington". The third is also found in Marie de France. That is to say, that Eudes, but not only he, had the collection of Avianus available as one more (not the most frequent) of his sources.

It seems, then, that it was only starting from the 12th century that there began to occur the inclusion of fables derived from Romulus in the prosaic paraphrases of Avianus and of the fables of Avianus in other collections. However, I would also like to pose another question: since Avianus was very well-known and was imitated in authors who included exemplum-fables, were new fables created starting from him?

It is not easy to give a decisive answer, although it seems rather that we must incline towards the negative. It could be thought that M. 110 "The Hind that Instructed the Fawn" has some relationship with Avianus 17 "The Hunter and the Tiger", but it in fact has with H. 281 "The Archer and the Lion (from IIIδ). On p. 572 I showed that it is likely, I believe, that this Greek fable and the Latin one that we are now considering (in Romulus Anglicus and Marie de France) derive from an Oriental original. Another proposal that could be made is that M. 405 "The Rustic and the Young Bull" (in the *Parables* of Eudes) derives from Avianus 32. In this fable the peasant whose cart has stuck in the mud just prays to the gods, whereupon Hercules says to him that he must help himself first; in the Medieval fable the ass that has fallen asks Saint Peter for help; he

replies that it must make an effort first. The themes are closely related, but there is not necessary a direct derivation, apart from the fact that, judging by his behaviour in other cases, it is more likely that Eudes depended on the Greek text of the fable (cf. not-H. 59), rather than on Babrius, Dod. or Photius or related texts that have been lost to us.

Thus, conclusively, Avianus—as I stated initially—was known in the Middle Ages: he was used in teaching, he was frequently copied, he was often alluded to and, sometimes, imitated; paraphrases were made of him in prose and poetic versions. We must note two things: firstly, that this activity by paraphrasers and poets did not begin until the 12th century; and secondly, that the collections of Avianus, with the late exception we have discussed, did not accept material from other branches, whereas, conversely, he was included almost only in Eudes of Cherrington.

Avianus therefore occupied an important place, but rather an isolated, separate one, in the Medieval Latin tradition. And it does not seem that he was popular in the sense of being used as a basis for the recreation of his fables and for new fables.

III. *The Medieval Tradition Derived from "Romulus"*

1. *Collections Derived from "Romulus"*

In parallel to the scheme that I gave for the collections derived from Avianus, I will give another relative to those derived (or fundamentally derived) from Romulus: in short, almost the entirety of the Medieval Latin collections. As in the previous case, I will rely fundamentally on the work by Hervieux. The most important complement that this work requires is that relating to the fables of origin external to Romulus (and Avianus): this is the study I will carry out in section IV. Yet to establish the general lines of the collections, the Hervieux's work continues to be the decisive one.

In any event, We must offer some rectifications and additions. Initially, there is no purpose served in Hervieux's enthusiasm, here and there, to distinguish between the "primitive Romulus" (that is to say, the "Aesopus Ad Rufum") and the ordinary: in fact, he publishes only one ms. of the *recensio gallicana* as "Romulus", the Burneianus; independently, he publishes those he calls "Romulus of Corpus Christi

College" (Oxford), "Romulus of Vienna" and "Romulus of Florence". And also the fables of Ad and Wiss. They are, in fact, manuscripts belonging to the different recensions of "Romulus", which Thiele has considered in his edition. Hervieux did not have sufficient elements of judgement available to be able to reconstruct the various phases of the text of Romulus. In fact, we do not have them either: Thiele himself used the good approach of not attempting to obtain a single text and restricting himself to giving independent recensions. Here I am not going to attempt to see from which recension each one of the Medieval collections dependent on Romulus derives or whether they derive from a previous phase that is more or less reconstructable starting from the recensions in question. This investigation, insofar as it is feasible, would require a whole book; and it is an investigation of textual rather than literary criticism. However, on the subject of the Greek fables, we did see that similar problems are also posed there (which I only attempted to solve partially).

On the other hand, we can go beyond Hervieux in other respects. If it is true that we cannot reconstruct the various phases of the text of a fable which, coming from the "Aesopus Ad Rufum", reached one of the collections or recensions published by Thiele, we can indeed separate, from among the 98 fables gathered together by him, some that were only subsequently included in the "Romulus" or Ad or Wiss. I carried out this investigation in a previous chapter. And now it is going to prove useful to us, because we will see that some of these "expansions" were not known by the Medieval Latin tradition generally or were only known by part of it. Here we have the proof of the antiquity of the attention paid to the tradition in question and of its use spread out over time and among different authors.

Apart from these observations, I will add some elements to Hervieux; for example, regarding the Bayeux Tapestries (which are practically equivalent to a collection of fables) or certain corrections concerning Marie de France or references to the knowledge of the fables outside the collections in question (in animal epics or in isolated fables) or anticipated remarks on the theme studied later of the fables coming from sources external to "Romulus". And I will present a synthesis that I believe illustrates the whole history of the fable, a synthesis that in my view presents a series of important advances with regard to the *stemmatic* structure of all the collections and their secondary sources. What I will not do is repeat data and arguments

already given by Hervieux: I will restrict myself to making reference either to his Volume I (study) or II (edition).

Together with the mss. that we must consider as witnesses of "Romulus" in whatever recension, which force us, from the outset, to eliminate a series of collections published by Hervieux, we must place others that give fables coming strictly from Romulus. These are:

a) The collection of Vincent de Beauvais in his *Speculum Historiale* IV 2–8 (29 fables in the same order as Romulus), repeated (in an altered order) in the *Speculum Doctrinale* IV 114–123. The *terminus ante quem* is 1244, date of the closing of the history expounded in the first work. The text of Romulus is sometimes abbreviated. Cf. Hervieux I, pp. 432 ff., and II, pp. 234 ff.

b) The "Romulus of Berne" (ms. 141 of the Bibl. Cantonal, to distinguish from the other Romulus of Berne, which I will consider later on). There are only 13 of these fables, abbreviated (as moreover, are the 45 of the ms. of Oxford referred to earlier, used in Thiele's ed. with the acronym O; cf. Hervieux 1, pp. 461 ff., and II, pp. 246 ff.). For this collection, cf. Hervieux I, p. 817, and II, pp. 758 ff.

All the other collections must be considered as mixed, although some of them come from Romulus to a very large extent. Later we will see that these derivatives may be more or less faithful or abbreviated or amplified and reworked, depending on the collections. Various have alongside them appendices or fables *additae*, generally spurious. Moreover, there are sometimes problems of authenticity for some fables of the basic collections; and some of the anonymous ones of these, above all the Anglo-Latin Romulus, certainly experienced growth in a series of steps, as did Romulus itself and various ancient collections.

I am going to group together these collections in a cohesive form. Each section includes a basic collection and one or more derived from it, although these derived collections often add fables from various sources in his own right (to be investigated more in depth in another section) or even invent some. We have:

a) *Walter the Englishman (Gualterus Anglicus) and his Derivatives*
Hervieux has identified the author of this collection of fables, very widespread in the Middle Ages, as Gualterus Panormitanus, chap-

lain of Henry II of England in the 12th century. Cf. Hervieux I, pp. 472 ff., and II, pp. 316 ff.: in addition to the study in question and a very detailed one of the mss., he publishes the collection.

This consists of 60 fables in elegiac distichs, to which four others are added (61 "The Capon and the Hawk", 62 "The Shepherd and the Wolf", *App.* II 9 "The Merchant and His Wife", *App.* II 10 "The Rustic and Plutus". Hervieux considers the first two of these four fables to be by Walter; like 59 and 60 they do not come from Romulus, whereas the first 58 do.

However, to a very small extent, we are dealing with a mixed collection. We must add that Hervieux adds two Appendices: one of epimythia that some mss. add to the fables of Walter, another of new elegiac fables also added by some mss., which testify to the popularity of our author. Cf. Hervieux II, pp. 362 ff. and 365 ff.: they contain a great deal of new material, not from Romulus.

Yet we must add the derivatives from Walter, particularly a series of prosaic paraphrases (cf. Hervieux I, p. 666, and II, pp. 383 ff.) which maintain the epimythia in elegiac distichs. We must nevertheless add the profound influence that Walter exercised in posterity: he was, for example, the source of the fables of the Archpriest of Hita derived from Romulus; cf. my study, already cited, on the theme. He was included in a collection derived from Avianus; cf. above.

Thus, the small collection by Walter, later prosified, expanded, imitated, was important in the transmission of the fable derived from Romulus starting from the 12th century, in spite of the fact that in itself it was very defective as regards language, metre and the interpretation, sometimes, of the model.

Regarding the independence of this collection with respect to others, see later.

b) *Alexander Neckam*

Below we must add the collection by Alexander Neckam (Alexander Nequam), also an Englishman and a contemporary of Walter (he was born in 1157). His collection, made up of 42 fables and also written in elegiac distichs, contains more accurate versions, better written and in better verse; but it was not very widespread. Cf. Hervieux I, pp. 668 ff., and II, pp. 392 ff.

Of his fables, 37 come from Romulus, we do not know through which intermediaries, or if directly. Only five are independent: and of them, two (M. 143 "The Mosquito and the Bull" and M. 239

"The Hare, the Bird and the Eagle") are also found in Ad as the only appearance apart from this (but the second fable is also in the Bayeux Tapestry). They are two of the fables that Ad takes from the *Phaedrus solutus*: it is not impossible that both come directly from him. Neither it is impossible that from that same source, as a continuation of fables lost from Phaedrus, come 7 "The Vulture and the Eagle" (M. 506, derived from H. 1), 11 "The Fool and the Mule" (M. 442, derived from H. 285) and 38 "The Pike and its Tail" (M. 356, the theme of custom). They are, as we see, fables with ancient themes; that of the last is Cynic. Of course this is only a hypothesis: they may be fables by Neckam himself or from his source.

As regards the independence of this collection with respect to others, see later.

c) *The Romulus of Nilant and the Related Tradition*

The anonymous collection called Romulus of Nilant (Romulus Nilantii) includes 50 fables (49 if we discount "The Statue of Aesop", transmitted in few mss.). The subjects are sometimes expanded and altered, they are paraphrases in Medieval Latin. Hervieux gives good reasons for not attempting to make this collection derive from Ad; but I have already said that his doubts over whether its origin is in the primitive Romulus or in the ordinary one lead nowhere. In our view there is only one Romulus in various recensions and it is not possible for the moment to derive a Medieval collection from one specific one. It comes entirely from Romulus, in any event, and it is attributed, although without major arguments to support it, to the 11th century AD; cf. Hervieux I, pages 708 ff.; II, pp. 513 ff., and Thiele, p. CXXXII. As regards the place of origin, this cannot be precisely established: whether the collection is the source of the Anglo-Latin Romulus (Hervieux's thesis) or depends on it (my own thesis, as will be seen), this is not sufficient reason to place it in England. It may well have emigrated there from the continent, the homeland of the Romulus that is its source.

There are two metrical versions of the Romulus of Nilant; cf. Hervieux I, pp. 800 ff., and II, pp. 653 ff. They are the *Fabulae metricae*, a hexametrical collection of 46 fables, from the 12th century, and the *Fabulae rhythmicae*, two books with 52 fables in tetrastichs ending in a hexameter: perhaps of English origin, from the 13th

century. This collection adds three fables to those of the Romulus of Nilant.

Number 32 "The He-goat and the Wolf" is also in the *Complete Derivative*, in the Romulus of Munich and has been introduced into some recensions of Romulus. Number 33 "The Wolf that Went to Rome and the Sailor" (the wolf caught in a snare succeeds in being released with the promise, which he does not keep, to go to Rome as a pilgrim) is only here, but in fact contaminates the theme of the wolf caught in the trap that is released with the promise, later not kept, of becoming a priest (M. 260 in the *De lupo*, from about 1100, and also in Walter, Appendix II and in Marbod de Rennes, 11th century)[8] with the general theme of the pilgrimage of animals (cf. also M. 259 "The Wolf and the Sailor" in the *Complete Der.* and Marie de France). Finally, M. 114 "The Stag, the Hedgehog and the Boar" (dispute between the first two animals for the possession of a field, determined in favour of the first in a race in which he makes traps) is only here, but depends on the Medieval theme of the wolf and the hedgehog (in the *Ecbasis* and in M. 255 and 256, in the *Complete Der.* and Marie de France) with the traditional themes of H. 238 "The Boar, the Horse and the Hunter" and H. 254 "The Hare (or Horse) and the Tortoise".

To sum up, apart from the fables derived from the main source that has been preserved for us, the Romulus of Nilant, there are three that seem to come from a secondary source, from which in turn come the *Complete Derivative*, Marie and Mon. It could perhaps be thought that in fact the source is precisely the Romulus of Nilant, in whose manuscripts these three fables would have been lost; or even its source, whether it is the Anglo-Latin Romulus, from which come, so I believe, the *Derivative* and others (see later). If I prefer the first hypothesis, it is because these fables show a more advanced stage than the one we must suppose for them in the Anglo-Latin Romulus: they are seriously contaminated.

At this point I will return to the Romulus of Nilant. This collection is particularly important because, as Hervieux has clearly shown and has been accepted from then on, it is closely related with the so-called Anglo-Latin Romulus, a lost source, already mentioned, for

[8] Cf. Manitius, *op. cit.*, III, p. 427.

the two Latin collections called *Partial Derivative* and *Complete Derivative*, and for the collection of fables by Marie de France; it was also the source of an English translation that is mentioned both in the Prologue to the *Complete Derivative* and in the Epilogue of Marie. Her translation derives—she herself tells us—from the English version of Aesop: that is to say, in short, from a Latin text which is what we call the Anglo-Latin Romulus, which is reconstructed from the agreements between the sources mentioned.

This Anglo-Latin Romulus is in Hervieux's view derived precisely from the Romulus of Nilant: accepting the agreements, I believe rather that we are dealing with two branches derived from a previous common source, in turn derived from Romulus. (See later.)

There exists, indeed, a series of features in common between the Romulus of Nilant, on one hand, and the three collections preserved to which I have referred, on the other, which can only be explained as having been transmitted to these three collections starting from a common source, the Anglo-Latin Romulus cited by two of them as the source of the English translation, which, they tell us, was made or ordered to be made by Alfred the Great; cf. Hervieux I, pp. 718 ff., and II, pp. 549 ff. For example, calling Romulus a Roman emperor (Romulus of Nilant, *Complete Der.*, Marie), the duplication of the fable of the lion's share (Romulus of Nilant, *Complete Der.*: one of the fables introduces the buffalo), the order of the fables, a series of points in which the text of Romulus of Nilant occupies an intermediate position between the original Romulus and the *Complete Der.* (cf. Hervieux I, pp. 782 ff.).

Now this does not imply direct dependence: the hypothesis of a source common to both branches would explain these facts and also differences such as the presence of the wolf and the fox in M. 229, in the *Derivative* and Marie (the lion and the monkey in Romulus of Nilant, as in Phaedrus) or the presence of "The Man who Gave Birth" (instead of the mountain) in Romulus of Nilant. On the other hand, in this hypothesis not all the fables of the Anglo-Latin Romulus that are absent from Romulus of Nilant necessarily had to have been additions: it may have left out some fables from its model. And it may have added others that are absent from the other Romulus, such as that of the mountain that gave birth, which it modified in a bizarre form.

As regards the date of the Anglo-Latin Romulus, the prologue to the *Complete Derivative* talks of King Affrus as the author or instiga-

tor of the English translation and the epilogue of Marie talks of Alcrez. This is of course Alfred the Great, at about the end of the 9th century. Yet the date seems too early (which is only logical if we postulate an unnecessary dependence of the Romulus of Nilant); so Hervieux, based on a predecessor, uses the name Henris, which appears on two manuscripts of Marie to identify it with Henri Beau-Clerc, who reigned in 1110–1135 AD: the basic Latin text, the Anglo-Latin Romulus, would be from the 11th century, the same date as its supposed model the Romulus of Nilant.

To tell the truth, I do not see any objective reason to reject the text of the *Derivative* (which continues to add after fable 112: "hactenus Esopus; quod sequitur addidit rex Affrus") and almost all the mss. of Marie. An Anglo-Latin Romulus formed in successive steps in the 9th century and later the source of various derivatives is not incongruous with the contemporary development of the fable in France. This is all the more likely if, as I believe, the Romulus of Nilant is a branch that broke off from that tradition.

Below I will go on to consider, one after the other, the collections in connection with the Romulus of Nilant:

α) The *Partial Derivative* ("Romulus anglicus nonnullis"). It contains 22 fables: according to Hervieux, the first four from the primitive Romulus, the others from the Anglo-Latin (whether Romulean or not, see below). He proposes that their date is not much before that of his two mss. (from the 15th century) on account of the use of the names Ysengrimus and Renardus.[9] For my part, I would like to make some observations.

Hervieux rightly emphasizes that the text of the *Partial Derivative* is more closely related to the original Romulus than to Romulus of Nilant. This must be interpreted, I believe, in the sense that a Romulus existed, a recension of the one we know, the model for both. Yet it is appropriate at this point to add the origin of the different Romulean fables: 1, 2, 4, 17 and 22 are in Romulus of Nilant, as well as in the *Compl. Der.* and Marie; 16 in the *Compl. Der.* and Marie, 2 only in the latter (in the section that we will call the "supplement" and that Marie did not know). There is, however, a series of non-Romulean fables common to the *Compl. Der.* and Marie.

[9] In fact, there is already evidence of the former in 1112, cf. Knapp, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

The conclusions could be:

1. The *Part. Der.* depends on a collection, the Anglo-Latin Romulus, which is also the basis for the *Compl. Der.* and Marie; it knew it in a later phase than that in which Marie knew it, as she did not use the "supplement" (fables 89 to 112).
2. This collection added some "found again" fables from Romulus (also in the *Compl. Der.*, as I say) to those known by Romulus of Nilant, as well as other non-Romulean ones. All these elements were subjected to a drastic reduction process.
3. When it is possible to check this, this collection followed a text close to that of Romulus, whereas Romulus of Nilant altered it profoundly: later it is a forked branch, not the model for the Anglo-Latin Romulus.

To sum up, I think that an Anthology of Romulus was used, on one hand, by Romulus of Nilant and, on the other, by the Anglo-Latin Romulus, which added various elements in a process of steps, see below.

β) The *Complete Derivative* (*Romulus anglicus cunctis*) presents even more difficult problems. It consists of 136 fables: of them there are 79 Romulean ones, the others are extraneous; and a few of them also appears in the *Part. Der.*, almost all (except for those of the "supplement") in Marie (who adds three). It is confirmed that the Anglo-Latin Romulus added non-Romulean fables to the Romulean ones (whether these are from the Romulus of Nilant or not); almost all those from 35 to 75 and starting from 113 are non-Romulean ("Addition by Alfred"). It cannot be ruled out that a few of these fables that are absent from Marie were added by the author of our *Derivative*. See below on the partially common elements of the non-Romulean fables and the Romulus of Munich and that of Berne, as well as Eudes: all conclusively used the Anglo-Latin Romulus.

As regards the origin of the collection, Hervieux is clearly right when he states that it is independent from and older than the *Part. Der.* And he is also right that the text sometimes agrees with Romulus of Nilant and not with the older Romulus, whereas at other times the opposite seems to occur. However, it has already been seen that I do not agree with his *stemma* (Romulus → Romulus of Nilant → Anglo-Latin Romulus → *Complete Der.*). I believe, I repeat, that both

Romulus of Nilant and Anglo-Latin Romulus depend on a Romulean Anthology with an evolved text and that the second added other elements, including Romulean fables not in the Romulus of Nilant (and having the two collections available, he was undoubtedly able to contaminate them). Of course, just as the Anglo-Latin Romulus added, that of Nilant may have reduced: when we are dealing with a Romulean fable not in our Romulus of Nilant, it is not certain what is added from one branch or lost from another (some few fables from the Nilant are also absent from the Anglo-Lat.).

A better understanding of the history of the Anglo-Latin Romulus may be gained by analyzing the different elements of the *Compl. Der.*, which after all is the collection that (though it may present some additions or losses) most closely follows it as regards the fables (not always as regards the text). It is divided into the following elements:

1. Fables 1–34: the order of the Romulus of Nilant is followed, with minor variations: four fables are absent, two are added (6 and 7 are a duplication in both, as we have said).
2. Fables 35–75: non-Romulean fables, with few exceptions (56 found again from the Romulus of Nilant; 58, 64 and 71 not in it but Romulean).
3. Fables 76–88: more fables from the Romulus of Nilant, following its order, as a continuation of block 1.
4. Fable 89–112: "supplement" of Romulean fables not in the Nilant, following its original order. We have already said that Marie did not know them.
5. Fables 113–136: *Addition by Alfred*, according to the mss. They are non-Romulean fables, with a few supplementary ones from Romulus absent from the Nilant, as in block 2.

Thus, in short, we must take into account the existence of a phase of the Anglo-Latin Romulus that contained the five blocks; another earlier one, in which number 4 was absent (this is the one Marie knew); and another even earlier one in which 5 was also absent (known by Marie and the two *Derivatives*, in addition to Mon. and Bern.); and it is clear that in an even earlier phase between blocks 1 and 3, which formed a continuum (fables agreeing with those of the Romulus of Nilant, with few exceptions) block 2 was introduced as supplementary. The oldest phase is a derivative of the Anthology that also served as the model for the Romulus of Nilant and to

which the text of the Anglo-Latin is sometimes closer. The models that were used successively are: the Anthology, the original Romulus and one or various non-Romulean collections (in between which the original Romulus was sometimes inserted). It must be added that the *Complete Der.* may be responsible for a few eliminations and additions.

γ) *The* Fabulae Extravagantes

Steinhöwel's edition gives, among other components of this anthology, a series of 18 *fabulae extravagantes*, 12 of which belong to the group of non-Romulean fables of the Romulus of Munich. The other six Hervieux (II, pp. 290 ff.) publishes separately and does not know what exactly was Steinhöwel's source. Yet it definitely belonged to the line of the Anglo-Latin Romulus.

δ) Marie de France. She lived in England and her fables must be placed around the middle of the 12th century: she tells us that she has translated the fables from the English version cited by her. Her collection, in the edition by H. U. Gumbrecht,[10] includes 103 fables (considering that there is a 65b). We must say that of these, 100 are re-encountered in the *Complete Derivative* and sometimes both in this and the *Partial*; they come conclusively from the Anglo-Latin Romulus. Yet there are three new ones, which only appear here: 65b "The Wolves", 82 "The Viper and the Field", 90 "The Man and the Measure". They either also come from the Anglo-Latin Romulus, having been lost in the other derivatives, or are creations of Marie or of a secondary model of hers.

ε) The Romuli of Munich and Berne. These are the collections, respectively, of mss. 5337 in the State Library of Munich and 676 (679 according to Thiele) in the Cantonal Library of Berne; the first from the 15th century, the second from the 13th. Cf. Hervieux I, pp. 464 ff. and 468 ff. and II, pp. 262 ff. and 302 ff.

This is a branch that was not very widespread and also offers a small number of fables; an interesting branch, on the other hand, and one that links up, in short, with the previous one.

The Romulus of Munich includes 40 fables, which Hervieux con-

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[10] *Marie de France. Aesop*, Munich 1973.

siders to have been taken from the ordinary Romulus, plus 15 others: one, number 29, also from Romulus and the other non-Romulean ones, some agreeing with the Romulus of Berne, others not. Some, not all of those in this appendix, also appear in the collections derived from the Anglo-Latin Romulus Hervieux doubts whether they were taken from the *Compl. Der.* or the *Part.* or from the Anglo-Latin Romulus itself; he believes others to be original and, when there is agreement with the Romulus of Berne he thinks, in spite of the greater antiquity of the latter, that it could be the derivative, since it is evidently very innovative. Our collection would, then, be from the 13th century, at least.

The Romulus of Berne includes 48 fables (which precede a collection by Eudes). They are abbreviated fables (generally) and are sometimes considerably altered. Among them there are fables that Hervieux considers to have derived from the ordinary Romulus, plus other non-Romulean ones that partly agree with those of the Romulus of Munich, and are partly original (so it seems). All, except the last, are sometimes re-encountered in the derivatives from the Anglo-Latin Romulus and in Eudes, which Hervieux also considers as sources.

At this point, I will begin my personal study of these fables.

The first observation that we must make, which has not been made until now, is this: the 26 Romulean fables of the Romulus of Munich or Mon. are all re-encountered without exception in Romulus of Nilant. And as—this is easy to prove—its text is more closely related to that of the ordinary Romulus than to that of this other, the conclusion is clear: Romulus of Nilant and Mon. come from the Anthology that I have mentioned, which presented a text still close to that of the ordinary Romulus. Mon. also presents various fables in common with Bern., some of which are re-encountered in the *Complete Der.*; also in it (and in Marie) is another fable (no. 31 = M. 490 ("The Cat and the Fox") which is absent from Bern. Of course, now we understand why all the Romulean fables of the ms. are also in the tradition of the Anglo-Latin Romulus: not because they come from the *Complete Der.*, for example, but because this whole tradition comes from the same one followed by the Romulus of Nilant.

That is to say, the previous statement that Mon. comes from the Anthology referred to must be mixed in the sense that it comes from a phase of this into which part of the non-Romulean material had already entered (which does not prevent it maintaining a conservative text in the Romulean part), not certainly all the material that

the Anglo-Latin Romulus admitted, but certainly a part. Starting from here, new material still entered in a phase common to Bern. and Mon., but not to the collection cited. And there are still new elements, characteristic of Mon. and not of Bern. To the fable cited I add 36 = M. 245 ("The Misfortune of the Wolf", which contains a fable from the *Calila* and appears in the *Ecbasis*, the *Ysengrimus*, the *Roman de Renart* and the Archpriest (cf. above, p. 602). And 30 = M. 289 "The Soldier and the Snake", related to one in Eudes of Cherrington, *Fab. Add.* Of course the elements not in the Anglo-Latin Romulus may be traced back to the intermediate phase and those only in Mon. also to the model common to Bern.

As regards the collection from Berne, we must make a statement parallel to the previous one: all its Romulean fables, apart from one, are in that of Nilant, all also in the *Complete Der.* and, sometimes, in other witnesses of the Anglo-Latin Romulus. The text is, moreover, far from that of the *Der.* and, as far as can be seen, is close to that of Romulus. Except that our collection offers long and very original versions. For example, number 2 "The Eagle and His Daughter" alters very profoundly the ancient fable of "The Wedding of the Sun" (considerably expanded in *Der.* and in Romulus of Nilant, in different directions); 4 "The Old Lion, the Boar and the Ass" has concomitances with Romulus 10 and Mon. 13, but not with Romulus of Nilant I 15, very much expanded, nor with *Der.* 15, which replaces the lion with the wolf and the boar with the fox. It is clear that the branch we are studying broke off from the ancient trunk before Romulus of Nil. and the Anglo-Latin Romulus. Also 1 "The Wolf and the Lamb", among other fables, would lead to the same conclusions.

The text of Bern., in these fables and in the non-Romulean ones, is more innovative, as I have said, than that of Mon.: but I do not believe, therefore, that we must accept a derivation starting from the former. Among other things, we must note that fables in Mon. are missing from Bern., on the other hand, the latter has Romulean fables from the Nilant that are not in Mon. As regards the non-Romulean fables, there are some in Mon. that are absent from here and vice versa. On the other hand, those that are in Bern. and not in Mon. may or may not also be in the *Complete Der.* and Eudes. And it is significant that there is a Romulean fable (number 43 "The Frog that Swelled") that comes from the "supplement" of the *Complete Der.* (that is to say, from the Anglo-Latin Romulus).

I think that Mon. and Bern. come from a small collection obtained

from an archaic phase of the Anglo-Latin Romulus, which had already been expanded to a certain extent (with the "supplement" and the non-Romulean fables, but, as far as I can see, not with the "Addition by Alfred"), the ancient Anthology that I have discussed. Later the two collections continued to add non-Romulean material: no more and no less than others that we considered earlier.

I repeat that *Der.* cannot be the source of the branch we are studying. Therefore, with regard to the non-Romulean fables in Bern. and Mon.: Mon. 28 is the well-known fable of the cock and the fox (from the 9th century), 31 "The Fox and the Cat" presents very significant variants with respect to *Der.* (it is also in Eudes and Rabbi Berecchiah), 35a is the fable, widespread from the 9th century (see p. 597), of the lion supposedly cured with the skin of the wolf, etc. This, evidently, is ancient non-Romulean material that circulated through Europe and was incorporated in the collections that arose subsequently, from before the creation of *Der.*

d) *Eudes of Cerington (Odo Ceritonensis) and the Related Tradition*

The fables of Eudes (or Odo) of Cerington were extremely widespread; he was an English monk who wrote a collection of fables in about 1219–1221 AD, for use for Christian edification, as is eloquently attested both by its prologue and by its morals and a series of strictly Christian fables. Hervieux also published a collection of *Parables*, taken from the sermons of the same monk, in which they were used as exempla: they are partly fables proper, partly various anecdotes. In our Appendix III, I use these parables only selectively, since the collection contains numerous anecdotes already very far removed from the genre. On all this, see Hervieux IV, pp. 1 ff. and 171 ff.

The content of the collection (of the two collections) is mixed. It is not only a series of Romulean fables added to at most with non-Romulean fables by way of an appendix. Here the two are inextricably mixed, with the latter predominating. It is sufficient to peruse the collection to see that there are fables from Romulus: 5 "The Eagle and the Tortoise", 11 "The Wolf and the Stork", 16 "The Town Mouse and the Field Mouse", 20 "The Lion, the Wolf and the Fox Hunting" (modification of the theme of "The Lion's Share"), 21b "The Mouse, the Frog and the Kite", etc. Yet the extent of the lacunae in this respect indicates the prevalence of the non-Romulean fables. Even more in the *Parables.*

As regards these non-Romulean fables, the study of these belongs to the previous pages (Oriental fables) and those that follow (fables of Greek origin, other Greek or Romulean fables that have been considerably modified in the Medieval Western tradition, various Medieval anecdotes, new creations). What it is clear is that we are dealing with a very innovative collection, which breaks with ancient schemes and introduces abundant Medieval material, frequently agreeing with that of the animal epic.

Eudes, as I have already said, met with great success, particularly his large collection of fables: 85, plus 11, either authentic or not, which are found in various mss. (cf. Hervieux IV, pp. 248 ff.). I have already said that his manuscript tradition is abundant; it was also translated into Castilian, as the so-called *Libro de los gatos* (a corruption of *cuentos* "stories", cf. G. T. Artola, "*El libro de los gatos*: An Orientalist's View of its Title", *Romance Philology* 9, 1955, pp. 17–19); and also into French by Nicolas Bozon. I will say something about this translation, in which Eudes is mixed with other elements.

Hervieux IV, pp. 92 ff., talks of the *Contes Moralisés*, written in French in about 1350 by the English monk, a junior friar, Nicolas Bozon. From these stories he has taken the fables whose Latin versions he publishes (pp. 246 ff.).

I have already said that it is not simply a translation of Eudes. There are sometimes fables by Eudes, more or less faithfully translated, sometimes Romulean fables of Eudes, but for which Bozon follows one of the versions already studied, sometimes various non-Romulean fables: Oriental and Medieval European ones of the types we have discussed. Often his sources are those in his non-Romulean appendices used by other collections, but the work also contains Oriental *unica*, either invented or of whatever origin. We must say, finally, that the Latin version has been preserved in incomplete form: only 14 fables of it remain, those published by Hervieux.

Now I must add a mention of a series of collections that sometimes take, sometimes imitate the fables of Eudes, which Hervieux IV publishes on pp. 361 ff. And, finally, the fables of yet another English author, John of Sheppey, who died in 1360. This collection of 73 abbreviated fables depends fundamentally on Eudes, sometimes in modified form. It adds, however, other fables of the Romulean tradition (which it sometimes contaminates with the former) and also non-Romulean fables, such as that of the wolf skinned to cure the lion, perhaps derived from the tradition of the Anglo-Latin Romulus,

perhaps not. He even presents new fables, only existing here. Cf. Hervieux IV, pp. 161 ff. and 417 ff.

e) *The Bayeux Tapestries*

The magnificent collection of Bayeux Tapestries, from the 11th century, presents a series of fables as decoration for its main theme, that of the conquest of England by the Normans. It was, according to the tradition, commissioned by Matilda, the wife of William the Conqueror. After other previous studies, a work by L. Hermann[11] identifies 29 fables and gives information on their sources.

The fundamental source is the Anglo-Latin Romulus, in whose witnesses (particularly in the *Complete Der.*) we find the form of the corresponding fables. Of course it is sometimes the one inherited from Phaedrus and from Romulus, but at others not. I will restrict myself to mentioning no. 5 "The Tyrant Wolf" (a variant of M. 229 in which the wolf and the fox replace the original lion and monkey), no. 13 "The Wolf and the Ram" (M. 248: the wolf as false monk who fasts by eating a lamb that he passes off as salmon), 16 "The Man who Gave Birth" (a variant of M. 296, with a man instead of a mountain, in *Compl. Der.*), 19 "The Cock and the Fox" (M. 175, a fable that is well-known to us) and 27 "The Kid and the Wolf" (M. 184).

I would like to say that in the Bayeux Tapestry there also appear fables of the edition of Romulus by Thiele, but not of the Romulus that was known in England and was the source of the English collections (see below). Specifically, there are fables from those added by the Ademari ms. (cf. pp. 532 ff.): 17 "The Fox and the Partridge" (M. 326: curiously, in the tapestry there is also the related fable of the cock and the fox, from the Anglo-Latin Rom), 21 "The Crane and the Crow" (?) (M. 182) and 25 "The Hare, the Bird and the Eagle" (M. 239). And there is one of the additions coming from the Ps.-Dositheus, 29 "The Cat and the Hens" (M. 19: curiously, the tapestry is closer to the Ps.-Dositheus than to the version of Romulus, where there is talk of a crow: it undoubtedly follows an older text).

We must also add 26 "The Eagle, the Cat and the Boar" (not-H. 46), which is the fable of Phaedrus II 4, absent from the whole Medieval tradition. And 14 "The Two pigeons" (M. 124), which is

[11] "Apologues et anecdotes dans le tapisserie de Bayeux", *Romania* 65, 1939, pp. 376–382.

the fable from Horace, *Epist.* I 10.5–7, unknown in the Medieval tradition outside of here. Hermann explains the presence in the tapestry of this display of erudition because it alludes to the unfortunate loves of Aelfgyva, the sister of King Harold, and a canon.

Thus, the Normans who had conquered England were won over by the fables of the Anglo-Latin Romulus, which they used as a counterpoint to the exhibition of their feats. Yet they added "continental" fables of Ademari and the Pseudo-Dositheus and even of ancient sources that were true rarities in the period (although with regard to Phaedrus, we must say that he was used by Ademari and even by Alexander Neckam, as we have seen). Though incidentally, I will take advantage of the opportunity of the mention of this collection to indicate the benefit that could be obtained from the study of the illustrations of the mss. and of Medieval art in general (reliefs of capitals, "Patiences" and others, paintings of coffers such as that of the Cloister of Silos) for the investigation of the fable. The first theme is discussed in the unpublished thesis (from 1951) by Gerda Hübschmann, who studied the illustrations of a ms. of Avianus from the 10th century, of that of Ademari, of that of the Romulus of Munich and of Steinhöwel's (among others), showing that they date back to the Roman Age, although they are adapted to the styles of each time. The second theme has almost always been dealt with in connection with the animal epic, above all the *Roman de Renart* (cf. among others works, that of Flinn on the iconography of this, in *Aspects* cit., pp. 257 ff.). However, we would need to carry out a systematic study of the different collections.

2. *From "Romulus" to the Collections*

After making this review of the Medieval Latin collections, in which I hope to have moved forward the important advances by Hervieux, I think this is the moment to make some general considerations to focus on the problem of these collections as a whole: their relationships, origin, characteristics.

a) *Relationships between the Collections*

The manuscripts of the collections that we have just studied are very widespread—much less so those of the Romulus of Nilant and Neckam and, of course, the Romuli of Munich and Berne—in European libraries: sometimes they are the same mss. as those derived from

Avianus. Yet while nothing indicates that these derivatives are of island origin, the origin of the whole tradition derived from Romulus is clearly English.

Indeed, Romulus arose at the end of Antiquity, we suppose in Italy, and later continued to grow in the European Middle Ages, including new fables, which, as we will see, did not reach the models of the English fables. In a phase that I will attempt to specify, Romulus reached England, where traces of it have been preserved in important manuscripts, above all the Burneianus, from the 10th century, which is fundamental within the *recensio gallicana*. There it gave rise to a whole tradition of more or less modified Romulean fables in prose and verse. Later this tradition returned to the Continent: the fables of Marie de France, the Romuli of Munich and Berne, various imitations of Walter, of Eudes, etc. I would say that the entry of the collections of Romulean fables of English style into continental Europe must be dated at about 1100 and even before. We have seen that the Normans themselves, the conquerors of England, incorporated fables from the Anglo-Latin Romulus in the Bayeux Tapestry. In the 13th century the new wave of Oriental fables entered, and starting from here there proliferated the collections of mixed content: Jacques de Vitry and the *fabliaux*, Nicolas Bozon, John of Sheppey, the Archpriest, Don Juan Manuel, etc. The fable of Romulean tradition was definitively implanted in the European tradition. On the other hand, we must recall, in the first half of the 13th century, the purely Romulean collection of Vincent de Beauvais: he had undoubtedly received his stimulus from the continuity of this tradition in England and its transposition to the Continent. This is not the only example, as we have seen.

Of course, all this does not mean that the European Continent was the orphan of the fable from the 9th century onwards (and before) to the 12th. It preserved its Romulus, which it cited, as we will see in this same chapter, and which sometimes gave new fables from the same 9th century; for example, that of the cock and the fox. It increased the content of that Romulus, as we saw in the corresponding chapter and we will specify now in more detail. It admitted Oriental fables coming from Byzantium and also (I will now specify) new Greek fables arriving along the same route. It created or derived fables of whatever origin, even perhaps popular or folkloric. Yet the two fundamental collections were Romulus, barely increased, and Avianus, sometimes derived; outside of this, the fable

was a genre cultivated either in poems or isolated stories, or in quotations (in works of history, sermons, etc.), or in the genre that constitutes the true innovation of the Continent: the animal epic poem.

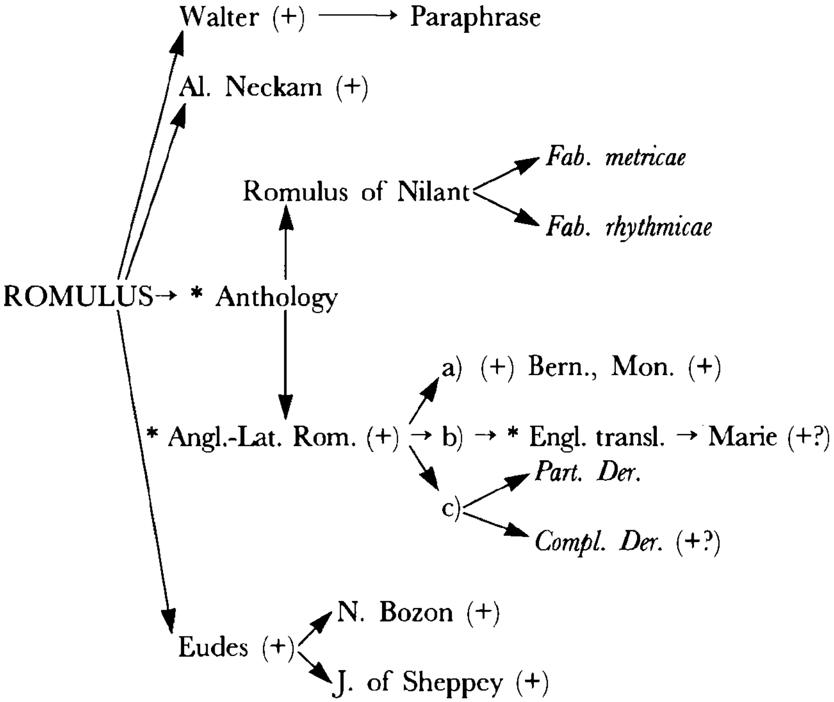
Wc also cannot accept the idea of absolute isolation. Since we have seen that the English collections usually added new fables to a fundamental core of Romulean origin: particularly in the case of the Anglo-Latin Romulus, of those of Munich and Berne and of Eudes, but also in others besides (the custom increased in the 13th and 14th centuries). I have studied a part of these additions: Oriental fables. And I have already stated that other additions are Greek or continental European of various origins (including derivations from Romulus) which have sometimes been known to us from the Carolingian period and, later, in the animal epic from the 11th century. It is very clear that if many of those elements are of Oriental or Greek origin (which, from the standpoint of the transmission, is equivalent) and reached England from at least the 9th century (the period of Alfred the Great and the Anglo-Latin Romulus), they must have passed through the continent. Yet here they were used, as I have said, in isolated versions or in quotations or in the animal epic: it was only in England that the vogue of the new collections existed. These added the new material to that coming from Romulus. When these collections reached the Continent, they in turn offered a stimulus for new collections, which admitted the most diverse materials.

As regards the genealogy of the English collections, the fundamental points have already been made on the previous pages. However, we should introduce some clarifications.

Firstly, we must resist the temptation to see a single root in all the English collections. Rather, there is a single root that is Romulus, but there is not a common bridge between Romulus and the collections. This bridge exists only as regards the Romulus of Nilant, the Anglo-Latin Romulus and those of Munich and Berne, as has been stated; not as regards the other three existing lines, Walter the Englishman, Alexander Neckam and Eudes. It is appropriate to specify all this.

The best way of proceeding is to give a genealogical tree which summarizes, in general terms, what has been stated on the previous pages. This tree only refers to the main collections. It places an asterisk by the lost collections and adds the sign + to those with fables added from non-Romulean sources; this sign is sometimes followed by a question mark, since it is not always feasible to decide in what

link of the stemmatic chain a fable was incorporated. The agreement or not of some of the same fables in the "additions" of the various collections cannot of course be specified in the synopsis, nor can the length of these additions or appendices, nor their origin. As regards the Anglo-Latin Romulus, we may distinguish phases: those that we can specify as the start-up point for other later collections.



While the Romulean source of Eudes is indeterminable due to the shortage of fables of this type and its major alterations, there could be room for doubt as to whether Walter the Englishman and Alexander Neckam depended on the same Anthology as the principal line. I have studied this problem and I have come to negative conclusions. Both collections lack the characteristic prologue of the Anglo-Latin Romulus, the duplication of the fable of the lion's share and other characteristic features. Walter does not present a series of fables of the Romulus of Nilant and the Anglo-Lat. and only a part of his fables that are absent from Nilant are in the "supplement" of the Anglo-Latin; he does not take non-Romulean material from this. Exactly the same must be said of Alexander Neckam, who, moreover,

is independent of the other. These collections start from a complete Romulus or from Anthologies different from the one used by the principal line (which, as I said, starts from an Anthology to which—in a later phase, that of the creation of the Anglo-Latin Romulus—material from the Romulus proper was added)

3. *Which "Romulus" is at the Basis of the Collections?*

The English collections worked on one or various witnesses of Romulus that reached England: they arose between the end of the 9th century and the beginning of the 13th and it is to be supposed that they did not come from the same copy. On the other hand, I have already mentioned (and I must be specific now) that we cannot determine the recension that is at the basis of those collections from among those into which our mss. are divided. However, we can indicate some curious data: which fables were absent from the Romulus or Romuli used by them, sometimes the same ones, sometimes not exactly. We can say something, in conclusion, on the source used. Only in general terms: this is a theme that merits further investigation, as has already been said.

To understand what follows, we must keep the study of Romulus in our Chapter III 6 very much in mind.

The first and the most important point is this: the eight new fables (whether from Phaedrus or not) incorporated by the Ademari ms. into the Romulean tradition, that is, numbers 7, 9, 18, 25, 26, 34, 80 and 96 in Thiele, are totally absent from the English collections. As regards the seven fables also added by Ademari, coming from the "Phaedrus solutus", I must say that 2, 37, 38, 41 and 82 are also totally absent. As regards the other two, 81 and 84, they represent some minimum exceptions on which it is appropriate for us to dwell a moment.

Number 81 is "The Hare, the Bird and the Eagle" and is re-encountered in Alexander Neckam; number 84 is "The Mosquito and the Camel" and is also re-encountered in Alexander Neckam. Moreover, in the *Complete Der.* there is a fable of the fly and the camel, with an identical theme: but, since this collection did not know the "Phaedrus solutus", we must think that the fable derived from "The Flea and the Camel" (Romulus 92).

Thus, and leaving aside Alexander Neckam for a moment, the English collections did not know the additions by Ademari: their

Romulus was the one prior to these additions. When, in 22 fables, Ademari replaces the traditional version of Romulus with one from the "Phaedrus solutus", this is not noted by the English collections: they follow the traditional version. And when (see p. 524) recension V introduces a "Phaedrus solutus" that later crossed over to W (fables 97 and 98), the English collections did not know it. They did, on the other hand, know 92, 94 and 95, the other additions of Romulus; as well as the eight fables that it added, taking them from the Ps.-Dositheus; these eight fables had their own descendants in the various lines of the English collections. The data can be found in Vol. III, Appendix III.

It is, then, a Romulus lacking the additions of Ad. that was known by the English collections, in contrast, as I indicated above, with the artists of the Bayeux Tapestries. Evidently, the additions of Ad. belong to a purely continental tradition, and did not pass the channel. Yet there is one exception: the two fables of Alexander Neckam that Ad took from the "Phaedrus solutus". In our study of this collection a few pages above, we already found ourselves with these two fables and considered it possible that another three also come from it: it is not necessary, in that case, to accept that it knew Ad; but perhaps it did: we are evidently dealing with an exception.

With regard to other characteristics of the Romuli used by the English authors of collections, our knowledge is very limited. They of course had complete Romuli available: leaving aside the fact that they are preserved in the libraries, by adding together the fables of the different collections this becomes evident. I have already said that the Anthology that is at the basis of the Anglo-Latin Romulus does not explain more than this, not the other collections. The source of these is hard to reconstruct, as the collections of Walter the Englishman and Alexander Neckam are in elegiac distichs and that of Eudes is very original.

Something more could be said on the Anthology in question. It was a true Anthology: it is sufficient to compare the list of fables of the Romulus of Nilant with those of Romulus to see that the procedure consisted of occasionally leaving out some fables and then the end of some books, such as II. As regards the text, I have already said that it would not be logical to hope that it depended on one of our recensions. I have made studies on some samples, comparing the text of some fables of the Romulus of Nilant and of the *Complete Der.* with the three recensions g (gallicana), v (vetus) and W

(the Wissenburgensis) of Romulus; it was pointless to include that of the Ademari, after what has been stated. And the result was as expected: the agreement is sometimes with one, sometimes with another of these recensions; that is to say, the Anthology started from a text still not framed in them. It must be taken into account that our oldest mss. of Romulus are from the 10th century and that the Anglo-Latin Romulus is from the 9th: the Anthology from which it comes is undoubtedly from considerably earlier.

I am going to offer a single example, that of the fable of Romulus of Nilant I 15, that of the two mice, comparing it with the three versions in Romulus 15. We start with the readings from the Nilant, followed by those of the recensions of Romulus with the abbreviations indicated; if they are preceded by a cf., this means that the text of the recension that follows to the right is only approximate; I also use the "does not equal" sign ≠ (to the right of this there may be readings of two recensions that are not the same, one may even suppress the reading; the important point is that they differ from the reading of Romulus of Nilant):

a quodam mure agrario, cf. v ≠ g W
cui . . . exhibuit, cf. v ≠ g W
roganti obtemperans, cf. v = g W
cum hec mus muri ostenderet ≠ W
subito, cf. v W ≠ g
mures, strepitu perterriti g (territi) ≠ v W
miser g W ≠ v
pene morti proximus, cf. g ≠ v (lac. W)
amice, cf. v ≠ g W
istis bonis v W ≠ g

The conclusion, I find, is clear.

4. *Characteristics of the Collections*

The history of the Romulean collections and, specifically, of those that sought originality, the English ones, has been outlined in general terms. What is lacking, in particular, is further data on the origin of their non-Romulean material, on which, in any event, I have already said something.

While at the end of Antiquity and later in the Medieval Europe

of the Continent, the "Aesopus Ad Rufum" followed a process of expansion, its derivative the "Romulus" reached England before the last expansions; and it was sometimes followed by copying it as it was, and sometimes produced literary derivations consisting of collections with a smaller number of fables (Walter the Englishman, Alexander Neckam). However, these collections are late, from the 11th century: what they did was to versify and improve in literary terms the older Aesopic collections in prose derived from Romulus and added to with various materials that the poets of the 12th century tended to reduce.

Indeed, in the 9th century there arose the first original Aesopic collections in England, starting from an Anthology of Romulus that included 49 fables or a few more (if Romulus of Nilant lost some). The tendency, in certain circles at least, had moved in the direction of reducing the inherited "Romulus". In the 9th century, starting from here and following the stimulus of Alfred the Great (who, probably, did no more than continue a previous stimulus, since he added fables to an already existing collection), things proceeded as follows: the fables were rewritten, modifying them to a greater or lesser extent; they were added to with others from Romulus (but which were not in the Nilant) and with other non-Romulean ones, this in successive stages; they were translated into English and produced new Latin collections. Although the intermediate sources, that is, the Anthology, the Anglo-Latin Romulus and the English translation, have been lost, the general lines of the process are clear. Of course, the collections resulting from this process, that is, the Romulus of Nilant, the two *Derivatives*, the Romuli of Munich and Berne and yet other derived collections (such as the translation of Marie de France) each have their own characteristics.

I cannot, of course, carry out a detailed literary study here: having clarified the relationships between the collections in general terms, it is not difficult to do this with the texts of Hervieux and the data in my Appendix III. In principle, what the English versions in prose attempted was to paraphrase the texts of Romulus or others, making them a more lively; although collections also exist that reduce and others that present fables of very different lengths, depending on the sources. Such as that of Munich: in it the non-Romulean fables are of disproportionate length and with a very lax structure, something common, moreover, among the Medieval non-Romulean fables.

Returning to the Anglo-Latin Romulus, judging by its derivatives,

it generally expanded its models; and these derivatives continued to do the same. The modifications sometimes did not affect the basis: the country mouse that goes to eat at the home of the town mouse must go through the gates of the town in Romulus of Nilant; this is simply a picturesque detail. Yet at other times they did. In the same collection and as a derivation of the Anglo-Latin Romulus, I have already said that the fable of "The Lion's Share", without disappearing, had engendered a second in which the lion's hunting companions were the wolf and the gazelle.

Sometimes modifications of this type are probably original to this or that collection. The theme of the man who gave birth is certainly from the Romulus of Nilant itself; we have already seen that the Anglo-Latin Romulus transformed the fable of the kingdom of the lion and the monkey into that of the kingdom of the wolf and the fox; the Romulus of Munich altered the theme of the wedding of the Sun by making the proposal of marriage to the eagle's daughter (undoubtedly by contamination, the theme of the wedding of the eagle's son is in the Byzantine *Pulologus*, I believe of Western origin, cf. p. 705). I will not discuss the modification experienced by other fables in collections each moving further away from their origins. In the *Partial Der.*, for example, the fable of the swallow and the birds (Romulus 24) is transformed into a novelette in which at the end the swallow is deceived by the rustic and advises the birds to enter the granary, full of hidden snares, where are they are caught and one accuses the swallow bitterly (a version that is innovative with respect to the more traditional ones of Romulus of Nilant and *Complete Der.*).

In fact, we would need to study the fables one by one, with their respective *stemmata* and their contaminations. I do something of the kind later on when discussing the derived fables in general; this is clearly only a small part of the immense task that would have to be performed.

I must emphasize, in any event, that within this tradition the *Derivatives* expand and alter the original fables more than the Romulus of Nilant and that, within the group of Berne and Munich, the first of these two mss. is the more innovative. Another important point is the tendency to create anthological collections, with few fables: the *Partial Der.* and the last two cited, in our case.

We have already seen that this whole tradition derived from the Anglo-Latin Romulus gained in popularity and spread over the

Continent (from which, in turn, it received new fables) starting from the 11th century. Another effect that this proliferation of prosaic fables evidently produced was that of stimulating the production of fables in verse, in the attempt to reach a more demanding literary level. They returned to the system of restricting themselves (with few exceptions) to paraphrasing the fables of Romulus, with a few basic alterations. Undoubtedly on the model of Avianus, the elegaic distich was the chosen form.

We have already stated that the two main representatives are Walter the Englishman, who was very widespread, and Alexander Neckam, who was less widely known and who, undoubtedly, in competition with the former, increased the number of his fables and their literary quality, which in the case of Walter was mediocre. In any event, Walter expanded the fables by introducing descriptions and dialogues and used poetic vocabulary. Yet he was not extraneous to the tradition of the short fable: he has some of four verses, followed certainly by a distich with the moral.

The procedures of Alexander Neckam were not very different; he varied between the long fable and that of four verses plus two of epimythium. More precise than his rival in his understanding of the intention of the ancient fables, he felt as free as him in the detail of the narration.

We must recall, later, the continuation of the ancient tradition of prosifying fables in verse, sometimes summarizing them: this is what somebody did with those of Walter, preserving his epimythia in verse. And the tradition of versifying the fables in prose was never abandoned: I have already said that those of the Romulus of Nilant gave rise to two metrical collections, in different verses.

In any event, all these collections were along the general lines of Classical Antiquity, with their intention midway between criticism and moralizing; but within the ancient themes and without too many direct allusions to contemporary society. The major exception is in the non-Romulean elements of the collections, which included, among others, Medieval fables of continental origin that, using the figure of the wolf and the cat, criticized the clergy and other powerful people. A change in this situation took place in the 13th century with Eudes, who wrote his collection confessedly to correct the corrupt clergy and people. He already introduced fables on directly Christian themes and, in particular, the epimythia are loaded with biblical quotations and references to the devil, to God, to the Church, etc.

Sometimes these morals are longer than the fables themselves. These are interpreted as allegories of the spiritual life.

Eudes has a particular indifference to questions of form. He may give a fable of two lines alongside another that occupies a page and a half, or introduce Latin quotations in verse, Anglo-Saxon ones in prose, etc. It is spiritual education, evidently, that interests him, not literature. I do not know whether I am correct in proposing that the new turn he gives to the fable (he only derives them from Romulus to a small extent) has to do with an influence from the continental European fable, clearly soon directed for corrective purposes against contemporary society.

Similar things may be said of the fables dependent on Eudes: the *fabulae additae*, some very long, narrations of a more romance-like school than anything. Not to mention his *Parables*. Nicolaus Bozon and John of Sheppey return, in a certain sense, to the traditional fabulistic style.

In short, the Medieval Latin fable did not produce literary creations comparable to the ancient fable, although sometimes it is not without merit. We must also consider products such as the animal epic poem and certain new fables, very original and still used today: I will mention some. However, their essential role was to establish the link between Antiquity and early modernity. Starting from the 14th century true literary works of art came about from this tradition, consider the *Libro de Buen Amor*, the *Conde Lucanor* or the *Decameron*.

5. *The Romulean Tradition Outside the Collections*

While in England the Romulean tradition produced more and more new collections that later spread to the Continent, in this it soon produced either isolated fables or others cited as exempla in different works. It was never forgotten: Romulus was an important book in Medieval teaching and libraries. With respect to the former—in which, in any event, he was led by Avianus—we must mention the *Fecunda ratis*, already cited, by Egbert of Liège in the 9th/10th centuries, in which fables of Romulus were combined with stories of the *Physiologus* and others as teaching material.

Isolated fables of the various Romuli were found, starting from that date, here and there, in various Medieval writers. The truth is that nobody has taken the trouble to make an exhaustive search. Yet if we review the book of Manitius we find, for example, influences

of Romulus on Ratherius of Liège (9th/10th centuries), on Peter Abelard (11th/12th centuries, one derived from the fable of the fox and the grapes), in Cosmas of Prague (11th century), on Alanus ab Insulis (12th century, an allusion to the snake that killed its saviour).

We must then add the Romulean fables that are found in the animal epic and which also testify to the influence of this collection on Latin Europe. I will consider them later. And I will discuss in particular the new Medieval fables that derive from the tradition of Romulus, which I have already referred to.

IV. *The New Medieval European Fable*

1. *Isolated Fables from the Carolingian Period onwards. General Remarks*

A great darkness extended over the history of the fable between the 6th and the 8th centuries AD. This, evidently, is the period in which Avianus continued to be copied and in which the corpus of Romulus had just been perfected and completed. If the "Aesopus Ad Rufum", its fundamental core, is from the 4th to the 6th centuries (at most), as I have said above, it must be thought that both the additions to Romulus and those to the mss. Ad and W come from the two (or even three) centuries that followed. We have mss. of Romulus from the 10th and Ad is from the beginning of the 11th.

Evidently, during these dates material must have been available in the libraries that later, so it would seem, disappeared or was too rare and sparse to attract the attention: Paraphrases of Phaedrus (including the "Phaedrus solutus"), fables of Hellenistic origin, the Pseudo-Dositheus in its Latin version.

On the other hand, those same early centuries of the Middle Ages saw the creation of various recensions of the text of Romulus, recensions still extraneous to the model of the Anglo-Latin Romulus. And they also saw the formation, in England, of the Romulean Anthology that is at the basis of the latter.

This is what we can say on this age: the use of isolated fables, whether Romulean or not, may be supposed on the part of its writers, but a search of this sort has not been carried out; nor do there seem to be isolated fables in poetic collections. However, in the 9th century, in the Carolingian Age, the panorama changes, or at least our knowledge changes.

In this period small poems begin to appear that are isolated fables and are characterized by themes not in the Romulean tradition (or derived from it, but with an independent personality) and by allusions, sometimes very direct, to the contemporary tradition. An article by Dieter Schaller that I have cited[12] presents us with the following material:

a) The fable of the lion, the fox and the wolfskin in a ms. of St. Gall from the 9th century (or the beginning of the 10th), written in 34 elegiac distichs. I have already discussed the Byzantine and ultimately Oriental origin of this narration.

b) An elegaic poem by Alcuin (c. 61) on the loss of a nightingale, not precisely a fable, and another (c. 49) in 31 hexameters that is the well-known fable of the cock and the wolf: captured by the wolf, the cock succeeds in being allowed to sing and escapes. This is an inversion of the theme of the ancient fable of the fox and the crow, either starting from this or through the intermediate one of the partridge and the fox, which is in the Ademari (Rom. 34). This is likely, since most of the Medieval versions talk of the cock and the fox (not the wolf); not to mention the versions derived from the Anglo-Latin Romulus or those of the *Ysengrimus* and the *Roman de Renart*, in the poem *Gallus et vulpes* transmitted by a ms. of Cambridge from the 11th century.[13]

c) Various poems by Theodulphe of Orleans: c. 50, concerning the fox that captures the turkey and the hen from a monastery, only to be trapped between the branches of a tree; and c. 27 and 72, concerning the fight between two flocks of birds. They probably refer, as Schaller proposes, to events of their time; the remote inspiration is, as I have suggested above (p. 603), to be found in Indian sources.

Of course, these poems are not the only ones. I must mention the *Gallinarius*, a long satire by Wipo, which has been lost (from the end of the 9th century;[14] and the "Conflictus hiemis et veris" by Alcuin, undoubtedly derived from the debate between the winter and

[12] "Lateinische Tierdichtung in frühkarolingischer Zeit", in *Das Tier in der Dichtung*, ed. Ute Schwab, Heidelberg 1970, pp. 91–127.

[13] Cf. the edition in J. Grimm-A. Schmeller, *Lateinische Gedichte des X und XI. Jh.*, Göttingen 1938, republ., Amsterdam 1957, pp. 345 ff.

[14] Cf. Manitius, *op. cit.*, II, p. 319.

the summer in H. 297 (Appendix to the Accursiana), since it is not credible that it comes from Ennius. I will add a poem by Sedulius (9th century) (M. 470) on the ram killed by the dogs due to the slander of one of them.[15]

On a later date, the tradition continued of isolated poems (and later exemplum-fables) not strictly Romulean and often linked to the events of the time. The *Metrum Leonis*, already cited, of Leo of Vercelli, is organized, as I have already said, around the fable of the ass and the lionskin, in Avianus, but also around a second, that in which the wolf devours the ass, whose guarantor he had become at the request of the fox, and is punished by the lion; it perhaps alludes to Italian infidelity with respect to the emperor.

And finally, I wish to mention other later fables within this same line. Galfred of Vino Salvo (12th century) tells the story of the "son of the snow" (M. 283, cf. Walter App. alt. 9). In Siegebert of Gimblaux (11th century), in his *De passione sanctorum Thebeorum*, II, epil., is the curious fable (M. 436) of the snake invited to eat by the king, that took twenty years to arrive; when he finally crossed the threshold, he fell and cursed his excessive haste. Donizus of Canossa (11th–12th centuries), in his poem in honour of Countess Matilda, tells the Greek, but non-Romulean fable (not-H. 95) of the lion (here a bear, but lion in Fredegar and in Aimoin), the stag and the fox; the fable sometimes contaminated by the Indian versions in which the ass takes part (cf. p. 599).

This is a minimal amount of material, mostly coming from Schaller and Manitius, that would nevertheless need to be completed with various poetic fables collected in the book by Grimm-Schmeller: that of "The She-ass of Alverada" (M. 43) (through attempting to save his she-ass, the owner is devoured by the wolf); that of the priest and the wolf (M. 413) (the wolf falls into the trap made by the priest and the latter threatens it with a stick, but the wolf seizes the stick and makes him fall in, then escaping by using him as a ladder: clear derivation from H. 9); that of the "Unibos" (M. 456) (a very long story with various tricks by this character, who, after being left with nothing, becomes rich and makes townspeople, in their greed, plunge into the sea in search of some supposed pigs).

[15] Cf. R. Düchting, "Vom Hammel, den ein Hund gerissen", in Ute Schwab, *op. cit.*, pp. 114–127.

Thus, starting from the Carolingian period, there arises a new panorama of the fable, in isolated poetic versions (later also in exemplum-fables), which sometimes end up being transferred to the collections and to the animal epic. New fables were created, sometimes starting from the Romulean fable, sometimes from the Oriental, sometimes from the Greek. Many did not even cross over to the collections; there are no more examples of these than those cited. And, frequently, they refer in a critical or satirical tone to contemporary events in which their authors are involved. The animal epic was to continue these tendencies and, starting from a given moment, so too were the collections.

This, as has been said, is the new environment of the continental fable starting from the 9th century, influencing of course the English collections and their continental derivatives and the animal epic. In fact, we have seen that the very collections derived from Romulus already tended to introduce variants, sometimes inserted in the contemporary reality. Yet this occurs to a greater extent outside of them, although the appendices of the various collections echo this new Medieval fable.

It would be appropriate now to dwell on this a little longer. We have already seen, in an independent chapter, that to a certain extent this new tradition is of Oriental origin: Indian particularly, having reached Europe through the relations between Byzantium and the Germanic Holy Roman Empire from the 9th century. We have seen that often the Indian and Oriental themes in general have produced new fables, generally in connection with criticism of the clergy. We must add that, alongside this component, there exist at least the following: Greek fables not present in Avianus or in Romulus, which arrived along the same path as derivations of them; derivatives of Romulus and Avianus (and, possibly, of other Latin authors); other fables dependent on the popular, folkloric, European tradition, although it is not always easy to isolate it; and, finally, new fables, whose origin I cannot clarify, but perhaps derived from the previous ones, perhaps simply imagined by a creative mind.

2. *Fables Derived from the Greek Tradition and Absent in Ancient Latin*

In the section that precedes this, we have already been able to find examples. Below I make a systematic exploration of fables presumably of the origin cited, sometimes in the collections, sometimes in

the animal epic. There remains the problem of finding out how these fables lived in the West after arriving there from Byzantium: whether in poems and isolated quotations or in small translated collections that were later incorporated in the English ones, to be displaced later by the latter. Perhaps both are true.

One precaution we must take with this material is to see if it does at least appear in fables of Phaedrus, since it does not in Avianus or in Romulus, because in that case we could conceive of the idea of a derivation of the Medieval fables starting from him.

Having said this, I am going to begin the study with two preliminary points. The first is to recall that in Petrus Alphunsus we find at least three fables that correspond to the Greek ones H. 62, 285 and 298 (cf. pp. 605 ff.). The first of them is also in Romulus, but the last two are only in the Greek tradition and, specifically, in the Appendix of the Accursiana, among other Byzantine sources: it is most likely, as I said, that they crossed over from there to Europe. On a derivative of H. 9, see below.

The second point is to also recall what I wrote in a previous work already cited[16] on Greek sources of the Archpriest that reached it, according to my hypothesis, through the European tradition; no more and no less than is the case of the sources of Oriental origin that arrived through Byzantium and Europe.

Summarizing what I stated in the location cited, I am referring to:

a) The fable of "The Lion's Share", which appears in the Archpriest (str. 82–88) coming from the Greek tradition of H. 154 and not from the Latin. Indeed, throughout the Latin tradition dependent on Phaedrus, it is the lion that keeps the four parts of the game caught by himself and his companions the cow, the goat and the sheep, whereas in the Greek fable, in which the lion, the fox and the ass take part in the hunt, there is a different ending, closely related to that of the Archpriest and (as we will see) his Latin antecedents: the ass is killed by the lion for making three equal parts and later it is the fox that gives almost all of it to the lion, remaining with a small part. When asked by the lion who taught him how to distribute so well, he answers: "The misfortunes of the ass". In the Archpriest the fable proceeds in a similar way to the Greek fable,

[16] "Aportaciones al estudio de las fuentes de las fábulas del Arcipreste", cit.

except that it is with the lion, the wolf and the fox and with more details; and at the end the fox, when asked by the lion how he learned how to distribute so wisely, he answers:

Ella dixo: "En la cabeça del lobo tomé lición,
en el lobo castigué que feziese o qué non."

Lecoy[17] indicated that the fable of the Archpriest (which contaminates the theme of the visit of the animals to the sick lion) already has precedents in the *Fecunda ratis* and in the *Ysengrimus* VI 145 ff., in addition to other later texts certainly derived from these (compare Eudes 20, also fab. 52 of Rabbi Berecchiah). The agreement is not precise, moreover (in the *Ysengrimus* and the Hebrew fable the fox gives part of the meat to the lioness and the lion cubs): what we have are different variants coming from the Greek version.

b) "The Proud Horse and the Ass" (Archpriest str. 237–245). Here our author contaminates details taken from Walter the Englishman with his own elements: the horse is now a war-horse who, when wounded by a lance, is discarded and condemned to perform agricultural chores. I have demonstrated that, in contrast to what Lecoy thinks, this is not an innovation by the Archpriest, but derived from the Greek fable H. 272 (once again, from the Appendix of the Accursiana).

c) The fable of "The Eagle and the Arrow" in Archpriest str. 270–275. This fable, completely absent from the Western tradition (and from the Oriental one of the Syriac fables) is H. 273, from the Appendix of the Accursiana (also in Par.). It arrived from Byzantium, then, not—I believe—from the other appearances, which are Aphthonius 32 and *Anthologia Palatina* IX 223.

It is clear that the sources of the Archpriest are Medieval Latin, even if the remote origin of the fables is Byzantine (or Oriental), from the details that have been included in it. In my work cited I also show, by means of two Medieval European fables derived from Romulus ("The Lion and the Horse", str. 298–303, and "The Wolf and the Fox Before the Monkey as Arbiter", str. 321 371), what I have already mentioned, that in the Archpriest they have precisely the form that they took on in the Medieval European tradition. I

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[17] *Op. cit.*, p. 147.

will return to this later. I refer the reader to pp. 576 ff. on the Medieval European elements of the material of Indian origin.

This leaves the path definitively open for the study that interests us. It seems wise to begin with the fables represented in the oldest collections, leaving for later those of Eudes and his school, as well as those of the Appendices of Walter. I will say as of now that the crop is not very large and that, from it, we must probably discount one important fable: the derivatives from H. 9 "The Fox and the He-goat", which perhaps reached our Middle Ages through Phaedrus IV 9.

It is a fable (M. 500) that was widespread starting from the *Disciplina Clericalis* (*Roman de Renart*, Eudes, etc.). Now it is the fox and the wolf; moreover, the innovation is the fact that the fox does not escape from the well by climbing on another animal, but goes up in one pail while the wolf goes down in the other.

It is, in any event, doubtful whether the immediate source is Phaedrus, of whom we have barely found any direct descent.[18] Let us now look at other fables in which this problem does not present itself and the eventuality of a possible derivation from Avianus seems to have to be discarded. I give a list following the numerical order of the Greek collections:

H. 10 (theme of custom: the fox becomes accustomed to the lion; cf. also H. 220): it is perhaps the model for M. 440 (in the *Promptuarium Parisinum* = 720 P., a collection that has the same source as the *Fabulae extravagantes* of the Romuli of Munich and Berne): the birds become accustomed to the scarecrow and defecate on him.

H. 24 (theme of the fox that, swollen with food, cannot escape from the hole in a tree): from here we have M. 428 "The Drunk Snake" (the same, except that it is a snake and an amphora) in Gregory of Tours.

H. 51 "The Farmer and the Serpent" (and not Romulus 39, in which the snake does not kill the farmer's son) is the source of M. 425 (in the Romulus of Munich), a very long fable with the dialogue between the farmer and the serpent.

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[18] See p. 643 on Alexander Neckam, p. 655 on the Bayeux Tapestries.

H. 94 ("The Two Dogs"), perhaps in number 3 of the Bayeux Tapestry.[19]

H. 99 "The Kid and the Wolf" (the kid asks to dance before dying, meanwhile the dogs arrive and it escapes) and H. 100 "The Wolf and the Kid" (the kid, who has taken refuge on a peak, insults the wolf): they are undoubtedly models for M. 65 in *Part. Der.* (before being devoured, the ox asks to go onto a mountain to pray. He moos, the shepherds come and he is saved) and M. 104 (the goat ask for permission from the wolf to sing mass: he climbs onto a peak, calls out and is saved). The theme appears in other fables, such as M. 265 "The Wolf, the Sow and the Piglets", by John of Sheppey.

H. 119 "The Camel and Zeus": from this come M. 236 in the two *Derivatives* and Marie de France (the hare asks Jupiter for horns, but cannot run with them and is killed by the shepherds). Although, in addition to AnF. I (and Par., Dod., *Tetr.*, Sy., Aphth.) it is in Avianus, it is clear that this was not known by the English tradition of the Anglo-Latin Romulus. Also from here comes the theme of the ass who wanted to have the longest tail (in the *Ecbasis*, M. 44).

H. 125 "The Rook and the Birds": from here probably come M. 447 "The Badger among the Pigs" in *Compl. Der.* and Marie (the badger passes himself off as a pig, but when it does not suit him he says he is a dog). However, it may also come from Romulus 54 "The Bat in the War of the Animals".

H. 154 "The Lion, the Wolf, the Fox and the Hunter": this is M. 225, derived from the Greek version and not the Latin one, as I have already said on p. 671. It is in the *Fecunda ratis*, *Ysengrimus*, Eudes and the Archpriest.

H. 162 "The Wolf and the Goat" (the wolf tells the goat to come down from the peak to graze, which she refuses to do), contaminated with H. 275 "The Fawn and the Hind" (the size of the latter does not correspond to her strength), is certainly the source of

[19] Cf. Herrmann, art. cit., p. 376.

M. 190 "The He-goat and the Wolf (the he-goat does not come down from the peak on which he has taken refuge, but when the wolf goes he comes down to drink; relying on his strength, he fights with him and dies). It is a fable of the Rom. Mon., and the last part (derived from H. 275, from the Appendix of the Accursiana) forms the basis of one of the *Fab. Rhythmicae* derived from Romulus of Nilant.

H. 202 "The Ass, the Crow and the Wolf" (the latter complains that people laugh when the crow pecks the ass, and thinks what would happen if he were the aggressor) is undoubtedly the source of M. 251 "The Wolf on the Crow Perched on the Ram", in *Compl. Der.* and Marie.

H. 259 "The Eagle and the Tortoise" is the source of M. 413 "The Proud Beetle" (he attempts to fly like the eagle and falls). It is in the two *Ders.* and in Marie de France: it is not credible, therefore, that the source is Avianus.

H. 286, the fable of the mule that boasts that the horse is his father and does not remember his mother the she-ass, is possibly the source of M. 442 "The Fool and the Mule" in Alexander Neckam: the fool whose mules lose in the Olympic Games receives a reprimand from these, who say that he could already realize their slowness when he bought them. This is not certain.

H. 293 "The Trees and the Olive", a biblical fable in the Appendix of the Accursiana, is undoubtedly the model for M. 36 "The Trees Electing a King", in the *Complete Der.*

Not-H. 95 "The Lion, the Stag and the Fox". On p. 598 I concerned myself with this well known fable (not in AnF., it undoubtedly reached the West starting from Par.) that was contaminated with its Indian counterpart, in which the ass takes part instead of the fox. It is M. 220. As well as being in various authors, it is in the *Complete Der.* and Marie de France, and in the derivations of the Romulus of Nilant.

Not-H. 247 "The Monkey" (in the beauty competition, before Zeus, the monkey declares that her son is the most handsome) is undoubtedly

the model for the fable in *Complete Der.* and Marie, in which the monkey's praises of her son are followed by other incidents (M. 431: the bear devours it). There are problem as regards the source: the model is only found in Babrius and (from there) in Avianus. If, as it would seem, the second is really not known in England, the source must be a lost Byzantine derivative (Par. or Dod.), as in the case of the previous fable.

Life of Aesop 45: I propose that the dialogue of the fable M. 93 "The Dog that Asked his Master for a Bone" (the master says that he who pretends to love him most and loves him least will receive the bone and the dog replies: my mistress) derives from the passage cited (Aesop gives food delivered to him by his master not to his wife, but to the dog: the master has said to give it to "the one who loves him most"). It is not necessary for the source to be exactly the *Life*, since we know that the source of various fables of this reached the Byzantine Age and was reproduced in the Appendix of the Accursiana.

The arrival of Greek material in the collections prior to Eudes, particularly to the Anglo-Latin Romulus, does not seem doubtful, then, although it is not abundant. Of course, it acquires Medieval European features.

I will now move on to consider the new fables that arrived from Byzantium in around 1200, which are found particularly in Eudes. I will make a quick list; I eliminate the fables appearing in Avianus, whom we already know now to be the source of Eudes (although there may be doubt in some cases, for example, in M. 131 "The Crow and the Swallow", which perhaps comes from M. 249 and not from its derivative in Avianus 15):

H. 2 "The Eagle, the Rook and the Shepherd": cf. M. 292 "The Kite and the Partridges" in Eudes (he wants to compete with the hawk, catches too many partridges and loses them). Here too, certainly, M. 58 "The Goose and the Crow", in Eudes: the crow does not have the strength to carry the goose, as it weighs too much (with influence of debates between birds such as H. 249 "The Peacock and the Crane", also in Avianus).

H. 4 "The Hawk and the Nightingale": cf. M. 352 "Philomela and the Archer" in Eudes (the archer frees the nightingale after hearing

its maxims, but it is demonstrated that it is foolish because it foolishly fails to fulfil them).

H. 24 "The Fox that Swelled": cf. M. 399 "Renard and the Wolf", in Eudes (similar to M. 362, in the *Roman de Renart*).

H. 45 "The Oxen and the Axle" (the axle complains and not the oxen, who are the ones that do the work) is undoubtedly (together, perhaps, with H. 197) the model for M. 49 (Appendix to Eudes) "The Ass and the Crab": the ass complains about falling into the mud and not the crabs, who spend all their time in it.

H. 51 (the irreconcilable hatred between the farmer, whose son has been killed by the serpent, and the latter, whom he wanted to kill) is certainly the model for M. 57 (Eudes), which has created a new fable from it: the serpent mother kills the serpent daughter, who has killed the farmer's son. There is a derivation from one of the versions of AnF., not from that of Romulus 39, from which the death of the farmer's son is absent (cf. pp. 107 ff.), the same as in another derivative previously cited.

H. 57 "The Old Woman and the Doctor". Cf. M. 18 (Appendix to Eudes).

H. 79 "The Stag and the Vine": cf. M. 19 "The Antelope" (the hunters kill the antelope, whose horns get entangled in the wickers).

H. 87 and H. 189 (cf. pp. 48 f., referring to the piglet who groans because he is going to die, whereas they only want wool from the sheep), as well as H. 272 (theme of the envy, unjustified, of the ass for the horse), are the source of H. 55: the ass, envious of the pig, pretends to be sick, is fed up and fattened; but when they kill the piglet, he is scared and returns to his previous life. We could also consider an influence of Phaedrus V 4 "The Ass and the Pig Food" (not-H. 51), absent from Romulus. Yet it is pure hypothesis, as it is an author who does not seem to know Eudes and John of Sheppey, our sources, directly.

H. 108 "Zeus and the Tortoise": cf. M. 449 in Eudes and John of Sheppey.

H. 134 "The Dog and the Cook": cf. M. 122, in the second appendix of Walter.

H. 139 "The Dog and the Hare": perhaps it is the source of M. 261 "The Wolf and the Sheep Kissing" (the sheep does not want to be kissed by the wolf, when she agrees, she barely has time to escape).

H. 167, fable of the lioness who only had one son "but a lion", is undoubtedly the source of M. 444 (in the Appendix of Eudes) "The Sow and the Lioness". We could specify further: it comes from Par. 2, in which the traditional interlocutor of the lioness, the fox, is replaced by the sow. In M. 24 (App. of Eudes) there is a version of the theme.

H. 169 "The Eagles and the Foxes": cf. M. 236 "The Hares and the Eagles" in Eudes.

H. 190 "The Ass and the Gardener": cf. M. 50, in Eudes.

H. 191 "The Ass Loaded with Salt": this has passed to M. 47 (Appendix to Eudes).

H. 195 "The Ass and the Cicadas": cf. M. 54 "The Ass and the Blackbird", in Eudes.

H. 236 "The Wasp and the Snake": cf. M. 475, in Appendix III of Eudes.

H. 254 "The Tortoise and the Hare": cf. M. 237 "The Hare who Competed with the Wolf" (there is a challenge, the hare runs off and the wolf loses heart: the former wins), undoubtedly a derivative, in Eudes, Bozon and John of Sheppey. Another derivative can be seen in M. 114 "The Stag, the Hedgehog and the Boar", in which the hedgehog defeats the stag in a race: it mixes the Medieval theme (from the *Ecbasis*) of the hedgehog, as well as, perhaps, the fable H. 238 of the stag, the hedgehog and the hunter (the matter is confused, because, as we know, cf. pp. 85 ff., in Romulus the boar appears instead of the stag: here both).

H. 273 "The Eagle": cf. the fable of the Archpriest referred to above, p. 672.

There is, then, in Eudes and his contemporaries a new entrance of Greek fables, undoubtedly along the same path. Like those that entered before, sometimes they are preserved as such, at others they produced derivatives. And as before (there were some exceptions) this fabulistic material is present in the Anonymous Fables; sometimes in other collections too, but never in others while absent from the Anonymous Fables. This seems to demonstrate that the Anonymous fables are precisely the source. We have seen, however, an exception that supports the idea of Par.

When, writing my work repeatedly used here on the fables of the Archpriest, I discovered that some of them could only have reached him starting from Byzantium and going through the Latin European tradition, it remained to be demonstrated that this was not an isolated case: that outside of the Archpriest there were Greek fables with the same characteristics. I believe that this remains clear from now on: for the properly Greek fables and for the Oriental ones arriving through Byzantium.

3. *Fables Derived from "Romulus" and, Possibly, from the Remaining Ancient Latin Tradition*

The study of the fables of Romulus has already been carried out in general terms; and, occasionally, I have attended to the properly Medieval derivatives of these. Now I am going to deal directly with the latter theme. Yet we will see, first, whether other ancient authors also produced derived fables.

We must note, before beginning, that the data that I am now going to give is selective and is subject to certain doubts. I have already presented some fables in which the derivation from the Greek is not entirely certain. There may be doubt, sometimes, between these and Romulus or Avianus or even Phaedrus: this would require a detailed study. Also one on certain contaminations.

What is important is to see how the ancient fables produced derivatives. These, on the other hand, are very varied: they may be abbreviations or expansions, they may vary the subject slightly (by simply changing an animal, for example) or stick with the general intention

or even carry out an inversion. Certain Medieval themes of satire of the clergy enter; and the wolf tends to replace the lion.

Since Romulus at least was known by all our collections, I do not divide the material that follows between these, but rather I consider the numbering of Romulus; then there follow some fables probably derived from Avianus, and one from Phaedrus.

On the other hand, the division between this section and that of the Romulean fables, dealt with above, is not clearcut: in that I have presented a series of fables that, in fact, are more derivations than transcriptions of Romulus. In short, the important thing is to see that the authors of collections of the Middle Ages, particularly in their Appendices (and Eudes and his school anywhere) did not restrict themselves to copying the previous tradition; they derived fables from it, giving free rein to their imagination, with the intention, sometimes, of approaching contemporary reality:

Rom. 8 (theme of "the lion's share") is the source of M. 228 (Bozon) "The Lion, the Young Ass and the Goat". The lion says that he should have the first and second part and they must now fight for the third, whereupon the other two animals say they will give him it.

Rom. 10: cf. p. 652 on the modification of this fable in the Romulus of Berne.

Rom. 13. The fable of the ungrateful serpent has produced an abundant descent: M. 289 (Romulus of Munich and Ap. of Eudes), a complex fable in which a serpent, whom a soldier has saved, behaves despicably (the fox makes him abandon it again); M. 300 (Eudes), in which a woman gives birth to a serpent, who kills her; M. 295 (Eudes), in which it is a basilisk that, nurtured by a monk, ends up killing him; M. 415 (Eudes), an inversion of the theme (Saint Paul is bitten by a viper, but nothing happens to him).

Rom. 16. The fable of the eagle and the fox has also produced a descent. In M. 506 (Al. Neckam) it is the vulture that kills the eagle's chicks, to then be her victim when he foolishly reveals his presence by answering to the words of the eagle (perhaps there is contamination with "The Cock and the Fox"); in M. 435 (Romulus of Bern. and *Compl. Der.*) it is the bear that devours the monkey's young, and

she sets fire to him; in M. 137 (Eudes, John of Sheppey) the crow eats the pigeon's chicks because she, when asked to sing, does not do so very well (perhaps contaminated with H. 4).

Rom. 17. The fable of the eagle and the tortoise, in its Phaedrian and Romulean version, is probably the model for M. 60 (Eudes), which explains why the bird *frangens os* (bone breaker = bearded vulture) throws a bone against a rock when he cannot eat it. There is a theme of false Natural History at the same time.

Rom. 19. The fable of the fox and the crow is, I think, the model for the passage in the *Ecbasis* in which the fox flatters the wolf so that he comes out of the cave, which he achieves: the wolf is killed later. Also for "The Stork and the Cat" in Eudes M. 117 (except that the cat does not free the eel and the stork fails).

Rom. 27 "The Frogs Asking for a King". From here comes Eudes (M. 162): the ants choose the log as king and urinate on it; then the snake, who devours them. Also the fable of Walter (M. 448), in which he, on the preface to the fable in Romulus (and Phaedrus), talks of the Athenians, who chose a king and could not put up with him.

Rom. 30 "The Wolf and the Sow" (she asks the wolf midwife to go away) is probably the model for a variant of the Florentine Romulus (M. 41) in which the wolf touches the sick ass, asking where it hurts, to which he replies: "where you touch". Compare also H. 7 and other fables.

Rom. 34. This is the fable of the partridge and the fox, the probable model for the well-known fable of the cock and the fox (M. 175, cf. p. 668). Yet it could be the opposite case; the remote model is the fable of the crow and the fox, Rom. 19.

Rom. 45 "The Proud Rook and the Peacock". There is a fable in the Romulus of Berne (M. 477) that is practically the same, but with the bat (cf. Rom. 54). In M. 342 (also Eudes) the original fable is inverted: now it is the peacock that gives up his feathers through vanity, freezing to death.

Rom. 46, the fable of the fly and the bald man, is undoubtedly the origin of the debate of the bee and the fly in M. 20 (*Part.* and *Compl. Der.*).

Rom. 47 "The Fly and the Mule" is re-worked in M. 314 (fable of Poggio) with a new punchline: the fly, settling on the four-horse chariot, says: "what a lot of dust I raise!"

Rom. 48. I have already said above that the fable in which the monkey judges the wolf and the lion produces the Medieval version M. 272 (in *Compl. Der.* and Marie de France), in which the judge is the lion, who, instead of giving a neutral sentence, affirms that the truths of the wolf are of greater authority than the truths of the fox. I refer to my study on the sources of the Archpriest, already cited, where I show that the latter's version (str. 321–371) comes, fundamentally, from a text also known by the *Roman de Renart*, which introduces Medieval elements: two lawyers intervene and it is said that the object of the dispute is a cock. I add another derivative, the fable M. 271 "The Wolf Hearing the Confessions of the Fox and the Ass" (in Eudes and in a Byzantine version, cf. below, p. 706): the innocent ass is condemned. And yet another, M. 224 (Bozon), in which the lion condemns the ass.

Rom. 52 "The Lion and the Horse". I have already said that this fable of Romulus, descending from H. 198, heads the Medieval tradition. Within this, the version by the Archpriest, str. 298–303, is significant: the lion appears as king and orders his subject the horse to approach.

Rom. 53 "The Ass and the Horse" seems to be the source of M. 325, in which the wild ass, envious of the ass, finally recognizes, when seeing it with such a heavy load, that it is right that it eats better.

Rom. 63 "The Sheep and the Wolves", in which the dogs are delivered to the wolves, who devour the flock, is slightly modified in M. 337 (Walter the Englishman), with the introduction of the shepherd.

Rom. 73 (theme of the shepherd who hides the wolf from a pursuer but points at it) has inspired M. 466 (Romulus of Munich), in which the ploughman hides the hare that is escaping from the hunter

and, on hearing the latter's words "how good it would be with pepper", replies "how good it would be with salt".

Rom. 74 (fable of Juno and the peacock) has given rise to M. 346 (Nicolas Bozon) with a slight change: now it is to providence or *praedestinatio* that the peacock complains over not having a beautiful song.

Rom. 77 is a fable derived from that of the swallow and the birds; cf. p. 113. From this, in turn, comes M. 78 (in Eudes) "The Bald Man who Cried and the Partridge".

Rom. 83. From the theme of the horrible song of the ass derive fables such as M. 218 (in Eudes, I: very long, with Christian morals) on the ass as candidate to be a minister for the lion and M. 412 (in *Anon. Avianicae*), in which a woman, who cries when hearing a priest sing horribly, explains that his song is reminiscent of that of her ass when the wolf devoured it. The theme has also entered elsewhere: in the Archpriest (str. 893–903), in the fable of the lion, the ass, the wolf and the fox.

Rom. 85 (in its version closest to the Ps.-Dositheus, cf. p. 521) is the model for M. 495 (Eudes): the fox, with his lamentations, makes the hens open up and he eats them.

Rom. 89 "The Wolf and the Sick Ass" has produced M. 293 (Romuli of Munich and Berne), with a long debate between the fox, the mule and the wolf: the mule kills the wolf with a kick (he was going to read his name, written on his hoof through the cunning of the fox). Cf. also M. 56 (Eudes).

Rom. 93. The fable of the ant and the cicada is certainly the inspiration for M. 165 (J. of Sheppey): the pig destroys the ants's granary.

At this point I will move on to consider a few fables that seem to have derived from those of Avianus: they all belong to the most recent Latin fabulistic tradition. I will leave aside what I have stated on the *Gesta Romanorum* (p. 638), which transforms the version by Avianus of the fable of the lion, the stag and the fox into an anecdote of the emperor Trajan. I find three others:

Av. 14, the fable of the monkey's mother (cf. p. 260). From it must come M. 70 "The Owl and his Beautiful Son" (Eudes and J. of Sheppey). The owl shows off his son to the hare, so that he can take a message for him to the assembly of the birds: he restricts himself to indicating his beauty, which the hare criticizes.

Av. 15, a version of "The Peacock and the Crane". From here comes M. 131 (in Eudes and Ap. of Walter) "The Proud Crow and the Swallow".

Av. 32, fable on the theme of "Praying to God . . ." (Hercules says to the cart driver, whose cart has overturned, that first and foremost he should try to make his oxen stand). Now (M. 406) it is the help of Saint Peter that is requested by the peasant whose ass has fallen: Saint Peter tells him to make an effort first.

As regards Phaedrus, I find practically no derivatives: I have already said that he was hardly ever used directly. If at all, it may be proposed that the debate between the olive and the vine, to the advantage of the former, in M. 485 (codex in the Academy of History of Madrid) derives from III 17 "The Trees under the Guidance of the Gods".

All this material is evidently very unequal in its artistic value, its structure and extension, its intention. It occasionally ties up with Christian themes or with the Medieval themes of the court or the satire of the clergy. And, together with rather dull or repetitive elements or mere variations without greater interest, there is no lack of features of ingenuity and true fabulistic creation.

4. *Fables of the European Popular Tradition*

In the previous chapter, pp. 576 ff., I already gave an idea of the polemic that since the last century has been kept alive on the subject of the animal epic, over whether its origin was European and popular (Germanic, according to Grimm and his followers, or Celtic, as was claimed later by A. Schossig)[20] or whether it was Aesopic. I have already said in the location cited that this second thesis, whose main representative is L. Foulet,[21] is the predominant one today. For the details, I refer the reader to Foulet's arguments.

[20] Art. cit. on p. 585.

[21] Cf. his chapter "Le Roman de Renard et le folklore", in *Le Roman de Renard*, 2nd ed., Paris 1968, pp. 536–563.

Of course, the theme of the origin of the Medieval Latin fable must not only be approached in connection with the animal epic (and this was the first error of the "Germanists"): the vast majority of the fables contained in this are the same as those in the collections; and although innovations by the authors of these poems cannot be ruled out, fundamentally their fables derive from the same ones that have ended up in our collections starting from other previous ones or from quotations, also earlier ones. What the authors of the animal epic poems add of their own is generally secondary, with clear traces of derivation.

It is pointless, of course, to repeat the old polemic here. I have shown that the entire Medieval European fable has Greek elements that arrived through the Latin collections of Avianus and Romulus; it also has elements that arrived directly from Byzantium, whether of Greek or Oriental origin. And this both as regards the fables included in the animal epic and as regards those of the collections and those cited by various authors or the object of isolated poems.

However, to be objective, one problem remains: that of whether—although to a small degree—there may not also be indigenous elements from Nordic Europe in the Medieval Latin fable; it certainly absorbed the ancient culture, but it cannot be ruled out that it may also have contributed certain elements. No more and no less than Greece added its own elements to the Oriental fable. It is no coincidence that the fable is a universal genre that is found in all kinds of peoples in connection with myths and rites relative to animals, which at the dawn of time, according to a widespread belief, were gods. And that they continued to be symbols of different values, as well as essential components of man's environment.

It is clear that on this terrain we are moving amid uncertainties, since by definition the transmission of the supposedly European fables must have been by means of the oral tradition. Certainly, fables for which we cannot find precedents in the Graeco-Latin or Oriental tradition may be European, but they may also be free creations, new discoveries. Or they may derive from other traditions, as is the case with the theme of the death of the wolf in the *Ysengrimus*, coming from a legend on the death of Mohammed.[22]

A popular European origin[23] has been proposed for various fables.

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[22] Cf. Voigt, *op. cit.*, p. LXXXIV.
[23] Cf. E. Voigt, *op. cit.*, p. XCI, F. P. Knapp, *op. cit.*, pp. 74 ff.

Among those that develop the theme of the wolf whose tail is trapped in the ice, which seems to be of Nordic origin by definition, are M. 270 (in the Romuli of Munich and Berne, in the *Ysengrimus* and the *Roman de Renart*, in Rabbi Berecchiah, in Eudes) and a derivative concerning two cows (M. 463, in the *Speculum Stultorum*). The same has also been thought of the fables in which the fox violates or seduces the she-bear (M. 504, *Compl. Der.* and Marie) or the she-wolf (*Ysengrimus, Roman de Renart*). And of the pretty fable of "The Fox with a Hundred Tricks and the Cat with One" (M. 490: all of the Anglo-Latin Romulus, that of Munich, Rabbi Berecchiah, Eudes), for which comparative material has been given.[24] It is a fable that inverts the common theme of the cunning of the fox: the cat, who climbs up a tree, evades the dogs, whereas the fox is captured. However, the fable recalls the theme from Archilochus that "The fox knows many things, the hedgehog only one, but a decisive one" (not-H. 20); clearly, we cannot say from where it can have reached Medieval Europe, as there is no intermediate tradition.

The theme of the theft of the ham by the fox in combination with the wolf (the first plays dead and then tires out the man who carries it and manages to make him put the ham down on the ground; the wolf then snatches it) in M. 512 is already in the *Prora* of the *Fecunda ratis* as well as in a series of proverbs[25] and later in the *Ysengrimus* and the *Roman de Renart*: a popular origin has also been proposed in this case (although the theme of the fox that plays dead is Indian. And likewise in the case of the various allusions, in the isolated fables and the epic, to the pilgrimages of animals (conditioned, of course, by the Christian environment).

The truth is that it is not easy to take decisions on this moving terrain, where the various written traditions enter the town, as well as the religious and social environment of the time, whereas, in the opposite process, popular elements may be adapted to fit the new written traditions. For example, the entry of the bear into the fables, on occasions, is characteristic of the new environment in which they circulate now. I have restricted myself to indicating some of the most probable cases among those indicated. And I emphasize that, in any event, these are fables from the whole Medieval tradition, not only the collections.

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[24] Cf. H. Schwarzbaum, art. cit., p. 237.

[25] Cf. Voigt, *op. cit.*, p. LXXIX.

5. *Newly Created Fables*

a) *General Remarks*

Of course, in this case it is also by no means easy to make clearcut assertions: fables that appear to us to be new and isolated may come from a tradition that has been lost to us.

I am going to leave aside the new fables (or distant derivatives) of the animal epic, since it is a theme that we will deal with subsequently; I also leave aside some fables that are isolated or from the indirect tradition, which I discussed above. And those of Petrus Alphunsus. I will restrict myself, therefore, to those of the collections (sometimes also present, moreover, outside of them). And among these I have no choice but to proceed selectively, giving some examples.

I think that, on this occasion, it is preferable to divide the collections into two groups, the older ones and those from a more recent date (Eudes and his school, the Appendices); however, doubts remain on some fables (the *extravagantes* and others). On the other hand, the general tendencies of the two groups are approximately the same.

b) *Ancient Collections*

Let us begin with the first group. We must initially emphasize that some of the "new" fables may, in fact, be derivations of other known ones. Thus M. 299 "The Woman and her Lover" (*Compl. Der.*, Marie) may be derived from the fable of the same title and the same sources, M. 298 (of Indian origin, cf. p. 600); M. 471, although it takes place between a pig and other pigs, may come from the theme of the fable of the swallow. The problem has particular importance with regard to the theme, originally Indian, of the hypocritical animal (wolf, cat, fox) that passes itself off as religious although its true nature is very far removed from this. Starting from here, the Medieval fabulists devised fables and more fables, which modified the situations in a thousand ways. I have referred to most of these on pages 596 ff.

These variants are sometimes found in the animal epic, as we already know, and the problem is whether they have ended up there from the exemplum-fables or from collections or vice versa; however, this is in fact a minor problem. What is important is to see how these fables reflect the life and customs of the Medieval religious communities, in which they were undoubtedly born. Some significant fables, for example, are M. 248 (in the Anglo-Latin Romulus

and the Bayeux Tapestry) in which the wolf as false monk eats up the lamb "instead of the salmon"; M. 107 (in the same tradition), in which the mice "prefer to die pagans" rather than receiving the blessing of the cat bishop; M. 255 and 256 (in the same tradition), in which the hedgehog takes part, related to the fast of the wolf, by supplying him with fruits. And there are long stories, or rather animal novelettes, such as M. 98 (Romuli of Munich and Berne) on the bad advice of the wolf to the dog, which ends in the latter's death; M. 260 (from the *de lupo*) on the wolf captured by the shepherd and liberated on the basis of promises that he does not keep; M. 259 "The Wolf and the Sailor" (in same tradition: the wolf only tells his third truth once he has disembarked); M. 245 (in the same tradition, the animal epic and the Archpriest), a long patchwork of different elements, including one Indian; M. 488 "The Fox under the Guidance of the Wolf" (in *Fab. Extravagantes*), a long story in which at the end the fox succumbs, through not having learned enough from the wolf, etc. Of course, there are all kinds of links between these fables and the derivations of Latin themes, such as the fables of the wolf judge, already mentioned.

In our collections there also arise fables that do no more than emphasize the general characteristics of the wolf, who has nothing that is monk-like (M. 242, Marie), or give new examples of his relations with the fox, in which the latter triumphs. Yet there are also new fables of the fox, in opposition, for example, to a little bird (M. 492, Romulus of Berne) which he devours; the theme is inverted in M. 494 "The Fox and the Pigeon" (*Compl. Der.*, Marie), in which the fox attempts to devour the pigeon with the same trick of the general peace that has been established, but this time is defeated by the cunning of the pigeon.

As we see, in these fables the Medieval fabulists follow the fundamental themes of the ancient fable. They may innovate, certainly, with regard to the animals and the detail of the theme. We may encounter, for example, the oxen that do not want to clean what they dirtied, which is unjust (M. 64, Anglo-Latin Romulus) or the curious man who opens an egg that the snake has entrusted him with (M. 148, the same tradition) or the theme of the dog of the gardener (M. 86, *Fab. Extravagantes*) or the fishes that jump out of the pan and fall onto the ice (M. 359) or the cock that comments to the horse that he can keep ten women in line and the master

not even one (H. 173). Or new themes are introduced, such as that of the advantages of the homeland (M. 23 and 356). Or political themes, as is the case in M. 22 ("The Eagle, the Hawk and the Pigeons", Anglo-Latin Romulus), M. 101 (Romulus of Berne: the pig does not believe the greatness of the court of the lion), M. 222 (*Compl. Der.*: the lion has to fight with his son who has revolted to win back the Kingdom that he had entrusted to him in his absence).

It could be said that the imagination of the authors of collections or of their models is fertile and varied. They range between fables of the traditional type, others that are small animal romances with various episodes (an anticipation, undoubtedly, of the animal epic, cf. M. 250, in the *Metrum leonis*) and short fables, sometimes focusing on a final "bon mot": cf., for example, M. 197 ("The Man and the Measure", in Marie), M. 252 ("The Wolf and the Pigeon that Collected Twigs", in the Anglo-Latin Romulus), M. 481 ("The Viper and the Field", in Marie), M. 484 ("The Calf and the Stork", in the Cod. of St. Gall 889). I will restrict myself to quoting from the latter fable. The calf is looking for the cow, it has been three days since it last suckled—it says—. "And three years for me", answers the joking stork. "That's why your feet are like that", replies the calf. Also very interesting is the debate between the ram and the wolf who entered the sheepfold (M. 40, Romulus of Berne): "Death to the one that did not close the gate"—"Is it because of me?"—"No, another could have entered".

Together with flat, long and erratic fables, at other times it is not a sense of humour that is lacking. The ancient line is continued here, and also in other fables that have no hesitation in introducing the old theme from Archilochus of the naked rear of the monkey (M. 502, Romulus of Berne) and scatological themes into new contexts.

However, of course, the properly Christian fable also makes its presence felt. Some are of satirical orientation: to those mentioned above on the theme of the animal as false monk, we will add, for example, that of the unfaithful stork, who will of course be punished (M. 115, Romulus of Berne), the theme of the cock-devil and the hermit-cat, who is more dangerous than the former (M. 309, the same tradition), that of the mouse that does not want to enter the "cloister" (the mousetrap) and prefers to gorge on barley in the granary (M. 377, the same tradition). Other fables present the animal

as a good Christian: the dog that saved a boy who had fallen in the Jordan (M. 99, the same tradition), the other who denounced his master's killer (M. 91, same tradition).

We must add that human anecdotes are used together with the "new" animalistic themes in our collections; there are also intermediate uses. These human anecdotes range between the same poles: the short, sometimes amusing anecdote and the long stories or narrations with lax structures; the anecdote from the ancient and the Christian traditions.

I will cite, for example, anecdotes on traditional themes, such as that of nature, M. 4 (Anglo-Latin Romulus: the hawk confesses that he can raise the owl's chicks, but not change dirty nature); that of death, M. 46 (App. Poggio); the anti-female satire, M. 299 (Anglo-Latin Romulus), 452 (Walter), 460 and 461 (Anglo-Latin Romulus). Or else there are various traditional anecdotes, sometimes amusing, cf., for example, M. 152 (the same source: the one-eyed arbiter assigned half of the price asked for by the seller because he only saw half the horse, according to him); the theme of the hermit who tests his servant (M. 187), that of the pregnant man (M. 168). Cf. also M. 150, 194, 357, 402, 424.

New themes also appear. For example, we find anecdotes or stories of a Christian type. In M. 10 (in the Anglo-Latin Romulus, perhaps from H. 49) the peasant, who asked God for a second horse, is satisfied with its return when it is stolen; in M. 192 (the same source) the sailor is saved when he asks God to do his will; in M. 19 (the same source) the man who only prays for himself and his family is criticized; in M. 208 (Walter) we are told the story of the murderer of a Jew, who is betrayed by the partridges. At other times there are moralistic themes, in which the ancient and the Christian tradition converge: such as on the selfishness of heirs (M. 158, *Fab. extravagantes*), on the liar (idem), on criticism (M. 340: the protagonist, who is fed up with being criticized if he rides the ass with his son, if his son mounts it alone or he only leads it without a rider, throws the ass into the river).

This may be a panorama, without claiming to be exhaustive, of the "new" fable in the Anglo-Latin Romulus, the Romuli of Munich and Berne, Walter and some related texts. The newest aspect of the stories is the fact that they are long and disjointed, or there are sometimes short human or animal novelettes; and, as regards the themes, the Christian ones, which often fit perfectly within the ancient

themes or others are built around them. Yet to a large extent, the spirit and even the form of the ancient fable continues. Without losing its exemplary character or its critical tendency (now directed, sometimes, in other directions), the fable has not lost its incisiveness, its humour, its recourse to good sense and realism. The ancient themes have been preserved, the Cynic ones have been Christianized. Having put all this together with the great number of fables preserved simply with few modifications, the period to which our citings refer, approximately the 10th, 11th and 12th centuries, is a good continuation of the previous one—I have already discussed the new fable in the Carolingian period—, and good precedent for the one that follows. In a new society, the fable continued to fulfil its function, as lucid, critical and exemplary as ever.

c) *Recent Collections*

The panorama of the Latin fable around the end of the 12th and the first part of the 13th century, and in the continuers of the 14th (Eudes and his school, Appendices of him and of other earlier authors, etc.) is partly the same, partly different. I will make a summary exposition. For more data, I refer the reader to Vol. III, Appendix III. I indicate the fables, but not the authors.

On one hand, we must also emphasize that among these fables we find derivations of the traditional ones: M. 56 "The Ass with Privilege, the Fox and the Wolf" is a continuation of the theme of "the kick of the ass" (this leaves the fox blind; he was about to read the privilege supposedly written in his hoof), M. 366 "The Flea and the Abbot" continues the theme of the animal that escapes with a religious pretext (the flea jumps off the palm of the hand of the abbot who has allowed him to confess his sins). Among other fables, I will mention the following: M. 26 "The Eagle and the Crow Doctor" (who blinds the eagle and eats up his chicks: theme of "The Eagle and the Fox"); M. 108 "The Cat Monk" (the traditional theme, with the amusing conclusion "when I want I am a monk, when I want I am a canon"); M. 118 "The Stork and his Beak" (theme of the homeland, already seen before); M. 129 "The Banquet with the Lion" (continuation of the theme of bad food at the court of the lion: he serves mice to the cat and to the others . . . and they have to eat them, although they are disgusted); M. 140 "The Cuckoo and the Eagle" (development of the Oriental theme of the election of the king of the birds, with the aetiology of why the cuckoo puts its

eggs in other birds' nests); M. 224 "The Lion, the Wolf, the Fox and the Ass" (continuation of the theme of the wolf-judge); M. 257 "The Wolf Monk"; M. 258 "The Wolf and the Sailor" (he does not keep his promise to go on a pilgrimage to Rome, made in order to escape); M. 264 "The Wolf and the Priest" (the wolf asks the priest to give him penance quickly, as he sees the sheep coming down the mountain); M. 459 "The Bear and the Wolf" (the shepherd cannot find the sheep that he entrusted to the wolf when he went on a pilgrimage. And he does not believe they are dead: "and the skins?", he asks); M. 497 "The Fox Confessing his Sins to the Cock" (what he does is eat him). Cf. a related Greek fable (in Michael Choniatas) above p. 575. In all cases we are dealing with derivatives of well-known types of fable, some older, others developed in those studied earlier. There are Christian and Medieval elements generally and, often, a good fabulistic invention.

At other times we find new fables without a known model and with more or less traditional themes. There are some that met with great success in the later tradition, such as the antecedents of the theme of "putting the bell on the cat" (M. 308 "The Advice of the Mice against the Cat"), of "the monkey climbed up a walnut tree" (M. 434 "The Monkey and the Nut"), of the discussion of the dogs (which in M. 234 are devoured by the wolves). Fables that are less widespread, but are interesting, are M. 31 "The Eagle and the Mouse Discussing Sight" (a long debate), M. 34 "The Spider" (the wind carries web and fly), M. 38 "The Heron and the Eagle" (theme of nature), M. 39 "The Ram and the Bald Man" (he attacks him and kills him because he thinks he is playing), M. 170 "The Hen, the Chicks and the Kite" (the disobedient chick is eaten by the kite), M. 230 "The Lion and the Unicorn" (dialogue with quotes from the *Apocalypsis*), M. 244 "The Burial of the Wolf" (undoubtedly derived from the epic), M. 302 "The Cat with the Lit Candle" (he throws it away when he sees the mouse), M. 303 "The Cat, the Mouse and the Cheese" (since the mouse ate the cheese from the box, the master put a cat inside—and it ate the mouse and the cheese), M. 307 "The Drunken Mouse and the Cat" (the mouse does not abide by his oath to come when called by a cat who saved him from a barrel; "I was drunk when I swore it", he says), M. 310 "The Mouse and his Wicked Sons" (they escape and the cat eats them), M. 322 "The Hawk and the Doves" (political criticism, the eagle clucks instead of judging—the doves abandon this chief), M. 328 "The

Sheep, the Ass and the He-goat" (each one believes he is the holiest). Cf. some others: M. 62, 87, 103, 188, 223, 301, 400, 409, 419, 457.

With some exceptions, these are short fables, with traditional structure and theme sometimes traditional, sometimes used to support Christian ideas. Yet at other times, more than fables, we have similes: M. 37 "Four Kinds of Tree", M. 241 "The Game of Chess", M. 313 "The Fly". Cf. also M. 74 and M. 105.

And at other times what we find are short stories on the behaviour of such and such an animal, often on the basis of the fantastic notions of the *Physiologus*: we are dealing, among other things, with the continuation of the ancient fables that I have called "of Natural History", which are not in fact true fables. Cf., for example, M. 30 (the eagle), M. 95 (the dog), M. 98 (the crow), M. 111 (the hind), M. 141 (the cuckoo), M. 157 (the Phoenix), M. 318 (the weasel), M. 333 (the panther), M. 347 (the pelican), M. 467 (the elephant). It is significant that, together with fantastic beliefs and mythical animals, we encounter realistic observations: when the dog follows two men, we cannot see which of them is his master, but if one turns, we see whether it is his master or not, because the dog only follows his master.

To the animal fables and quasi-fables, we must add the pseudo-historical human anecdotes and stories: sometimes not framed historically, sometimes properly Medieval, sometimes set in Classical Antiquity. Sometimes characters are cited with proper, ancient or Medieval names. Often there are long and disjointed stories. They very frequently have a direct Christian intention; at other times they refer to political themes or to traditional themes (nature, Stoic virtues, etc.).

To begin with the stories on ancient themes, I will cite the one (M. 209) in which taking part are no less than Julianus the apostate and the devil and there is even a soldier resuscitated by the Virgin. We have another two (M. 353 and M. 355) whose protagonists are an Athenian philosopher (an anecdote of the Cynic-Stoic school) and a philosopher who spat on the beard of the king (the dirtiest thing in that magnificent palace). We also have the king of Greece (M. 398), who does not laugh because he fears his sins, death, the Judgement and Hell.

Thus, while in the animalistic fables, the Christian interpretation is mostly to be found in the epimythia, in the anecdotes there is a perfect synthesis of Christian and Cynic-Stoic thought and environment. Moving on now to the narrations in a Medieval environment,

this character is possessed, for example, by M. 1 (each abbot is worse than the previous one, if the current one dies a worse one will come), and, with biblical resonances, M. 2, also about an abbot. In M. 147 we are presented a bishop, with his own name Theodosius, who achieves the liberation of a soul captured in ice, in spite of the devil's traps. And a certain Gauterus (M. 177), around whom we are presented with various symbolisms of sin and salvation: here we are already in the midst of Christian doctrine. We also have mentions of Philippus, the clown of a nobleman, who, dressed in a new tunic, does not recognize himself and runs to the house asking: "where is the clown Philippus?" (M. 340).

At other times we move on a generic terrain: we are told of a lawyer (M. 6, the peasants mistreat him when they see that he has fallen out of favour with their master), a man condemned to hang (M. 128, he never finds a suitable tree), a landlady (M. 16, her vanity is criticized), a soldier's son (M. 159, he does not have his father's nature and dies in a joust), a harpie (M. 185, she suffers if she sees herself in water, because she has the face of a man and it reminds her of her victims), an ungrateful man (M. 191, he excuses himself by accusing human nature), a righteous man (M. 210, he vainly tries to save a sinner), the merchant and his wife (M. 283, the adulteress says that she has been made pregnant by the snow, perhaps a popular theme), a solider and a monk (M. 298, the soldier only thinks of god when he is ill, the monk asks for him to remain ill), an old father and his cruel son (M. 338 and 339), a preacher (M. 363, he gives away his ass so as not distract himself in the church by thinking of it), an argumentative woman (M. 408, a new example of anti-female literature), a widow (M. 480, the rich man takes away her only cow, cooks it and with the first mouthful dies).

These are some examples among many. Yet they are sufficient, I believe, to show, in a different human landscape, the mixing of ancient themes, new versions of these, critical and doctrinal Christian themes. In the final analysis, this intimate union between animalistic fable and anecdote is something inherited from Antiquity that, in spite of all the changes, stayed alive and was to stay alive in the following age in the Romanic and Germanic literatures. The Medieval Latin fable has made a perfect transition: soon there were to begin to arrive with renewed verve both the Western (Greek and Latin) and the Oriental (Indian) tradition. They did no more than enrich the panorama we present here, they did not change it radically.

V. *The Animal Epic*

1. *General Remarks*

My exposition of the Latin animal epic will be brief for two reasons: firstly, because in the previous chapter I already stated the fundamental points on its origin and characteristics, contributing a series of innovations; secondly, because, within the Medieval fabulistic tradition, this is the field that has received the greatest attention and it is not appropriate to repeat here what has been stated in the books of Voigt and Knapp, repeatedly cited, in the introductions to the *Ecbasis*[26] by W. Trillitsch-S. Hoyer and to the *Speculum Stultorum*[27] by J. H. Mozley – R. R. Raymo, in works that I have cited on the *Roman de Renart* and its derivatives and in the further bibliography.

Even so, it is appropriate at this point to offer some general considerations and emphasize new or little known viewpoints. The Latin animal epic flourished for about a hundred and fifty years: from the middle of the 11th century (the date of the *Ecbasis* is between 1039 and 1046) to the end of the 12th (the *Speculum* is from 1179–1180, the *Ysengrimus* somewhat earlier, with 1148 as the *terminus ante quem*). Later it was continued, starting from 1174, by the French animal epic and, later still, by the Germanic one: but I will speak of these here no more than to introduce some comparative data, as, moreover, I have already done above.

These poems are each, in substance, the expansion of a fable in poetic form (elegiac distichs or hexameters), with accentuation of its character as social satire and with the inclusion in certain moments of internal fables, by way of exempla. I have said that this type of composition is, conclusively, of Indian origin, as is the doctrinaire and political orientation of the content of the poems in question; and, also, the proper names given to the animals and some of the interior fables. I concluded that it was the Indian model, frequently applied to ancient fabulistic material and, of course, to social and political circumstances of our Medieval Europe, that brought with it the creation of the genre.

I have also shown that the parody of the *chansons de geste* and chivalrous themes was also able to play a part: the presence of

[26] Leipzig 1963.
[27] Berkeley 1960.

Aesopic fables as marginal decorations for the Bayeux Tapestries, on the subject of the Norman conquest, and a series of themes of fights between the wolf and the fox accompanied by their allies (in the *Ecbasis*, the *Ysengrimus*) and other fights in the *Roman de Renart*, the satire on the powerful in all these works, etc., favours this viewpoint. It would be somewhat similar to when, in Greece, the fable of the mouse and the frog was expanded to the point of being converted into a parodical poem, the *Batrachomyomachia*; and to when, in various Oriental environments, starting from the Egyptian theme of the fight between cats and mice, parodical epic poems were created that were to give rise, in Greece, to that of "The Cat and the Mice" and in Spain to the *Gatomaquia* by Lope de Vega.[28]

In the Latin animal epic these elements of parody of the warrior and courtier aristocracy are secondary: they depend both on the Indian models and on contemporary reality and literature. The essential aspect is the ecclesiastical environment and criticism against the corrupt clergy, through the wolf-monk *Ysengrimus* and other colleagues of his; the ass Burnellus in the *Speculum* exercises another similar form of criticism. This is the moment to complete what was stated above on the origin of the genre, saying which elements were merged to create it.

Firstly, I have already mentioned the Indian elements; I only wish to emphasize that the isolated fables (the most well-known, that of the skinned wolf) appear in Europe from the 9th century. We have sometimes found them isolated, sometimes in collections (particularly in the Anglo-Latin Romulus, whose origins date back to the 9th century). And that the proper names of the animals are also older than the animal epic (they only appear in this from the *Ysengrimus* onwards). This presupposes, also, I repeat, the knowledge of the techniques of composition (composition in a "frame") of the Indian collections of fables.

However, this alone is not sufficient. I must add other elements:

a) The use of the poetic form (distichs and hexameters) in the exposition of the fable. We have found it, certainly in imitation of Avianus, from the 9th century onwards, cf. p. 668.

b) The "expansion" of the fables and their combination in groups.

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[28] Cf. Vol. I, p. 330 and, in this volume, p. 576.

This is also prior to the collections; these techniques are applied to fables of Indian origin or of Western origin or simply invented ones. Some of the fabulistic poems that I have cited already used this technique from the 9th century and then later: such as the ms. of St. Gall on the "Sick Lion" (the theme of the skinned wolf), that of Sedulius on the death of the ram, that of the *Metrum leonis* on the wolf, the ass, the fox and the lion, etc. The latter poem, on the other hand, already combines two fables: the one alluded to and that of the ass dressed in the skin of the lion, and all with a critical purpose. These are not only fables in verse. By associating various themes, expanded prosaic fables were created, such as that of the misfortune of the wolf or that of the judgement of the fox.

c) The confluence of Indian elements with others coming from Avianus and Romulus, others that are Medieval creations starting from this basis (for example, the fable of the cock and the fox and that of the wolf and the fox in the well), other popular ones (the wolf fishing, whose tail is trapped in the ice), other Greek ones (the Greek variant of "the lion's share"). All this is prior to the animal epic, although it may have entered it. In particular, new fables were constantly created, whether from a known model or not, and we must suppose that new fables that only appear in the epic were on many occasions created by their authors; such as, possibly, that of the horse and the stork in the *Ysengrimus*, that of the wolf and the calf in the *Ecbasis*, that of the cows whose tails are caught in the ice in the *Speculum*. See details below.

d) Finally, also the Christian elements had entered the fable from ancient times, sometimes in combination with Indian or ancient elements: in particular, the theme of the wolf monk and the satire on the clergy. Some new fables have this character, such as that of the cock who, vengefully, makes sure his master does not wake up on the day he is to be consecrated as a priest (in the *Speculum*). Courtly elements had also entered, around the theme of the court of the lion, of Indian and Greek origin.

Thus, in short, the poetic presentation of an abundance of fables of various origins, their expansion and combination, the derivation of other new ones and their application to criticism of the social environment, had begun earlier. The authors of the animal epic did no more than take this much further, on the model of the Indian collections. In doing this, it is clear that they combined existing fables,

expanded them (for example, the two he-goats that kill the wolf in the Indian fable and that of the *Ecbasis* become four, in a very complicated interplay, in the *Ysengrimus*), invented new ones. Outside of our field of study, in the *Roman de Renart*, these inventions are more numerous (they can be seen in Vol. III, Appendix III), although we must not forget that ancient or Indian materials sometimes absent from the Latin epic continued to enter (the wolf and the fox in the well, the dyed fox, etc.).

In terms of the detail there may be doubts, of course, as to whether one version of a fable in the collections is influenced by the epic or vice versa or whether there are lost intermediate sources; but the general outlines are clear.

2. *The "Ecbasis Captivi"*

I have already said that the poem of the escape of the calf, held captive by the wolf in his fortress, and his liberation by the fox, all this on the eve of Easter, was written slightly before 1050 by a monk in a monastery near to Trier. It was very probably written to be read after the end of Lent, on the eve of Easter (celebrated in the song of the birds), before the whole community. It was made clear in my earlier exposition that in the fable there is a political environment that overlaps with a monastic one: the lion plays the role of the abbot and the king at the same time, the *pardus* (panther) is the prior, the wolf and the fox, among other animals, are monks and courtiers at the same time. The servants of the wolf, that is, the hedgehog and the otter, bring him fruits and fish (they come from fables with the theme of the sinful wolf-monk), but he prefers to break the fast by eating the calf. He fails on account of the cunning of the fox (who at the end undertakes a full-blown military campaign) and is killed.

I have already described the composition with a double frame: the monk expounds his reasons for composing the poem and within this the story of the calf, the wolf and the fox contains an internal fable that portends the fate of the wolf: it is that of the sick lion and the skinned wolf, which we already know. I have also mentioned the existence of small fables incorporated, and I have referred, among these, to some of Indian origin. Here I wish to add some further points.

The external fable, that of the calf who escapes and is captured

by the wolf, is not known to us outside of here. There are, certainly, other parallel ones on the hen's chicks and the kittens in Eudes (cf. above, p. 691 f.), but they are from later, perhaps imitated. The fable is, I think, an inversion (as are others that we know) of Romulus 36, the fable of the obedient kid who does not open the door to the wolf. The Christian theme of the calf and the good shepherd also play a part, I believe.

The poet of the *Ecbasis* distinguishes himself, then, for his originality and creative spirit. A further demonstration is in 1141 ff.: the fox draws the wolf from his den with flattery, preparing his death: the model is in the fable of the crow and the fox (Rom. 19). Note that the author is imbibed with ancient and Medieval culture: sometimes his work seems to be a patchwork of quotations from ancient works; there is an abundance of themes coming from the *Physiologus* and from other Christian works. These have been combined on various occasions with the fabulistic basis: the song of the birds celebrating Easter, the (traditional) pilgrimage of animals, etc.

In reality, the author of the *Ecbasis* has created a short work (1229 verses), well composed and with a true balance between the themes of the animal tradition and satire and instruction, partly Christian, partly political (530 ff., 1079 ff.), partly inherited from Antiquity (the frequent reference, for example, to the theme of nature, cf. 317, 701 ff.), partly new. He handles dialogue with ease (the technique of "expansion"), he introduces maxims, similes, references to dreams and other traditional procedures, but with an always discreet use of rhetoric. His satire is violent with respect to the wolf, softer, though with a certain malice, in the others cases (thought has been given to the possibility that the animals refer to characters at the monastery, present at the reading). However, in particular, following the already traditional theme of the wolf-monk, he has established the central theme of the later Latin animal epic in the confrontation of the fox and the wolf, to the advantage of the former. The *Ysengrimus* (and then the *Roman de Renart*, etc.) is, in fact, derived from the *Ecbasis*, although it uses independently sources that are fundamentally the same.

3. *The "Ysengrimus"*

I have already offered some general ideas on this poem, written by Nivard of Ghent in the monastery of Saint Peter in that city. What

interests us it to show that it is a development of the *Ecbasis*, around the theme of the wolf-monk and the wolf skinned by the cunning of the fox. Yet it is a development that produces a long and confused poem and includes a multiplicity of new fables, of various origins.

It is, in short, the confrontation between the wolf and the fox, central in the Medieval fabulistic tradition. Yet the introduction is missing; and the theme of the skinned wolf, instead of being an internal fable, is precisely the centre of the action. Here there are two innovations: one, that within this centre is placed a new internal fable, that is, the memory of the background to the hostilities of the wolf and the fox (made by the bear, whose verse is read by the boar, as has already been said); the other, that now the wolf does not die, but is simply skinned, dying at the end in an adventure with the pigs, in what Voigt demonstrates is an imitation of a legend on the death of Mohammed.[29]

As we see, the *Ysengrimus* cannot be explained without the *Ecbasis*, but is more traditional (it uses the old recourse of beginning a narration *in medias res* and later returning to the end). On the other hand, the secondary use of fables placed in the mouth of the various characters is more frequent than in the *Ecbasis*. However, precisely on account of that abundance of framed fables and their disproportionate length, the passage from some to others, etc., and the lines of the poem, very long, are not very clear. The traditional division into books is not at all certain and the proposal by Voigt is also not entirely convincing. The work overflows, on occasions, in an asymmetrical form and without contours and has digressions of a not very high quality.

The theme, moreover, is the already known one of the wolf-monk defeated again and again until he is exhausted, due to his old adversary the fox; I have already said that his death occurs in a different manner. The "centre" introduces a certain variety, inasmuch as in some of its fables the fox is defeated. In it we are presented the episodes of the meeting of the court of the animals, the pilgrimage of these, the entrance of Ysengrimus into the monastery and his expulsion: a rather inconsistent mixture of themes.

From the standpoint of the fables, it is of more interest to follow the track of the different fables that are introduced: Knapp distin-

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[29] Voigt, *op. cit.*, p. LXXXIV.

guishes 24. The list is longer than that of the *Ecbasis* and entering it, together with Indian fables already cited (the skinned wolf, the he-goats, the fox that plays dead), are others already known in the Latin tradition (the cock and the fox, the division of the plunder, the second fable of the cock and the fox in which the latter is hunted, the horse and the wolf) and others known outside of here and possibly popular (the wolf that loses his tail in the ice, the pilgrimage of animals, the violation of the she-wolf).

These are fables that I have already mentioned and I am not going to study again in detail. However, we must indeed say that the *Ysengrimus* offers original details, either through the work of its author or of his sources,. Thus, as regards the fable of the he-goats, which are now four, it presents a number of new details. Among those of the ancient tradition, that of the division of the plunder follows the Greek ending, not the Latin, as we have already seen; and the fable of the horse and the wolf has very peculiar features. I will dwell a moment on this so that we may see how the poet proceeds.

In *Ys.* V 1167 ff. we are presented this fable (from Romulus 52) at the moment when the wolf has been skinned: that is to say, we are dealing—as in other cases—with a version that presupposes the new theme that the skinned wolf does not die. The skinned wolf asks the horse to give him his hide, and will return it when his own grows back. Yet the horse wants to trim his crown, which has grown, with his hard parts, the hooves and the penis, and he takes advantage of the situation to give the wolf a few kicks. As we see, the ancient theme has been adapted to a new context, it has been combined with the theme of the wolf priest and has acquired a sexual tinge. More or less comparable peculiarities are found in other fables of ancient origin, such as the second one of the cock and the fox (M. 438, in *Ys.* V 1 ff.): the cock refuses to sign a peace treaty written on the bark of a tree; he says that he does not know how to read, nor does he understand documents (the fox wants him to make an oath before the eminent persons and the people); at this point the hunters arrive.

These modifications also appear in the fables of really or supposedly popular origin. Thus, that of the wolf fishing (M. 415, Romuli of Berne and Munich) presents details of its own in *Ys.* I 589 ff. and II 1 ff. And the violation of the she-wolf (*Ys.* V 705 ff.) correspond in M. 444 (Anglo-Latin Romulus) to that of the she-bear. We do not know, in this case, which is the older. In any event, it is clear

that sometimes the modification comes from the *Ysengrimus* itself, as in the case of the adventures of the skinned wolf.

We also have fables that are only found here. It could be the case, clearly, that they in fact have ancient precedents, as that of the theft of the ham possibly does (*Ys.* I 588 ff. = M. 512). Yet there is no ancient source, for example, for the fable of the horse and the stork (*Ys.* V 1129 ff. = M. 73): the horse expelled from the cloister is scared of the stork, who is fishing and shaking his wings. Or for that of the oath of Isengrin, who is captured in a trap that he believes to be an altar with relics (*Ys.* VI 349 ff. = M. 508). Or for that of the jump of Joseph (one of the rams, who is going to rush at the wolf so that he devours him with his mouth wide open—and leaves him half dead, *Ys.* VI 1 ff. = M. 207).

Thus, the *Ysengrimus* is the necessary intermediate step between the *Ecbasis* and the *Roman de Renart*, which is organized into various branches, the best of which surpass it in terms of composition and literary style. It introduces modified and new fables that will no longer be absent from this tradition, which, certainly, will add yet others and will "find again" other ancient ones. And it will be the classical exposition, sometimes awkward and confused, of the Medieval satire in ecclesiastical environments.

4. *The "Speculum Stultorum"*

Rather different—a deviation, in short, within the same line—is the *Speculum stultorum* by Nigel de Longchamps, which I have also discussed and which is prior to the *Ysengrimus*. This is a very well-constructed work, with a continuous storyline—the adventures of Burnellus the ass—interrupted by exemplum-fables and other narrations with abundant use of dialogue. The newest element in it—apart from the proper names of the animals, who in the animal epic were introduced for the first time—is the fact that we find episodes in which men take part (the physician Galienus, the Cistercian Fromundus, Bernardus the master of the ass, etc.) and that direct satire is exercised of the various religious orders, kings, pastors, abbots, etc. In the fables introduced there may also be human characters, as in the case of the cock and his owner. All this is taken, evidently, from the Medieval tradition, whether fabulistic and not, and was scorned by the *Ysengrimus*, as it was earlier by the *Ecbasis*.

I have already said that, although at the beginning there is ref-

erence to the fable of the ass and the lionskin, the scheme of the work has been constructed around the travels of Burnellus, who criticizes the world from his lowly position as an ass: that is to say, around a derivative of the story of the *Ass* by Lucian and Apuleius. There is a second fabulistic theme that has intimately merged with this. The ass Burnellus begins his pilgrimages visiting the physician Galienus, asking him to make his tail grow, as it is not in proportion with his ears; and his successive pilgrimages are to satisfy the same desire. Of course, the ass fails and ends up returning to his master Bernardus. This is clearly a fable scheme derived from those in which an animal pointlessly wishes for something against its nature; we may recall, in particular, H. 119, the fable in which the camel asks Zeus for horns (in AnF., Par., Dod. and Avianus 8, which may be our source).

Within the scheme, we find, as usual, fables used as exempla. I have already made reference to the Indian theme of the grateful animals and the ungrateful man in 1804–1912 and to the Christian fable of the cock and his owner in 1250 ff. (M. 161). Yet there are further fables, sometimes derived, sometimes new. One derived one is undoubtedly that of the two cows whose tails are trapped in the ice (205 ff., M. 463), which Galienus tells to the ass to snap it out of its stupidity: the model is the fable of the wolf who lost his tail in the ice. Here Galienus uses the different results of the disparate conduct of the cows as a lesson: one waits for the thaw, another, who goes against nature, cuts its tail and perishes later when the summer comes, on account of the flies.

On the other hand, another fable of the same character seems new, as does the Christian fable mentioned above. I am referring to that of the crow, the cock and the hawk (2923 ff., M. 134): the crow is accused of loquacity, so the other two animals do not wish to be guilty of that vice and are silent about the sins of their masters. Later there are other non-animalistic stories (the confrontation of Burnellus and Fromundus, whom the former throws into the Rhône; that of the three sisters; etc.) which may, in turn, be new creations.

Thus the *Speculum*, which I have studied at the end so as not to break the thematic order of the *Ecbasis* and the *Ysengrimus*, has substantially the same sources, the same intention, the same type of composition. It also presents some innovations, as has been said: some followed by the *Ysengrimus*, others not. And, like the other poems, it is capable of creating something original and new, both

in the detail of fables and narrations and with regard to the poem as a whole, starting from traditional themes of the most varied origin.

VI. *Some Complementary Indications on the Byzantine Fable*

Throughout this volume—and partly already in Vol. I—I have studied the fate of the ancient collections in the Byzantine Age, both those that have been lost to us and those, derived from them, that have been preserved. I have also studied the Oriental fabulistic elements that reached these collections, and the influence of these collections in the Medieval European period. There is nothing major to add to this panorama, which practically continued that of Classical Antiquity. The same happens with regard to the *Life of Aesop*: the two recensions that we know are precisely that, recensions, not original works. I discussed the Oriental material in the previous chapter.

As regards the Greek fables cited as exempla within the Byzantine learned tradition, we must say that they do not show any special innovations. We are dealing, in particular, with exempla in the *Progymnasmata*, some of which have been cited at the appropriate points. See a small list in the book by H. Hunger on Byzantine literature in learned language.[30] And see above, pp. 670 ff., on Byzantine fables related to the Western ones.

I would like to draw attention, in any event, to the few fables or anecdotes that are properly Byzantine, that is to say, without ancient or Oriental precedents, which are found in the Appendix of the Accursiana. On pp. 432 ff. I gave a list of these fables.

H. 268 "The Dog, the Fox and the Cock".
H. 278 "The Wife and the Drunken Husband".
H. 300 "The Adulterer and the Wife".
H. 301 "The Thief and the Innkeeper".
H. 306 "The Sailor and his Son".
H. 307 "The Puppy and the Frogs".

Of these fables, numbers 300 and 301 are perhaps of European origin, crossing over to Byzantium (cf. pp. 375 ff.). In the other cases,

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[30] *Die hochsprachliche Literatur der Byzantiner*, I, 1978, p. 95.

they are always widespread stories, either derived from animalistic motifs or small novelettes. Within the new Byzantine romance, we must add a gross sexual Byzantine episode from the *Life of Aesop* to which Perry has drawn attention.[31]

Thus, conclusively, Byzantium contributed little to the Greek and, to a lesser extent, Oriental tradition of the fable that converged there: it produced more or less literary derivatives, which I have studied, and transmitted this whole cultural tradition first (to a limited extent) to the Western European world, later to the whole of posterity. Speaking in general terms, it did not create new fables or new fabulistic genres, as Latin Europe did, with fewer basic materials.

What I would like is to indicate, although, strictly speaking, this remains outside the period studied here, that, starting from the 13th century—the period of the occupation of Byzantium by the Crusades—the cultural current was reversed: Now it was the West that influenced Byzantium. In the field of the romance, the Byzantine erotic romance of the ancient tradition was succeeded in the 13th century by the "Callimachus and Chrysorrhoe" which involved clear Western elements.[32] The same happened in the field of the fable.

Starting from the beginning of the 14th century, in fact, a series of animal epic poems in popular language spread out in stages: the *Pulologus* or "Book of Birds", the "Narration of the Quadrupeds", the "Book of Fruits" and the "Book of Fishes". The model is the first one, which tells of the confrontation between pairs of birds at the wedding of the eagle's son: the eagle, their king, puts an end to these confrontations by threatening the birds that he will set the hawk loose against them. The poem (and also the others, which develop the same theme) is full of allusions and political satire.[33]

I think that the origin can be none other than Western. Since in the Latin Medieval fabulistic tradition we find the theme of the confrontation of the birds (in Theodulphe, cf. p. 668); that of the wedding of a daughter (in this case) of the eagle (M. 28); that of the eagle-king, an often repeated theme (M. 22, etc.); that of the hawk as his minister or subordinate (M. 22). And only here was there

[31] "Some addenda to the Life of Aesop", *BZ*, 59, 1966, pp. 285–304.

[32] Cf. H. Hunger, "Un roman byzantin et son atmosphère: Callimaque et Chrysorrhoè", in *Byzantinische Grundlagenforschung*, Variorum Reprints, London 1973, XIX.

[33] Cf. on these poems H.-G. Beck, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Volksliteratur*, Munich 1971, pp. 173 ff.

created, in earlier times, the formula of the complex and "expanded" fable, with implications of social criticism.

I wish to add the narration of the ass, of which we have two versions in verse.[34] The themes are well-known to us in the Latin Medieval fable: the association of the wolf, the fox and the ass; the pilgrimage of these on a ship; the confession in which the wolf and the fox are absolved, whereas the innocent ass is condemned; the kick with which the ass kills the wolf. Certain details are new, such as the magical force that the ass attributes to his foot and that he is supposedly going to transmit to the two animals, which gives him the opportunity to get rid of them (the fox, afraid, jumps into the water). Yet the group is western, whether this was simply the translation of a fable patched together with various elements (this is the most likely), or this work has been done in Greece.

[34] Cf. Beck, *op. cit.*, p. 176.

Supplement to Part Three, Chapter Eight

On the Medieval fable in general, see:

K. GRUBMÜLLER, "Zur Geschichte der Fabel in Antike und Mittelalter", in: U. Bodemann, *Fabula docet. Illustrierte Fabelbücher aus sechs Jahrhunderten*, Wolfenbüttel: Herzog August Bibliothek 1983, pp. 20–33,

and the work already cited, *Favolisti latini medievali*, I, Genoa, Istituto di Filologia Classica e Medievale, 1984;

B. BECK, *Le Roman de Renart*, Paris, 2nd ed., 1986.

Also, the work by KNAPP already mentioned;

K. GRUBMÜLLER, *Meister Esopus. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Funktion der Fabel im Mittelalter*, Zürich-München: Artemis 1977;

G. DICKE – K. GRUBMÜLLER, *Die Fabel des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit. Ein Katalog der deutschen Versionen und ihrer lateinischen Entsprechungen*, München: Fink 1987.

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A. E. WRIGHT, "*Fabule utilitatem in se continentes.* Der kommentierte Äsop der Handschrift St. God. 27", in: J. BEPLER – T. SCHARF-WREDE (eds.), *Bucherschicksale*, Hildesheim 1996, pp. 255–270.

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G. GARBUGINO, *Alessandro Neckam. Novus Aesopus*, Genoa 1987 (Favolisti Latini Medievali II).

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G. J. M. BARTELINK, "Een thema uit de fabelliteratuur en het dierenepos in de Middeleeuwen", *Lampas* 10, 1977, pp. 283–301;

K. SPECKENBACH, "Die Fabel von der Fabel. Zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der Fabel von Hahn und Perle", *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 12, 1978, pp. 178–229;
G. GARBUGINO, "La favola del leone ammalato e della volpe nel mondo classico e medievale", in: F. Bertini, *Favolisti latini medievali*, I, Genoa: Istituto di filologia classica e medievale 1984, pp. 35–56;
B. M. KACZYNSKI – H. J. WESTRA, "Aesop in the Middle Ages: The Transmission of the Sick Lion Fable and the Authorship of the St. Gall Version", *MLatJb* 17, 1982, pp. 31–38;
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G. HUBER, *Das Motiv der "Witwe von Ephesus" in lateinischen Texten der Antike und des Mittelalters*, Tübingen: Narr 1990;
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W. STOETZER, "Aesopus en Lokman. Aantekeningen over de integratie van Aesopus in de Arabische cultuur", in: Idema *et alii*, cit. 1993, pp. 158–168.

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A. ELSCHENBROICH, *Die deutsche und lateinische Fabel in der Frühen Neuzeit*, I–II, Tübingen: Niemeyer 1990;
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On the diffusion and theory of the fable in the modern age, cf. the works edited by P. HASUBEK, *Die Fabel*, Berlin 1982, and *Fabelforschung*, Darmstadt 1983.

On its use in schools through the ages, see the book cited by B. E. Fisher, 1987. The collection of fables in Spanish literature collected by F. Martín García in his work cited above is especially interesting.

CONCLUSION

Volume I of this book is organized in three parts: "Overview of the Graeco-Latin Fable", "The Greek Fable until Demetrius Phalereus" and "The Fable in the Hellenistic Age". The first of these constitutes a general presentation of the whole work: it debates the concept of the fable—not in abstracts terms, but in its Graeco-Latin context—and it gives a general panorama of our knowledge of the ancient collections, a panorama in which the reference is included to prior works by the author and which is, on the other hand, no more than a point of departure, modified many times during the course of the work. The second part shows the history of the fable from its beginnings in Greece until Demetrius Phalereus; the third part, concerning the fable in the Hellenistic Age, is the point of departure for this second volume, which completes the study of the fable in this age before embarking upon that of the following ones. Thus, of the three parts of Vol. I, the first is an introduction to the whole book and the third overlaps, in a certain sense, with this second volume.

It is easy to retrace a brief outline of the history of the Greek fable until Demetrius: we are referring to the exemplum-fable, which gradually broke away from the myth as an independent genre, with a complex set of problems, moreover. I have followed this exemplum-fable from its religious origins and rituals, its contacts with other genres (simile, animal maxim, anecdote), to its development along a line that goes—to highlight the essential moments—from Hesiod to the iambographers, the comedians and the Socratics, including, at the end, Aristotle. I have also followed the marginal subgenre of the fables narrated "in the second grade", starting from the 5th century, by Aesop or other persons, as well as the other marginal genres, which are the satirical animal epic poem and the legend of Aesop himself, in whose mouth, in certain moments, the fables were placed.

Although with deep roots in Greek religion, myth and literature, the Greek fable was able to make the definitive leap forward from small narrations to literature, thanks to its having allowed itself to be impregnated with the themes, ideas and compositional structures

of the Oriental fable: fundamentally, the Mesopotamian, also the Egyptian. The legend of Aesop comes equally from a synthesis of Greek religious motifs and Oriental influences. On the other hand, the Greek fable remained perfectly integrated within Greek culture and evolved with it, constituting a popular and critical genre, the counterpoint to other more official and solemn ones.

However, the decisive moment for the Greek fable, in qualitative and quantitative terms, is that constituted by the collections that, on the model of that of Demetrius Phalereus, were formed in the Hellenistic Age. This is perhaps the most important contribution of this whole work. The key is this: starting from the 3rd century BC, the Cynics appropriated, with proselytizing purposes, the genre of the fable of the collections, first created by Demetrius Phalereus. And they expanded his collection with new fables, placing all these in choliambic verse, mixed with iambic trimetres. They thus placed the fable again in its iambic origins and expanded and developed its critical and moralistic aspects, within their morality, somewhere between Socratic and popularist. I have attempted to reconstruct the outline of Demetrius' collection and to also give a panorama of the Hellenistic collections as a whole, with their constant expansion, their creation of new metrical fables, their prosifications and tendencies, no longer precisely Cynic at the end, at a time when the fable became a school subject—as it continued to be throughout Antiquity, the whole Middle Ages and later on.

I have already said that the latter part of Vol. I overlaps with this other in a certain sense. Although the latter studies the preserved collections, all from the Hellenistic and Roman Ages, these collections derive conclusively from those of the Hellenistic Age. That is to say, the study of these collections demands prior knowledge of the characteristics of the Hellenistic collections; but our knowledge of these can only be determined starting from the detailed study of those conserved from the Roman and Byzantine Ages and of their relationships. It is appropriate at this point, then, to present a balance-sheet here of the point we can reach, summarizing and stating in general terms the conclusions that have been drawn, during the course of this volume, chapter by chapter.[1]

[1] See a longer exposition in "Les collections de fables à l'époque hellénistique et romaine", in the *Entretiens* of the Hardt Foundation, Geneva, 1984, pp. 136–186.

This volume includes three parts, as does the previous one. The first part refers to the relationships between the various versions of each individual fable: it is a question of retracing the *stemmata* or synopses of relations between the versions of a fable that are most frequent and characteristic. Starting from here, we have attempted, in the other two parts (concerning the Imperial Roman fable and the Byzantine and Western Medieval fable, respectively), to investigate the sources of the collections. The presence of a group of fables in versions closely related in terms of the *stemma* in various collections reveals a common source. The following method has been used: to investigate the relationships between the sources of the collections; and, starting from here, finally, to investigate the characteristics of these when seeing how they select and modify their original material. This task has given rise—if we can express it in this way—to a by-product: a better knowledge of the sources, that is, of the Hellenistic and Roman collections lost to us.

The study of the relations between the individual fables has been conducted with the help of their metrical remnants—a real Ariadne's thread—and also with the help of other data: phraseology, modifications of the subject, etc. We must take into account that the same procedures are repeated again and again throughout the period I have studied: abbreviations and expansions of fables, structural changes within certain constants, changes of characters or animals and sometimes of theme, changes from verse to prose and from prose to verse and so on almost ad infinitum, but with types of verse and prose that evolve; etc. All this leaves traces or clues for the study of the evolutions, even in the fables in translation (into Latin or into Syriac) and in the writings in new metres (elegiac distichs, Babrian choliambs, Byzantine dodecasyllables).

We have thus been able to arrive at some conclusions that I consider interesting. For example, that the majority of fables have a single metrical model, which I call primary and on which the whole tradition depends; those that possess two primary metrical models are less numerous; those with three or four models are rare. Then, that in certain fables there are secondary metrical models: the original verse has been partially replaced with others ("remodelled") or else been replaced totally, always in connection with thematic or structural changes of the new versions. We must add, however, that prosifications (never complete, which is why I refer to semiprosifications), sometimes dependent on each other, arise from both metrical

models, I believe from the 2nd century AD. And we sometimes have derivations in chains: from a first metrical model comes a second model (in verse or prose) and from this a third. There are sometimes contaminations, but sometimes splits: the evolution of one fable, accompanied by the evolution of the metre, means that starting from a given moment it may have been considered as two fables, even with both entering the same collection. In short, the *stemmata* are sometimes very simple (or non-existent, the case of the fables only appearing once), sometimes they are complicated, with multiple ramifications. Of course, not all the details are always easy to shed light upon, but their general outlines are.

Starting from here we have attempted, as has been said, to write the history of the ancient and Medieval collections conserved. One of the conclusions, as regards the Greek fable, is that important collections from the Imperial Age were preserved in Byzantium until the 9th century; there they were used by the writers of the Vindobonensis and Accursiana, by those of the Paraphrases and Dodecasyllables, by Ignatius the Deacon. Yet those collections that were conserved until that moment, and lost since the new Byzantine collections were completed, were none other than a derivative of the Hellenistic collections and allow us to gain an idea of these.

The collection that has reached us in best condition is the one that is at the basis of our Augustana collection, which has reached us in the form that it received at the end of Antiquity, one very much altered in stylistic terms (and sometimes in terms of the content, cf., for example, "meat" instead of "cheese" in "The crow and the Fox", the "lion" instead of the "hunters" in "The Stag"). Our analysis has detected a series of successive phases in it:

a) The "Ancient Augustana", the model collection for Phaedrus, still without systematic promythia or epimythia. It supposedly contained about 100 fables, of which only about 40 can be attributed to Demetrius' collection; the others would have come from the new Cynic fabulistic tradition. We are still dealing with fables with a primary metre.

b) The Pre-Augustana, in turn developed in various phases. The oldest, still with an archaic text but already with systematic epimythia, is the one known by the Greek writer of the collection later trans-

lated into Syriac. The added fables that this writer knew were rarely disseminated to other collections. And much less other fables added later, no less than about 100. However, we must specify that the Pre-Augustana must not be considered as a single collection with a very established text: it is rather a group of closely related collections, we need only pay close attention to the new fables of the sub-collections Ia and Ib and of certain mss., as well as the divergent text of others. Some of these collections reached Byzantium, as has been said.

c) Our Augustana, which is none other than one of the drafts of the Pre-Augustana, with the absence of certain fables and the addition of others, as well as its own stylistic and linguistic reworking from the 4th–5th centuries AD onwards.

d) The Vindobonensis and the Accursiana, the two Byzantine collections, which are new developments of this whole tradition, with the addition of new material from various origins (from the Pre-Augustana, the Babrian tradition, Byzantine fables) and an abundance of contaminations.

Thus, we can trace the existence of a collection of about 100 fables in primary verse in the Hellenistic Age: some derived from Demetrius, other added Cynic fables. Yet it must be taken into account, to judge what the wealth of the tradition of the fable must have been, that, together with the 236 fables of the Augustana (some added from Ia, etc.), Hausrath's edition has anothers 80 that are here or there in the Anonymous Fables, and my files (reflected in the Appendices, Vol. III) record as many as 312 other ancient fables that are not in the Anonymous Fables (plus a few from Romulus that are ancient). That is to say, in addition to these 236, we know about 400 ancient fables, most of which are Hellenistic. In which collections did they circulate?

Together with the Ancient Augustana, which I have called collection I, which is the fundamental source of Phaedrus, there existed what I call collection II or the "Babrian" collection, which provides most of the fables of Babrius that have an ancient model. This collection for the most part agrees with the previous one; as it uses Demetrius and other common sources, it brings together a series of identical fables, in primary versions. To expand that common core, collection II took various materials from among the fables that proliferated in

various minor collections: other primary versions of the same fables brought together in collection I or else secondary versions of these; also, of course, fables not in collection I.

If I call this collection "Babrian", it is not to propose that only Babrius depends on it and, through him, the other collections. Not at all, my theory is that not only Babrius, but also often the Paraphrases and Dodecasyllables, as well as the Pseudo-Dositheus, the Assendelft Tablets, Avianus, Ignatius the Deacon and the indirect tradition depend on prosifications of this collection.

I believe that we can find remnants of other Hellenistic collections in the few fables preserved in the Rylands Papyrus 493 and in the fables of the *Life of Aesop*. Preserved in this papyrus are primary independent versions that barely had any diffusion outside of it; these are fables, either from Demetrius or later, but in different versions from that of the Augustana. In turn, in the *Life of Aesop* there are Classical fables that could only have reached this work through Demetrius, as I said in Volume I. It used a collection of fables in verse, partly the same ones as the Augustana and with the same text, partly others. This collection reached Byzantium, where it was used in the Appendix that was added to the Accursiana collection.

This as regards the Hellenistic Age. For the Roman Age, the fundamental aspect is the process of expansion of the Ancient Augustana, already mentioned. What we cannot do is distinguish in a parallel manner, within collection II, between what was Hellenistic and what was added subsequently. However, we can gain an idea of some other collections, lost today, from the Roman Age. One, the collection of abbreviated fables for use by the rhetoricians, which was used by the Pseudo-Dositheus and Aphthonius and also, sometimes, by Libanius, Themistius, Theophilactus, Julianus, the Codex Brancaccianus, certain manuscripts of the Anonymous Fables and even Babrius and Avianus. Others, small collections, traces of which are found in the agreements between Plutarch and Phaedrus, Plutarch and Aelian (perhaps it is the same collection), the *Life of Aesop* and Achilles Tatius (perhaps the source of the *Life* that I have just mentioned). Another collection, undoubtedly recent, is that of the Assendelft Tablets, which illustrates the way of working of the period: it brings an ancient fable in iambic trimetres and semiprosified Hellenistic fables of various origins together with a core of fables from Babrius. Some come from the abbreviated rhetorical collection already mentioned. This procedure was the one followed by Avianus and the Paraphrases,

which combined fables by Babrius with others from the earlier Hellenistic tradition.

We must add the prosaic Latin collections: the one that was the model for Avianus, the translated one of the Pseudo-Dositheus, the paraphrases of Phaedrus and others that were integrated in the "Aesopus ad Rufum" and, ultimately, in the "Romulus".

On the other hand, it is interesting to point out that in Byzantium, starting from a given moment, the two fundamental traditions of the fable tended to coincide: for example, the tradition of the Anonymous Fables entered that of the Paraphrases and Dodecasyllables and vice versa, Ignatius the Deacon knew both, etc.

In fact, the successive increments of the Pre-Augustana until it reached the Augustana were only the precedent for other increments of the Vindobonensis (together with drastic reductions) and the Accursiana. Thus the total of the 306 fables of Hausrath's edition was reached. These additions are very various and offer us a good illustration of the working method of the adapters of collections: the Byzantines did no more than continue the work of their predecessors.

On one hand, of course, there are Byzantine fables (sometimes these are prosifications of *politici* dodecasyllables). Yet at other times there are fables of Hellenistic origin, with remnants of metre; fables that were already in Demetrius could even have been "picked again", since there are some of them derived from Archilochus (H. 285, 287, 294), from Aeschylus (H. 273 and 276), etc. Others are fables that also left traces in Plutarch, Achilles Tatius, etc. Others still are fables that entered, undoubtedly at a secondary stage, through the "Babrian" tradition, which I will discuss further: these include H. 270, 271, 275, 280, 286, 288 and 289. On the other hand, these collections did not restrict themselves to adding fables; I have already said that they modified the texts, increasing the degree of prosification and adapting them to fit the linguistic and literary currents of the time, also contaminating.

All this prepares us for understanding how Phaedrus proceeded; although he is the sole author of a collection with a literary character, he does present one uncommon feature: his prologues show us that the five books of his work were published separately, one after the other. We may, once again, attempt to discover the gradual creation of the collection. Although this is a literary collection, what distinguishes it from the AnF. are two very characteristic features: a) it does not introduce duplications; b) it presents original fables,

created by the author himself (although based on ancient models).

I have already said that in general terms (and other scholars who have preceded me have also seen this) the model of Phaedrus is closely related to the Augustana. And I have added that, in fact, the model collection is a predecessor of this, with more archaistic text and with a much smaller number of fables. However, we must offer some important clarifications. As we already know, there are very numerous fables that never had more than one primary metrical model and—I add—did not produce a ramified *stemma* with intermediate versions, prior to our texts. In other words, these fables entered with very closely related versions in different collections, for example, in those that were used as the fundamental basis for Phaedrus and Babrius: there is no reason, therefore, to attempt to see fundamental differences between the versions of Phaedrus, the Augustana and Babrius in these fables (or others).

My conclusion, I repeat, is that the collections that are the fundamental basis of these two fabulists, that is to say, those that I call collection I (or the Ancient Augustana) and II, had a large number of fables in common; they undoubtedly came from Demetrius and from expansions of him. This collection I contained other fables. The result of a long study, which I will simply summarize here, is the following: the fundamental model collection for Phaedrus had: a) fables from a single model, those mentioned; b) fables sometimes with two primary versions, sometimes with one primary and one secondary, of which he brought together, respectively, the primary version 1 (the one not followed by the Babrian tradition) and the single primary version. On the other hand, this collection had fables that Phaedrus and sometimes other authors (significantly the Syriac versions) conserved and which, on the other hand, were lost in the Augustana.

However, in the case of H. 154 "The Lion, the Fox and the Ass" (the fable of "the lion's share") it is absolutely certain that Phaedrus followed the secondary model, as did Babrius, while AnF. followed the primary one. In this case at least, Phaedrus followed the model collection of Babrius, collection II.

Phaedrus had at least two collections before him, apart from the fact that he contaminated fables of one. He also used collections of χρεῖαι and anecdotes, from which comes material that is usually absent from the other fabulists (it is sometimes in various sources,

such as Plutarch, for example). And he derived and created new fables.

Although the state of conservation of the organization of the fables into five books by Phaedrus is poor (some have ended up in the Perotti's *Appendix*, others are only reconstructed from Romulus), we can attempt to see if his working method was modified or not over time. Of the fables that Phaedrus has in common with other sources, by far the most frequent are those common to Phaedrus and the Augustana (27 compared with 13). If we set the group of these fables in opposition to those that do not have a source in the fabulistic tradition (fables derived *ex novo* from Phaedrus), the result is that in book I the first group dominates the second (18 against 13), in book III (I leave aside book II, which is very short) the second dominates the first (17 against 2), in book IV they are balanced (11 against 13), in V the second dominates again (9 against 1). That is to say, Phaedrus innovates the tradition received in 50 per cent of cases: this is a very significant difference compared with the Augustana, which only collected traditional material. And from the beginning he knew the various recourses of innovation, although he later used them more extensively and later wavered in one or the other direction.

I will move on now to Babrius, of whom, clearly, we cannot attempt to trace a chronological evolution, but we can gain an idea of his sources and his degree of innovation. Working on the 143 fables of Perry's edition, with most (but not all) coming from the ms. Athous, we may deduce that his degree of originality, of presentation of fables without a direct model in our sources, is lesser, but is nevertheless significant: 25 per cent approximately. And as regards the sources, I have already stated the essential points. Babrius followed a collection (which we call II) which sometimes contained identical fables to those of I, sometimes different ones: a second primary version or a secondary one with respect to the former. There are exceptions. In H. 294 "The Wolf and the Dog", Phaedrus and Babrius follow a primary version, the ms. F (from AnF.) a secondary. And in H. 143 "The Hares and the Frogs", Babrius and AnF. follow a primary model, whereas Babrius and Phaedrus derive from the secondary one. That is to say, Babrius has at least one secondary source, together with the fundamental one.

That is not all. Since to a certain degree we can reconstruct the models, we can also see to what extent Babrius modified them. And

here we encounter a surprise. His fundamental tendency is to maintain or expand the models of medium length and to expand the ones of reduced size: even secondary models that represent the reduction of a primary one are expanded again by Babrius. And this, more than for modifications to the subject matter, to make the descriptions more lively and dramatic, sometimes more picturesque.

However, there are significant exceptions in which Babrius reduces his models, deriving neat fables of four verses or slightly more from them. Already in previous works of mine I had expressed doubts regarding the unity of Babrius' collection. As is well-known, the ms. Athous presents its 122 fables in alphabetical order (the end, starting from Omikron, has been lost). Yet it is secondary: so much so, that the prologue to the ancient second book of the poet, which begins with μῦθος has the letter M in the alphabetical order as thought it were a fable. This alphabetization after Babrius is not the only one that existed: there are the remains of others in choliambic fables of the mss. G and Mb, as well as in the Bodleian Paraphrase, which derives from choliambic fables of the same fables. That is to say, like certain Byzantine authors, the modern authors fell into the bias of attributing all fables in choliambs to Babrius—in spite of the fact that he himself, in his second prologue, complained about the imitators he had. Yet it is likely that various choliambic fables, sometimes two on the same theme, were alphabetized subsequently in different ways, irrespective of their author.

The sources of the choliambic fables, both of those preserved intact (in the mss. Athous, G and Mb, the Assendelft Tablets, the Pseudo-Dositheus) and of those paraphrased, are fundamentally the same: the collection II, which I am discussing and which in general terms I call the "Babrian collection". From it derive, generally, the choliambic fables, as well as Par., Dod. (often derived from Hellenistic fables) and even other collections. However, as I have said, the choliambic fables treat their models in very different ways. I think that, although the short fables, of four verses, are an ancient type that has also left its traces in the Augustana and Phaedrus, there was a choliambic poet who developed it systematically (as Ignatius the Deacon did later), whereas Babrius operated in the opposite direction of expansion. In short, my hypothesis is that, besides works by Babrius himself, the Athous and the other sources of choliambic fables contain others by the Pseudo-Babrius, his imitator.

However, we must add some points regarding the history of the fable in the West, where it flourished starting from a much narrower

basis, as I have said, than that of Byzantium, but with much greater originality; the main function of the Byzantine fable is to offer evidence of the ancient Greek fable. In Medieval Europe, fables continued to be told as exempla and the collections flourished, but from the 9th century isolated poetic fables were created, in expanded form and with original features. Later, the 11th and 12th centuries are the period of the blossoming of the animal epic poem, based on various fabulistic materials and with the compositional model, so I believe, of the Indian fable. It is a very original genre, which places the fable in the day-to-day problems of Medieval society, exercising a critical function in relation to the clergy and upper classes.

The animal epic poem, in any event, did no more than develop various fables, known outside of it as isolated fables or, in particular, in collections. Sometimes these were the ancient collections (Avianus and the one derived from Phaedrus, with various additions, that is "Romulus"). Yet these collections, which in the case of Romulus sometimes presented very significant innovations, represent only the initial state of the Medieval fable, in the 5th century (Avianus) and 6th century (Romulus). The significant aspect were their derivatives, particularly those of Romulus: starting from the 9th century, with the Anglo-Latin Romulus, an important fabulistic tradition was created in England that sometimes modified the material of Romulus or added other materials from various sources. This was later continued in the 12th century by Walter the Englishman, Alexander Neckam and the Romulus of Nilant (perhaps somewhat earlier); and a series of derivations crossed over to the Continent. In this there were new derivatives, as there were in England (Eudes and his school).

This fabulistic tradition, which is the one that crossed over (partially) to the animal epic, is characterized because to the derivations of Avianus and Romulus, sometimes extremely original, it added other elements whose origin I have attempted to pursue. Firstly, Oriental, Mesopotamian or Indian fables, whose path of access through Syria and Byzantium, starting from the 9th century, I have retraced; sometimes, contaminated with Christian elements, they gave rise to the new fabulistic motifs, such as the wolf, the fox and the cat, in particular, as prototypes of the false monk, the object of the criticism of the fabulists. Secondly, an abundance of Greek fables entered, also through Byzantium, often coming from the Appendix of the Augustana. There also undoubtedly entered fables from European folklore and, on some or other foundations, many new fables were created.

However, it is not only a matter of the subjects, it is the range of themes and the style of fables that changed. Of course there were banal fables, but in other cases a renaissance of the genre took place, which maintained its realistic, popular and critical continuity, but within the new circumstances, society and beliefs. The fable that in India had criticized the kings and the ascetics, in Greece the powerful and false sages, in Rome the tyrants, now criticizes the corrupt clergy, the false scholars, the noblemen.

There is, then, a diversity and a continuity within the history of the fable: this is what I have intended to show throughout the book. Within this, the Graeco-Latin fable is the bridge that links the fable of ancient Mesopotamia with the renascent and modern fable, as I said back in the introduction.

The book finishes, as was planned, in the middle of the 13th century, although sometimes, for the purposes of the investigation, it goes beyond this limit and concerns itself with non-Latin fables. What it is important to say is that the history of the fable consists of a group of continuities and discontinuities. If with the original Greek fable there converged elements of the Mesopotamian fable, and this in turn fertilized the Indian fable, these two separate branches influenced each other again, in both directions, starting from the conquest of India by Alexander. Yet the Greek fable continued to be essentially independent and continued to live in the Latin fable, which is derived from it. In the 5th and 6th centuries and later from the 9th to the 11th, the Greek and the Indian (and Mesopotamian) fables encountered each other and influenced each other through Syria; and from the 9th century onwards, Greek fables and Oriental fables translated into Greek entered Latin Europe from Byzantium; here they contracted a fertile relationship with the ancient Latin tradition of the fable, the popular European tradition and the Christian tradition.

This was the prelude to the new unification of the fable, which lies outside of the temporal margin of this book. By the middle of the 13th century, the Oriental fable was even more well-known in Europe, thanks to the Castilian translations of the *Panchatantra* and the *Sendebar* and to translations of these works and others into other languages. I think that in the 14th century the *Life of Aesop* was already known in the West.[2] And, of course, it was from the translation by Rinuccio Aretino, in 1446–48. In about 1479 Bonus Accursius

[2] Cf. my work "El *Libro de Buen Amor* y la *Vida de Esopo*", in *Serta Filológica F. Lázaro Carreter*, II, Madrid 1983, pp. 427–434.

published in Milan the collection of anonymous fables that we continue to call Accursiana; and on a date not very far from that, the doctor from Ulm, Steinhöwel, published, in Latin and German, a corpus that included the *Life of Aesop*, the fables of Romulus, Avianus, the Medieval *extravagantes* and a selection from the Accursiana (fables already translated into the Latin by Rinuccio). Once again the Greek fables and their Latin derivatives found themselves together in the same collection, a collection that met with extraordinary success and was soon translated into Castilian and French, among other languages. Later Phaedrus was rediscovered (Pithoeus, 1596).

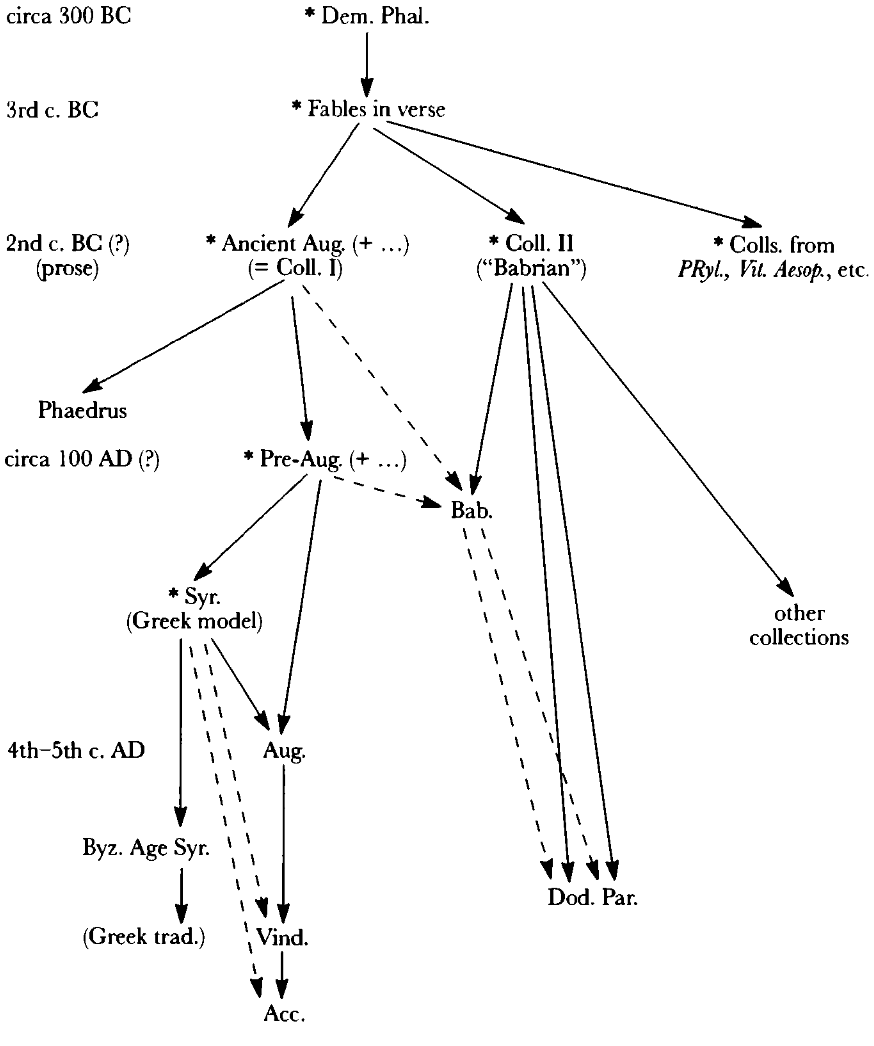
Of course the circle took a long time to close completely: the Augustana (Schneider, 1812), Babrius (Boissonade, 1844), the Paraphrase (Knoell, 1871), the Vindobonensis (Fedde, 1877) were unknown until the 19th century. And the critical editions and, in particular, the historical study on firm chronological bases and without prejudices, have taken their time in arriving.

We have seen that there was never really complete isolation between the Orient and the West, Byzantium and Latin Europe; only a reduced communication in certain periods. From the 13th century onwards, the communication—already almost totally re-established—and the evolution of the genre ensured that it was transmitted to the new literatures, which were already bearing the torch of creation. It would be necessary to study the transmission into these literatures of the abundance of the ancient and Oriental fable on the basis of complete inventories. And to see not only this, but also the extent to which it was used as a fertilizing stimulus. And not only in obvious cases, such as Jacques de Vitry or the Infante Don Juan Manuel, but in the Archpriest of Hita—I have dedicated works, already cited, to his relationship with the fabulistic tradition and the *Life of Aesop*—, in the Picaresque novel—I make reference to a work of mine on the *Lazarillo*, "La Vida de Esopo y la vida de Lazarillo de Tormes", *RFE* 58, 1976 [1978], pp. 35–45—, in Chaucer, Boccaccio, etc. The realistic romance and the storytelling of the 14th century, the Renaissance and later owe a great deal, indeed, to the tradition that we have studied here. Not to mention the new European fable starting from the 17th century, of which Lafontaine in France and Iriarte and Samaniego in Spain are such significant representatives.

Finally, and to finish, I give a synopsis that summarizes the history of the collections of Greek fables—only these—in schematic form, starting from Demetrius. This synopsis is followed by another that situates them within the history of the fable in general.

SYNOPSIS I

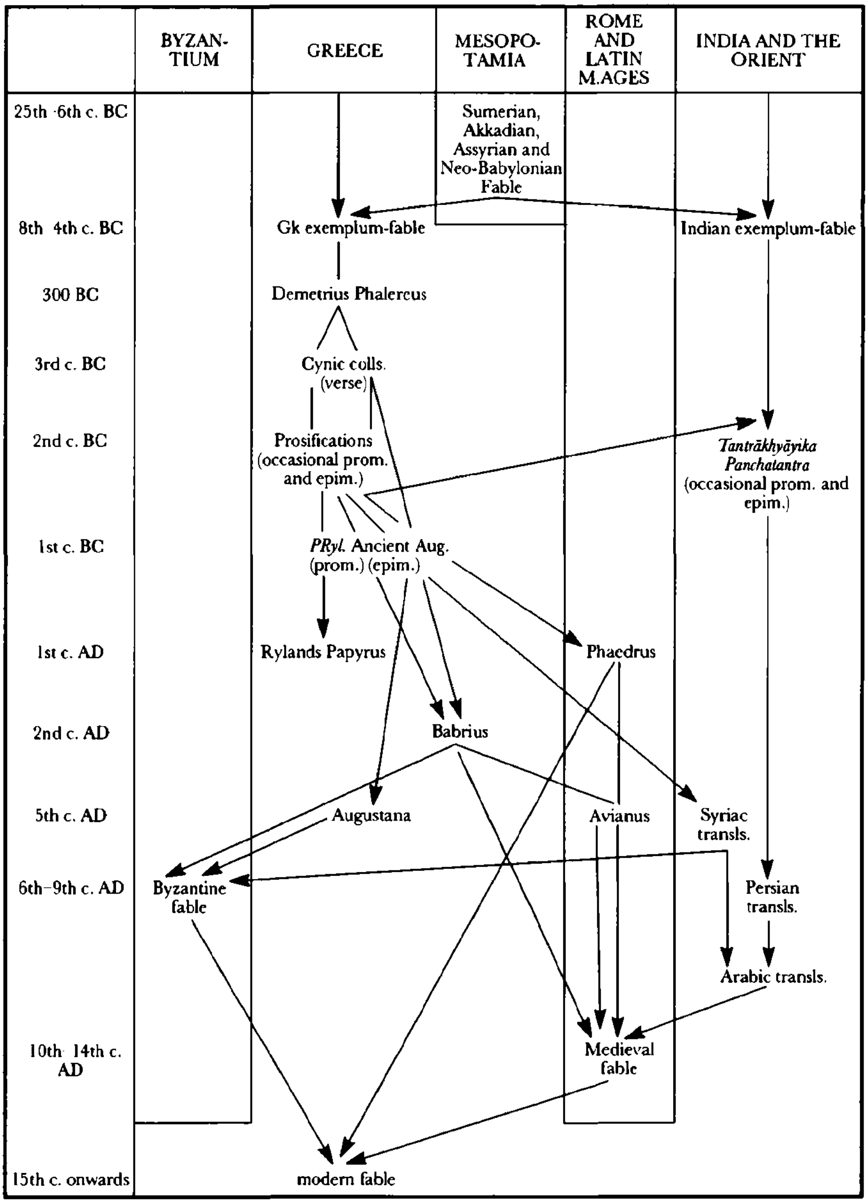
THE GREEK FABLE (COLLECTIONS)[1]



[1] The asterisk indicates those not preserved, only reconstructed.

SYNOPSIS II

THE GRAECO-LATIN FABLE IN THE UNIVERSAL CONTEXT



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compiled by Gert-Jan van Dijk

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[1] Abbreviations and editions of ancient authors and works are those used in the *Diccionario Griego-Español*, red. Rodriguez Adrados, F., Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas 1980–. Additional abbreviations and editions: Branc. = Codex Brancaccianus, ed. Sbordone, F., "Recensioni rettoriche delle favole esopiane", *Rivista Indo-Greco-Italica* 16, 1932, 141–174; *Dod.* = dodecasyllabic fables, ed. Chambry, E., *Aesopi fabulae*, I–II, Paris: Les Belles Lettres 1925–1926; *fab. dact.* = dactylic fable fragments, ed. Crusius, O., *Babrii fabulae Aesopeae*, Leipzig: Teubner 1897, pp. 215 ff.; *fab. extrav.* = *fabulae extravagantes*, ed. Steinhöwel, H., *Äsop*, Ulm: Zainer 1476/1477; *fab. iamb.* = iambic fable fragments, ed. Crusius, *op. cit.*, pp. 234 ff.; *fab. metr.* = *fabulae metricae*, ed. Hervieux, L., *Les fabulistes latins. Depuis le siècle d'Auguste jusqu'à la fin du moyen âge*, II: *Phèdre et ses anciens imitateurs directs et indirects*, Paris: Firmin-Didot 1894 (repr. Hildesheim/New York: Olms 1970), pp. 653 ff.; *fab. rhythm.* = *fabulae rhythmicae*, ed. Hervieux, lc; Mich. Chon. = Michael Choniatas; Niceph. Greg. = Nicephorus Gregoras; not-H. = fable not included in Hausrath, *Corpus fabularum Aesopicarum*; *(Ast.) Nov. Avian. (Par.)* = *(Cuiusdam Astiensis poetae) Novus Avianus (Parisiensis)*, ed. Hervieux, *op. cit.*, III: *Avianus et ses anciens imitateurs*, pp. 371 ff.; Par. Bodl. = *Paraphrasis Bodleiana*, ed. Chambry, *op. cit.*; Rom. = Romulus, ed. Thiele, G., *Der Lateinische Äsop des Romulus und die Prosa-Fassungen des Phädrus*, Heidelberg: Winter 1910 (repr. Hildesheim/Zürich/New York: Olms 1985); Synt. = Syntipas, ed. Hausrath, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 155 ff.; *Syr.* = Syriac fables, ed. Lefèvre, B., *Une version syriaque des fables d'Ésope conservée dans huit manuscrits*, Paris: Firmin-Didot 1941; *Tetr.* = (Ps.) Ign. Diaconus, *Tetrasticha*, ed. Müller, C.F., in Crusius, *op. cit.*, pp. 249 ff.

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